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SAKA GRAMMATICAL STUDIES

BY

R. E. EMMERICK

*Lecturer in Iranian Studies
School of Oriental and
African Studies*

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PREFACE

MOST of the work involved in writing this volume of grammatical studies was done during three years, 1962-5, while, as a scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, I was working for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy under the supervision of Professor Sir Harold W. Bailey of Queens' College, Cambridge. It was Professor Bailey also who had in earlier years instructed me in Indian and Iranian studies, and introduced me to the problems and fascination of Khotanese. While he left me, on the one hand, complete freedom to solve in my own way the problems in my chosen subject, he gave me, on the other hand, every kind of assistance, not only reading texts with me, but placing at my disposal books, photographs, and indexes, as well as his wide knowledge of things oriental. It is with great pleasure that I thank him for his kind and constant help, and generosity unsparing of time and effort. Many of his suggestions have been adopted here, and they are indicated by the initials H. W. B.

Cambridge possesses another Iranist of distinction, whom it has been my pleasure to know and from whose knowledge I have benefited, Dr. I. Gershevitch. Suggestions made by him will also be found in this volume, indicated by the initials I. G.

The large section on nominal inflection found on pp. 249-349 is the second draft of a dissertation entitled *Saka Grammatical Studies*, which also included a small section on 'Syntax of the Cases in Khotanese', subsequently published as an article in *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 24-33. On the basis of this dissertation I was elected on 2 May 1964 a Research Fellow of St. John's College. In October of the same year I took up a lectureship in Iranian studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and during the following year a thesis entitled 'Indo-Iranian Studies: Saka Grammar' was completed and successfully submitted for the Ph.D. degree. This thesis is available for consultation in the Cambridge University Library. One further year has elapsed before a revision of this thesis, under the new title *Saka Grammatical Studies* (to be referred to as *SGS*), could be sent to the printer, despite several requests in the meantime for information from the volume. During this period a

considerable amount of new material has been added and especially the sections dealing with the verb have been extensively revised.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank the School of Oriental and African Studies for meeting the cost of publication, and the Oxford University Press for their magnificent handling of a difficult manuscript.

R. E. EMMERICK

London, August 1966

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INTRODUCTION

THE grammatical studies here presented to the public, by contributing to the advancement of the knowledge of Khotanese, a language of the Sakas, add to what is known in the wider field of Indo-Iranian studies, of which Khotanese is an important but comparatively little-known part. Khotanese, especially the old variety, is still highly inflected, preserving more of the Indo-European inflectional system than any other later Iranian language. Thus, the verb is still found with endings for the three persons in singular and plural, in active and middle, and in modal forms, subjunctive, optative, injunctive. Old Khotanese preserves in its nominal inflection, in the singular six of the eight cases normally attributed to Indo-European, and in the plural, five.

The grammar of Khotanese has received little attention, priority having been given to the vocabulary and the transcription of the texts. The most detailed treatment of the grammar available has remained that of S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, Oslo, 1932. All the topics treated in the present work are there covered in a mere sixteen pages.

The work of S. Konow is now thirty-four years old, and much has been done in the whole field of Indo-Iranian studies since then. S. Konow's own more recent *Primer of Khotanese Saka*, Oslo, 1949, is basically the same as his earlier work. An up-to-date treatment of Khotanese grammar using the Late Khotanese material is found in the preface to M. J. Dresden's edition of the Khotanese *ġātakastava*. The whole grammar is dealt with in sixteen pages. A brief description of the whole language is given by H. W. Bailey in *Languages of the Saka*, pp. 131-47. The present volume had been completed when I received on 2 February 1966 L. G. Gercenberg's *Xotano-sakskij ġazyk*, Moscow, 1965, in the series *ġazyki narodov Azii i Afriki*. This again is a brief sketch of the whole language, giving some useful general information and some new sections, as on syntax (pp. 117-37), but otherwise not going beyond *Saka Studies*.

Now that virtually all the Khotanese texts at present available have been published in transcription, principally in a monumental series by H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese texts*, 1-5, Cambridge, 1945-63,

and *Khotanese Buddhist texts*, London, 1951, the time is ripe for a grammar of Khotanese for the first time based on a wide range of the extant literature. Such a grammar cannot have any finality until all the texts have been edited and translated, but it can help towards the detailed interpretation of the many still untranslated or imperfectly understood texts.

The present volume is to be regarded as a first contribution towards such a grammar. I have collected material on all aspects of the language and I hope to cover further sections of the grammar in subsequent volumes. Consequently, this volume does not replace the preceding grammars such as even Konow's *Primer*. When, however, all sections of the grammar have been completed, it will be simple enough to write an up-to-date primer by abridging and selecting the material provided and adding some texts and a glossary.

Here are presented studies on the verbal and nominal systems. The study on the verbal system treats verb morphology (excluding the verb 'to be' and hence, periphrastic tenses) and the preverbs; that on the nominal system treats the declension of nouns and adjectives (excluding pronouns and pronominal adjectives) and nominal prefixes. It is hoped they will be as useful to others as they have been to me.

One all-pervading feature distinguishes these studies from the previous grammars: references are given for every form cited. Not only does this enable the reader to verify statements for himself, but it prevents the citation of non-existent forms (see, for example, pp. 226-7, 288). Ultimately one should further check the manuscript readings, but this is not easy to do, as the manuscripts are scattered all over the world, and few people can have photographs of them all. The four volumes of facsimiles published by the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, called *Saka Documents*, London, 1960, 1961, 1963, 1967, and the recent *Skazanie o Bhadre (Novye listy sakskoj rukopisi «E»)* by V. S. Vorob'ev-Desjatovskij and M. I. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja, Moscow, 1965, containing facsimiles of all the Leningrad folios of MS. E (see my review in *BSOAS*, xxx, 1, 1967, 83-94 and *AM* n.s. xii. 2, 1966, 148-78) are therefore especially to be welcomed.

Although I have given references for the forms quoted, I have not attempted to give complete references. This is particularly the case in the section on nominal inflection. Thus, there would have

been no point in giving thousands of examples of nom. sing. -ā or instr. -abl. pl. -yau. In every instance I have given only a few examples even when I had collected many. Often, however, I have given a judgement of the kind 'frequent in Old Khotanese'. My collection of different spellings is not complete, but those given should be sufficiently numerous and varied to give guidance in the interpretation of other spellings that may be found. Should it be objected: 'Why give all these spellings and references anyway?', my answer would simply be: 'Try translating some previously untranslated Late Khotanese text without such help!'

While I do not believe it is possible to classify satisfactorily all the extant texts into four stages of linguistic development (see H. W. B., *KT* 5, pp. vii-viii), although this is an interesting generalization, it is true that a chronological appreciation of each text is necessary to guide one in deciding which spellings can represent which older form. In combining all the forms from all the texts as I have done here for convenience, I have not lost sight of this, but I hope this warning will prevent others from being misled. The alternative is to write a separate grammar for each text, but a synthesis seems to me more useful and more practicable, especially as many texts are very short. Later, I hope to provide a kind of chronological guide to the Khotanese texts.

The oldest stage of Khotanese is represented by the language of MS. E, which has late forms very rarely. This text is also the longest single text in Khotanese, so that in general it provides a solid context. It has been made the basis for the present work. This text was carefully transcribed by E. Leumann, *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, Leipzig, 1933-6, translated and provided with a very useful index. It is a pleasure to pay tribute to Leumann's careful, pioneering work, although it is now antiquated in many details. Additional folios of this text have since been published, and it was possible during the revision of this volume to incorporate a number of forms from those most recently published. I have now in the press a new edition and translation of all the known folios to be published as *The Book of Zambasta, a Khotanese poem on Buddhism*. As Leumann's numbering of the chapters is inaccurate by one after chapter two (see V. S. Vorob'ev-Desjatovskij, *Kratkie soobščeniia instituta vostokovedeniia*, xvi, Moscow, 1955, 68-71), I have used Z (for Ysambasta) with the new numbering and E when it was necessary to refer to the old.

In addition E 3 = Z 14, and I have numbered Leumann's folio s as Z 1 and folio y as Z 24. Z 18. 37-48 can be seen in facsimile in *Monumenta Serindica*, iv, 1961, pl. 10 and in transcription by H. W. Bailey in *KT* 5. 355 and by M. Leumann in *ZDMG*, 113. 1, 1963, 80-86. I do not see why Leumann's folio z ('E' p. 355) need have anything to do with MS. E. This fragment has been re-edited in *KT* 5. 49-50.

In addition to the published indexes, I have been able to use Professor Bailey's unpublished Khotanese dictionary, which he kindly allowed me to copy out entire by hand, and, during revision, I have made sporadic use of an index to *KT* 1-5 and *KBT* made by an IBM computer at Harvard under Mr. J. Moyne. The latter has not been as useful as was hoped on account of technical defects (e.g. wrong division of words) that arose in the absence of help from someone with a knowledge of Khotanese. A large proportion of the references were incorporated during the course of reading texts, and no form has been cited without a careful reading of the passage in question.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AdhŚ</i>	<i>Adhyardhasatikā Prajñāpāramitā</i> , edited E. Leumann, <i>Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur</i> , Straßburg, 1912, pp. 92-99.
<i>Adyar</i>	<i>The Adyar Library Bulletin</i> , xxv. 1-4, 1962.
<i>AIW</i>	C. Bartholomae, <i>Altiranisches Wörterbuch</i> , Berlin, 1904.
<i>AM</i>	<i>Asia Major</i> .
Andreev	M. S. Andreev and E. M. Pešereva, <i>Uagnobskie Teksty</i> , Moscow, 1957.
<i>AO</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> .
<i>ApS</i>	<i>Aparimitāyuh-sūtra</i> .
Asm.	J. P. Asmussen, <i>The Khotanese Bhadracaryādeśanā</i> , Copenhagen, 1961.
Av.	Avestan.
<i>Avdh</i>	<i>Avalokiteśvara-dhāraṇī</i> .
Bal.	Balōči.
Barth.	C. Bartholomae.
<i>BBB</i>	W. Henning, <i>Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch</i> , Berlin, 1937.
Benv.	É. Benveniste.
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. See F. Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary</i> , II Dictionary, New Haven, 1953.
Brough	J. Brough, <i>The Gāndhārī Dharmapada</i> , O.U.P., 1962.
Brown Vol.	<i>Indological Studies in Honor of W. Norman Brown</i> , New Haven, 1962.
Brugmann	K. Brugmann and B. Delbrück, <i>Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen</i> , Straßburg, 2nd ed., 1897-1916.
<i>BSL</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris</i> .
<i>BSO(A)S</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies</i> .
<i>Dhp</i>	<i>Dharmapada</i> .
<i>Dhy</i>	<i>Der Dhyāna-Text</i> , ed. H. Reichelt, <i>Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums</i> , Heidelberg, i, 1928, pp. 33-56.
Donum Nyberg	<i>Donum natalicium H. S. Nyberg oblatum</i> , Uppsala, 1954.
Dresden	M. J. Dresden, <i>The Jātakastava or 'Praise of the Buddha's Former Births'</i> , Trans. Am. Phil. Soc., N.S., xlv. 5, 1955.

- Dumézil Vol.* *Hommages à Georges Dumézil*, Collection Latomus, xlv, Brussels, 1960.
- E }
'E' } E. Leumann, *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xx, Leipzig, 1933-6. E = Khotanese text; 'E' = the remainder.
- Elfenbein J. Elfenbein, *A Vocabulary of Marw Baluchi*, Naples, 1963.
- Et. Etymology.
- EVP G. Morgenstierne, *An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, Oslo, 1927.
- Ghilain A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe*, Louvain, 1939.
- GIP *Grundriß der Iranischen Philologie*, ed. W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, Straßburg, i, 1895-1901.
- GMS I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*, Oxford, 1954.
- HAG E. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1895-7.
- Hdb. *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, iv Iranistik, i Linguistik, Leiden, 1958.
- Herzenberg L. G. Gercenberg, *Xotano-sakskij jazyk*, Moscow, 1965.
- H. W. B. H. W. Bailey.
- IE Indo-European.
- IIFL G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*. Vol. i: Parachi and Ormuri, Oslo, 1929; vol. ii: Iranian Pamir Languages, Oslo, 1938.
- I. G. I. Gershevitch.
- inch. inchoative.
- inf. infinitive.
- Jackson A. V. Williams Jackson, *An Avesta Grammar*, Stuttgart, 1892.
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
- JP *Jivakapustaka* (see KT I, p. vii, n. 3) = Khotanese MS. Ch ii. 003.
- JS *Jātakastava*.
- Kent R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, New Haven, 2nd ed., 1953.
- Kh. Khotanese.
- Khar. Docs. T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge U.P., 1937.
- Khar. Inscr., 1920 *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions*, ed. A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson, and E. Senart. Part I, Oxford, 1920; Part II, Oxford, 1927.
- Khar. Konow *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, ed. S. Konow, Calcutta, 1929.

- Koyasan Vol.* *Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism*, Koyasan, 1965.
- KT *Khotanese texts*, ed. H. W. Bailey. I, 1945; 2, 1954; 3, 1956; 4, 1961; 5, 1963. Cambridge U.P.
- KZ (Kuhns) *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*.
- Languages of the Saka H. W. B., *Languages of the Saka*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I, iv, Leiden, 1958, pp. 131-54.
- Lazard G. Lazard, *La Langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris, 1963.
- L.Kh. Late Khotanese.
- Mayrh. M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Heidelberg, i, 1956; ii, 1963. Lieferung 18, 1964.
- Mithra I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge U.P., 1959.
- MirMan F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*. i, 1932; ii, 1933; iii, 1934. SPAW, Berlin.
- MO *Le Monde oriental*.
- Morg. G. Morgenstierne.
- Morg. Vol. *Indo-Iranica*, Wiesbaden, 1964.
- MPe Middle Persian.
- MS Rems *Manuscript remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, ed. A. F. R. Hoernle, Oxford, 1916.
- Mvy *Mahāvvyutpatti*.
- N E. Leumann, *Buddhistische Literatur, nordarisch und deutsch*, I. Teil, *Nebentstücke*, Leipzig, 1920.
- nom. ag. nomen agentis.
- NP New Persian.
- NTS *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*.
- NWPkt North-west Prakrit.
- O.Ind. Old Indian.
- O.Ir. Old Iranian.
- O.Kh. Old Khotanese.
- OLZ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.
- OP Old Persian.
- Oss. É. Benveniste, *Études sur la langue ossète*, Paris, 1959.
- Oss. Ossetic. D. = Digoron; I. = Iron.
- P Pelliot Sogdian MSS., ed. in TSP.
- Parth. Parthian.
- Pok. J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern and Munich, i, 1959.

ppp.	past participle passive.
pres.	present.
<i>Primer</i>	S. Konow, <i>Primer of Khotanese Saka</i> , Oslo, 1949.
pt.	participle.
pt.nec.	participle of necessity.
redupl.	reduplicated.
Reichelt	H. Reichelt, <i>Awestisches Elementarbuch</i> , Heidelberg, 1909.
<i>RV</i>	<i>Rgveda</i> .
<i>Saka Studies</i>	S. Konow, <i>Saka Studies</i> , Oslo, 1932.
<i>SCE</i>	<i>Le Sûtra des Causes et des Effets</i> , ed. R. Gauthiot and P. Pelliot. Paris, i, 1920; ii, 1926-8.
<i>Si</i>	<i>Siddhasâra</i> .
Sogd.	Sogdian. B. = Buddhist; Chr. = Christian; Man. = Manichean.
<i>Sogd(ica)</i>	W. B. Henning, <i>Sogdica</i> , London, 1940.
<i>SPAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> .
<i>SS</i>	<i>Saṅghāṭasūtra</i> .
<i>ST</i>	<i>ST</i> , i = F. W. K. Müller, <i>Soghdische Texte</i> , i, Berlin, 1913. <i>ST</i> , ii = F. W. K. Müller and W. Lentz, <i>Soghdische Texte</i> , ii, Berlin, 1934.
<i>StH</i>	Staël-Holstein roll.
<i>Suv. K.</i>	<i>Suvarṇabhāṣasūtra</i> , ed. S. Konow, <i>SPAW</i> , 1935, 428-86.
<i>Taqizadeh Vol.</i>	<i>A Locust's Leg</i> , London, 1962.
them.	thematic.
<i>Togan Vol.</i>	<i>Zeki Velidi Togan'a Armağan</i> , Istanbul, 1950-5.
<i>TPS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i> .
Tq	Tumšuq.
<i>TSP</i>	É. Benveniste, <i>Textes sogdiens</i> , Paris, 1940.
Turner	R. L. Turner, <i>A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-aryan Languages</i> , O.U.P., 1962- .
<i>Unvala Vol.</i>	<i>Dr. J. M. Unvala Memorial Volume</i> , Bombay, 1964.
<i>Vajr.</i>	<i>Vajracchedikā</i> .
<i>Verbum</i>	<i>Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfanfragmente</i> , <i>ZII</i> , ix. 2, 1933, 158-253.
<i>Vim.</i>	<i>Das Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra</i> , ed. H. Reichelt, <i>Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums</i> , i, Heidelberg, 1928, pp. 1-13.
<i>Vj</i>	É. Benveniste, <i>Vessantara Jātaka</i> , Paris, 1946.

Waag	A. Waag, <i>Nirangistan</i> , Leipzig, 1941.
Whitney	W. D. Whitney, <i>Sanskrit Grammar</i> , Harvard U.P., 2nd ed., 1889.
Yaghn.	Yaghnōbī.
Z	See introduction, p. xi.
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> .
<i>Zor. Prob.</i>	H. W. Bailey, <i>Zoroastrian Problems in the ninth-century books</i> , Oxford, 1943.
<i>ZP</i>	Zoroastrian Pahlavi.
<i>Zur nordar. Spr.</i>	E. Leumann, <i>Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur</i> , Straßburg, 1912.

THE LANGUAGE

1. *The local name of the language, country, and people.*

THE local name of the language to be described here is, in its oldest form, attested as *hvatana-*. Thus, in Z 23. 2, we read:

ttutu hvanau kho gyastā balysā ttāvattrīśyau jsa vahāṣṭā
*hvatana*u yi haṃjsāte byūhā sarvasatvānu hātāyā

'This account of how the divine Buddha descended from the Trāyastriṃśat-gods I intend to translate into Khotanese for the welfare of all beings.'

The name of the people was also *hvatana-*. Thus, in Z 23. 4, we find:

ne ysvā're *hvatana* kari *hvatana*u dātu

'The Khotanese do not at all appreciate the Law in Khotanese.'

In the same chapter, a slightly later spelling is also found:

cu aysu ttū *hvatāna*u byūttaimā avaśśā balysā hāmāne (Z 23. 372)

'Since I have translated this into Khotanese, may I surely become a Buddha.'

In the Old Khotanese version of the *Suvarṇabhāṣasūtra*, a still later spelling is found:

biśyau *hvatam*-kṣīryau uysnauryau haṃtsa haṃbrihe (Or 9609. 3v6 KT 1. 232)

'I will share with all the beings of the land of Khotan.'

In Late Khotanese, three more stages of development of the word are found: *hvaṃna-*, *hvana-*, *hvaṃ-*.

Both O.Kh. *hvatana-* and L.Kh. *hvaṃna-* must be dated prior to the seventh century A.D., because according to Hsüan Tsang, the local language said 涣 Huan-na, but the Iranians said 豁旦 Huo-tan.¹

A dialect closely related to Khotanese is attested in a few documents mainly from Tumšūq. This dialect is now referred to as Tumšūq, though it was previously known as Maralbaši. Here we have *hvadane* (vi. 6-7) and *hvadna* (viii. b6).

The East Iranian Sogdian language renders the name γωδnyk (*Sogd.* p. 10).

In the Prakrit used as the administrative language of Kroraina in the third century A.D., *h* was not regularly pronounced (*Khar. Docs.*,

¹ See P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, Paris 1959, s.v. *Cotan*.

§ 28, p. 10). In this Prakrit, *khotana-* was used. It is found in a Prakrit inscription dated in the reign of the Great King of Khotan (*khotana maharaya rayatiraya*).¹

The realm of Khotan was also referred to by means of the Sanskrit *Gostana-*. Thus, we find *gaustana-deśa* (P 5538b. 11 *KT* 3. 121); *gāmstana-deśai* (ibid. 13); *gaustamā deśa* (Ch i. 0021a. 111 *KT* 2. 53) (2).

In the Khotanese document P 2739 *KT* 2. 85-, the land of Khotan is referred to by means of *yūṭṭyenā kuhā* (l. 12), *yūṭṭyaina kūauha* (l. 43). These spellings render the old Chinese name 于闐 *Yu-t'ien* and Chinese 國 *kuo* 'country'.²

2. The Sakas³

The word *Saka-* is not certainly attested in the Khotanese documents. *sakāñā śanirā* (MT c. 0017. 2 *KT* 5. 221) may be 'Śanira of Sakā', and *sakām* is attested as a personal name in one of the Hedin documents (13. 13 *KT* 4. 29). If, however, as is likely, the word is of Iranian origin, its most probable derivation is from the Iranian verbal base **sak-* 'be powerful' (Av. *sak-*, O.Ind. *śak-*).³ Derivation from **sak-* 'move' in the sense of 'nomad' has also been proposed (O. Szemerényi, *ZDMG*, ci, 1951, 212).

Three groups of Sakas, viz. *paradraya*, *tigraxauda*, and *haumavarga*, are distinguished in the Old Persian inscriptions of the sixth century B.C., and from the Greek historian Herodotus (vii. 64) we learn that the Persians called all Scythians Sakas.⁴

From the beginning of the first century B.C. there are traces of Sakas in north-west India. That the western satraps were Iranian and spoke a language closely akin to, if not identical with, Khotanese is shown by the Iranian names on their coins. These also display a peculiar feature of orthography common in Khotanese, the use of the digraph *YS* for *[z]*.⁵

3. The affinities of the language

(a) The Iranian character of Khotanese is readily apparent from the comparison of the common words with their cognates in Avestan on the one hand and in Old Indian on the other.⁶

Kh. <i>aysu</i> 'I'	Av. <i>azəm</i>	O.Ind. <i>aham</i>
<i>ggara-</i> 'mountain'	<i>gari-</i>	<i>giri-</i>

¹ *Khar. Inscr.*, 1920, no. 661.

² See H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 3, 1938, 541-2.

³ See H. W. B., *Languages of the Saka*, pp. 131-3.

⁴ οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλεῖναι Σάκας.

⁵ H. Lüders, 'Die Śakas und die "nordarische" Sprache', *SPAW*, 23, 1913, 406-27.

⁶ A longer list in H. W. B., *Languages of the Saka*, pp. 137-41.

Kh. <i>puls-</i> 'ask'	Av. <i>parəs-</i>	O.Ind. <i>prcch-</i>
<i>bar-</i> 'carry'	<i>bar-</i>	<i>bhar-</i>
<i>basta-</i> 'bound'	<i>basta-</i>	<i>baddha-</i>
<i>ysāta-</i> 'born'	<i>zāta-</i>	<i>jāta-</i>
<i>sata-</i> '100'	<i>sata-</i>	<i>śata-</i>

(b) A number of phonological features characterize Khotanese as East Iranian rather than West.¹ Thus, in Khotanese, fricatives [β], [δ], [γ], spelled *b*, *d*, *g*(*g*) developed from initial **b-*, **d-*, **g-* of O.Ir. Khotanese has *tc* [ts] < O.Ir. **č-*, as in Ossetic, Paštō, etc., as opposed to *č* in West Iranian. Khotanese agrees with particular East Iranian languages rather than with West Iranian on a number of special points. Thus, Khotanese has *dr-* < **θr-* but *-r-* < **-θr-* as in Paštō. Usually, **θr* is treated in the same way in both positions, but Yidgha-Munjī also makes a distinction. From IE **k_u*, Kh. has *ś*, written *śś* in O.Kh., *ś* in L.Kh., in agreement with Waxī *ś*, whereas *sp* is almost universal elsewhere.

(c) Khotanese and Tūmšūq agree so closely with one another that they must be regarded as different dialects of a 'common Saka':

Tūmšūq		Khotanese
<i>biša-</i>	'all'	<i>biśša-</i>
<i>dudar-</i>	'daughter'	<i>dutar-</i>
<i>drainu</i>	'of three'	<i>drainu</i>
<i>khāza-</i>	'food'	<i>khāysa-</i>
<i>re</i>	'king'	<i>rre</i>
<i>šazda-</i>	'snake'	<i>śšaysda-</i>
<i>vasuta-</i>	'pure'	<i>vasuta-</i>

Further examples may be seen in H. W. B., *Languages of the Saka*, pp. 148 ff.

A number of Saka dialects no doubt existed. One appears to have been spoken in Kāšyar in the time of Al-Kāšyarī in the eleventh century. In the Caucasus, a Scythian language known as Ossetic is still spoken at the present day. It has two main dialects, Digor and Iron.

¹ On Iranian dialect-geography, see: I. M. Oranskij, *Vvedenie v iranskiju filologiju*, Moscow, 1960, pp. 341 ff.; *Iranskije Jazyki*, Moscow, 1963, pp. 171-90.

THE VERBS

THE verbal system in Khotanese preserves traces of all the moods found in Avestan: indicative, imperative, subjunctive, optative, injunctive. Forms are found to continue these moods both in the active and in the middle voice. The use of active or middle appears to convey no special signification. To all intents and purposes, *yindā*, 3 sg. pres. act., is exactly the same as *yande*, 3 sg. pres. mid.

In the indicative, there is a consistent formal distinction between active and middle but not in the other moods. If a verb shows a third person plural in *-indā*, we can be sure it is active, if in *-āre* it is middle, however these terminations may be spelled, and the same verb will have the same type of conjugation from the oldest to the latest kind of Khotanese. To be sure, a few verbs like *yan-* are indifferent as to voice, but by far the majority adhere strictly to one or the other. Where, however, there is a distinction between act. and mid., the regular usage is to oppose act. tr. to mid. intr. e.g. *bar-* act. tr. 'to carry', but mid. intr. 'to ride'. For other examples, see under the following: *āysān-*, *car-*, *thanj-*, *dajs-*, **dav-*, *dyāñ-*, *padav-*, *pātāl-*, *birāt-*, *buysai-*, *burš-*, *byüh-*, *saṃkhal-*, *hatš-*.

The choice of active or middle seems to be entirely arbitrary. Thus, *panaś-* is middle, but *hanaś-* is active. Both are intransitive. They should, of course, from a descriptive point of view be considered as two different words and not simply the same verbal base with two different preverbs, though from an historical point of view such a statement is meaningful. In order to keep constantly in mind the status as words of these verbal compounds and because of the differences in the extent to which information is available concerning the various present stems, the plan here adopted is to list all the verbs in alphabetical¹ order giving where possible the following information:

1. The verb class (cf. pp. 177-89).
2. The voice.
3. Transitive or intransitive.
4. The ppp.
5. Etymology (cf. pp. 157-64).

Ideally the following forms are quoted:

1. 3 sg. pres. ind.
2. 3 pl. pres. ind.

¹ Except that under *h* words beginning with the preverb *ham-* (however spelled) are listed first.

3. 3 sg. pf.
4. 3 pl. pf.
5. Infinitives.

Other forms are usually quoted only if the texts do not furnish us with all the required forms.

The head word is given in the oldest Khotanese spelling attested. If a verb is attested only in L.Kh., a reconstructed O.Kh. form has been given if this is thought to differ from the L.Kh. form. Loanwords are indicated as such by LW, and no verb class is assigned to them.¹ Not all loanwords are included but only such as are of some particular interest, whether because of their form or their frequent occurrence. The verb 'to be' is merely listed with essential information, as it is intended to deal with it separately on another occasion. Verbs attested only in the ppp. are not given unless their present stem can be inferred with some certainty. Past participles lacking present stems will be treated elsewhere. On the other hand, those past participles that are suppletive to existing present stems are given under those present stems.

Although it is not intended that this list should in any way take the place of a dictionary, it seemed convenient to include some statements about the idiomatic use of certain verbs. Bilingual texts have frequently been used in order to state in a more objective way the meaning of verbs.

More detailed work on more texts will doubtless add information to that here assembled, but every verb of reasonable frequency of occurrence is listed here and many rare verbs have already been included.

ajs- 'to pursue' ? I b

1 pl. pres. act. or mid., L.Kh.: *ajsām* Ch 00269. 67, 89 KT 2. 45, 46.
Et. Cf. OP *haj-*, O.Ind. *saj-*, H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xv. 3, 1953, 537.

añāy- 'to order' LW act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *añāyida* P 2787. 107, 108 KT 2. 105.
Et. -y-? Pkt < *ā-jñā-*. Skt *ājñāpayati*, Pāli *āṇāpeti*. DhP 250 *añā'i*
= Pāli *añāya* (= Skt *ājñāya*).

adhiṣṭh- 'to take control of; bless' LW mid. tr. A ppp. (1)

**adhiṣṭhāta-*; (2) **adhiṣṭhāta-*

1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *adhiṣṭhe* Z 3. 133.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *adhiṣṭhāte* Z 3. 130, 131.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *adhiṣṭhāre* Z 15. 110.
ppp. **atāṣṭhāta-* implied by O.Kh. 3 pl. pf. tr. m.: *atāṣṭhāndā*

¹ For a summary of the information concerning loanwords, see pp. 178-9.

Z 13. 159. ppp. *ayāṣṭhāta-* Or 9609. 4r4 *KT* 1. 233 (O.Kh.); 3 pl. pf. tr. m.: *ayāṣṭhātāndā* *Suv.* K. 63v2 *KT* 5. 114 (O.Kh.).
Er. LW < BHS *adhitiṣṭhati*.

anandiśś- 'to be indifferent to' ? V e, VI mid. intr. A

+I-A *hva'ndāna* Z 12. 114.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *anandiśśāte* Z 12. 114; *anandiśśāte* *Suv.* K. 65v5 *KT* 5. 116 tr. *samupekṣate*.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *anandiśśāre* *Suv.* K. 64r6 *KT* 5. 115.

Et. ? denom. **a-ham-dais-(a)ya-*. ? dissim. < *aramdiśś-* H. vii. 150.

1v2 *KT* 5. 99 (r changed to n); *aramdiśś-* ibid. 1v4 (*naṃ* under *raṃ*).

Cf. Av. *arəm*, *Saka Studies*, p. 117 s.v. *aramdiśś*.

anuj- 'to inquire' LW A ppp. **anuvarttāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *anujātā* H 142 NS 58. 50r1 *KT* 5. 87.

Et. ? for **anuyuj-* or **anij-*. Pāli *anuyujjati* 'asks a question'.

anuvartt- 'to conform to' LW tr. A ppp. **anuvarttāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *anuvarttāte* Z 14. 61; *anuvarttāte* Z 14. 39; *anuvarttāte* Z 14. 81, 85.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *anuvarttyai* N 171. 25.

Et. BHS *anuvart-* 'conform'.

armūv- 'to congratulate on' LW act. tr. A ppp. *armūvāta-*

1 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *armūvāmā* Z 11. 70; *armūvāmā* Z 11. 70.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *armūtindā* Or 9609. 5r3 *KT* 1. 234. L.Kh.

2 pl. imper.: *armūvyari* Kha i. 221. 29 *KT* 3. 130; hence, (?) *armūvyāmā* Kha ii. 29. 9r1 *KB* 10.

1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *armūvātemā* H 142 NS 78r3 *KT* 5. 104.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *armūvātātāndā* *Suv.* K. 66r5 *KT* 5. 117 (one -āt- intrusive).

Et. BHS *anumodaya-*.

avamāñ- 'to despise' LW tr.

2 pl. opt., O.Kh.: *avamāñtru* Z 22. 299.

Et. BHS *avamanyate* 'despises'.

aviṣṣimj- 'to consecrate' LW act. tr. A ppp. *aviṣṣāgyāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *aviṣṣimjāte* Z 24. 404.

3 pl. pres., L.Kh.: *aviṣṣimjāda* P 3513 28r2 *KB* 58.

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *aviṣṣāgyāte* Z 24. 46.

3 pl. pf. tr.: *aviṣṣājātāndā* *Suv.* K. 63v2 *KT* 5. 114.

Et. BHS *abhiṣiñcati* 'consecrates'. NWPkt *avi-* < *abhi-* Brough, § 44, p. 96.

ah- 'to be' I a act. intr. B suppletive ppp. *vāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *astā* Z 1. 37+; *stā* Z 1. 36+.

3 pl. pres., O.Kh.: *indā* Z 2. 135+.

2 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *vātī* Z 24. 246.

Et. 3 sg. pres. **asti*: Av., O.Ind. *asti*; Parth. 'st (Ghilain, p. 46), MPe

'st (*Verbum*, p. 167); Man., B. Sogd. 'sty, Chr. sty < **asti* (I. G.,

GMS, § 87, p. 12). ppp. < **būta-*: Av. *būta-*, O.Ind. *bhūta-*; cf.

Waxī vīt < **būta-*, IIFL, ii. 548 s.v. *wōc-*.

ahamañ- 'to despise' LW tr.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *ahamañā* *Avdh* 18r3 *KT* 3. 9; *ahamañā* *Avdh* 20r1 *KT* 3. 11.

Et. Pkt, cf. Skt *adhimanyate* H. W. B., JRAS, 1957, 105; *Adyar*, 1962, 8.

ahāvāys- 'to endure; condescend' LW act. tr. intr. B ppp. *ahāvāysāta-*

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ahāvāysāda* P 2787. 75 *KT* 2. 104.

3 sg. pf., O.Kh.: *ahāvāysāte* Z 2. 60; 23. 120; *ahāvāysāte* Or 9609. 68r6 *KT* 1. 241 tr. *adhivāsayi*.

Et. BHS *adhivāsayati*. Cf. H. W. B., AM, N.S. xi. 2, 1965, 113.

ākūṭ- 'to strike' LW tr.

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *ākūṭa* Z 2. 102.

Et. BHS *ākoṭayati*.

ākṣuv- 'to begin' I c act. intr. B ppp. *ākṣutta-*

For constructions, see REE, AM, N.S. xii. 2, 1966, 158.

(1) +inf.: *pulsu* Z 2. 159; *būṣṣā* Z 2. 169; *bvanā* *Suv.* K. 66r2 *KT* 5. 117; *ysānājā* Z 24. 220.

(2) +co-ordinate verb: *pvaī'ttā* Z 24. 428; *vajsiṣṭe* Z 4. 15.

(3) +pres. pt.: *dāyāna* Z 9. 27; *hāmānā* Z. 15. 93.

(4) +inf. and pres. pt.: *ākṣutte lāstanā yanā u jvānā* SS 80r6 *KT*. 5. 340.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ākṣūtā* Z 4. 15+; *ākṣū* *Suv.* K. 66r2 *KT* 5. 117.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ākṣuvindā* Z 24. 499; *ākṣvīndi* Z 23. 133; *ākṣvīndā* Z 15. 111.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *ākṣutte* SS 80r6 *KT* 5. 340.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *ākṣuttāndā* Z 24. 220; Or 9609. 68v7 *KT* 1. 241; SS 80r6 *KT* 5. 340.

Et. < **ā-xšaub-*. Cf. MPe ''šwōb 'Bedrängung, Aufrühr' (*Verbum*, p. 184), NP *āšuftan*.

āchāy- 'to donate' LW intr.

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *āchāyūṃ* P 3513. 78v4 KBT 63 'I make donation' (H. W. B., *Brown Vol.*, 1962, 19).

Et. BHS *āchādayati* 'presents'.

***āchānn-** 'to cut off' LW tr. ppp. *āchānnāta-*

3 sg. pf., O.Kh.: *āchānnāte* Z 13. 89.

Et. Cf. BHS *ācchindana-* 'breaking, violation'; *Khar. Inscr.*, 1920, 235, 545 *ācchināti*.

ājīṣ- 'to ask for; to beseech' LW act. tr. A ppp. *ājīṣāta-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ājīṣāmā* Z 11. 71; 22. 189.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ājīṣāte* Z 12. 65.

3 sg. pf. m., O.Kh.: *ājīṣāte* Z 24. 271.

Et. BHS *adhyeṣ(ay)ati* 'requests'; *Niya ajiṣana-* Brough, p. 61.

ājum- 'to bring' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *ājūmda-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ājūmūdā* SS 80v5 KT 5. 341.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *ājūmyarā* Or 11252. 3a2 KT 2. 15.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *ājūmdai* JS 15v2 (65).

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *ājūmdāmdā* P 2958. 40, 61 KBT 40, 41.

Et. H. W. B. ap. Dresden, p. 469 s.v. *ājūm-* cf. ZP *yumb-*, NP *jumb-* 'to move'. Derivation from **ā-yam-* seems to me more likely, cf. B. Sogd. *''y'm-* 'finir' P. Cf. also O.Ind. *āyāmayati* 'brings'.

ātas- 'to fall down' I b mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ātasāre* Z 24. 168.

Et. < **ā-kas-*, v. *kaś-*, H. W. B.; v. Dresden, p. 471 s.v. *kaś-*.

ātim- 'to desire' VI b mid. tr. A ppp. **ātaunda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ātimāte* Z 12. 57; *āyīmāte* Z 12. 58.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ātimāre* Kha 0013c. 1. 9v1 KT 5. 122.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *ātaudānd<ā>* Kha 1. 27a1. v3 KT 5. 129 (= <ā> *taudānde* E. 1. 7 152r2 KT 5. 79).

Et. < **ā-kāmaya-*, secondary shortening from **ā-kāmaya-*, as ppp. < **ā-kām-*, and cf. O.Ind. *kāmayati*; Parth. *k'm-*, *k'm'd* 'desirer' (Ghilain, p. 60), MPe *k'm-* (*Verbum*, p. 177).

āphār- 'to be disturbed' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *āphiḍa-*

3 sg. pres.: *āphāde* Suv. K. 64r6 KT 5. 115 tr. *pralupyate*; L.Kh.: *āphiḍe* Si 106r5 KT 1. 44 tr. *hkhruḡs* 'be disturbed'.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *āphārāre* Suv. K. 64v6 KT 5. 115.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *āphiḍāndā* Z 24. 162.

caus. *āphir-*, *āphirāñ-*.

Et. < **ā-fr-ya-*. *āphāde* for **āphīde* (cf. *mīde*) due to *āphārāre* (cf. *mārāre*). **far-* in -*gyā* abstract *āphārgye* Suv. K. 32r3 KT 5. 110 tr. *saṃkṣobhā*. Cf. Parth. *whyrd* 'tomber en désordre' (Ghilain, p. 97) < **vi-far-* W. B. Henning, *BSOS*, x. 2, 1940, 509.

āphir- 'to disturb' V e mid. tr. A

1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *āphire* Z 2. 204.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *āphirātā* Suv. K. 64r4 KT 5. 115.

2 sg. opt.: *āphirā* Kha 1. 185. 1a6 KT 5. 155.

Et. < **ā-fār-aya-*, caus. < *āphār-*.

***āphirāñ-** 'to disturb' V e mid. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *āphirāñāre* Si 5r2 KT 1. 8.

Et. See *āphār-*, *āphir-*.

***ābei'ls-** 'to turn' IV a mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ābeistā* Z 24. 500.

Et. < **ā-vart-*. Cf. noun *ābei'sa-* 'whirlpool' Z 17. 13.

āy- 'to be reflected' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *āyāte* Z 4. 100+.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *āyāre* Z 3. 90+.

Et. < **ā-di-ya-* < **day-*, v. *dai-*, *did-*.

āyāc- 'to request' LW tr.

1 sg. pres.: *āyācu* P 3513. 46r4 (Asm. 15) tr. *abhiyācamī*.

Et. BHS *āyācati* 'supplicates'.

āyaus- 'to be disturbed' I b mid. intr. A/B ppp. *āyoṣta-*

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *āyausāri* Kha 1. 306a. 5v1 KBT 8.

ppp. *āyoṣta-* Z 4. 101.

Et. < **ā-yauz-*, cf. Av. *ā.yaoza-* 'aufwogen' AIW 1232; MPe *'yws̥t[gyh]* 'aufgeregt' (*Verbum*, p. 183); Parth. *'yws̥z-*, *'yws̥t* '(s)'agiter' (Ghilain, p. 64); B. Sogd. *'yws̥z-*, *'yws̥t-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 551, p. 87).

āyv- 'to heat' tr.

Only in L.Kh. pt. nec.: *āyvāñā* Si 125r2 KT 1. 54 tr. *bsros-pa*.

Et. < **ā-tap-* (H. W. B.), cf. Av. *ātāpa-* 'wärmen' AIW 632.

āysān- 'to equip; adorn' III b mid. tr. B ppp. *āysāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *āysindā* Z 16. 60; *āysāndā* Z 16. 62, 64.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *āysānāre* Z 3. 56.

Since *āysānāre* here is the only evidence for act. or mid. and here the meaning is apparently reflexive 'they adorn themselves', *āysān-* may have contrasted act. tr. and mid. reflexive.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *āysāte* Z 2. 49.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *āysyāmdē* P 3513. 72v4-73r1 KT 1. 248. L.Kh. ppp. *āysya-* P 3513. 73r2 KT 1. 248 tr. *samalamkṛta-*.

O.Kh. inf.: *āysāte* Z 5. 96; 12. 17.

Et. < **ā-zai-nā-*. See H. W. B., *AO*, 1936, 267; *Donum Nyberg*, 5-6. Cf. B. Sogd. *zywr* 'collier; bijoux'; NP *zēvar* 'ornement' (v. Benv., *JĀ*, 1936, 232); *zytyh* 'approvisionnement' *VJ*; Av. *zaya-* m. 'equipment', *zaēna-* m. 'weapon'.

ārr- 'to grind' ? III b tr. ppp. *ārda-*

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *ārryari* MT a.i. 0033. 6 KT 2. 71; pt. nec., L.Kh.: *ārrāñā* Si 150v5 KT 1. 96.

ppp. *ārda-* *JP* 78v5 KT 1. 163+, secondary, < *ār* < **ar-nā-*. The original ppp. < **ar-ta-* is used as a noun: *āḍa-* 'flour' Si 133r1 KT 1. 66 tr. *phyē*.

Et. See H. W. B., *University of Ceylon Review*, 1957, 28; *TPS*, 1959, 81, n. 4. Cf. Av. **aša-* 'gemahlen, vom Getreide' *AIW* 239; B. Sogd. **rδ* 'meule' *SCE* 231; **rδrn'k* 'moulin à meules' *SCE* 161; *Paštō ḍṛa* 'flour', *anāl* 'to grind' *EVP* 12.

***ārramj-** 'to contract' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *ārraje* Si 128v5 KT 1. 60 tr. *hkhums*. Quoted H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 118.

Et. < **ā-ranṣaya-*. **rang-*, cf. Av. *ranjyō*, *ranjīšta-* (I.G., *Mithra*, p. 215); Man. Sogd. *rynčēk*, Chr. *rynč'()*q 'small' (I.G., *GMS*, § 983, p. 149); Sogd. B. *rynčwōk* 'petit' P; Waxī *rānjik* *IIFL*, ii. 537; W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, xi. 3, 1945, 482, n. 5.

ārāh- 'to please; propitiate' LW tr. A ppp. *ārāhātā-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ārāhātā* Z 24. 432; Or 9609. 36v5 KT 1. 237.

1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *ārāhātāimā* N 154. 27 = H 142 NS 78r5 KT 5. 104. L.Kh. ppp. *ārāhya-*: 2 sg. pf. tr. m. *ārāhye* *JŚ* 23r2 (100).

Et. Skt. *ārādhayati* 'propitiates'.

ārīs- 'to decrease' IV a act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ārīšta* Ch 00266. 318 KBT 109.

-*āmātā* abstract: *ārīsāma* Si 128v3 KT 1. 60 tr. *saṅkoca*.

Et. Inch. < **ā-rang-*, v. **ārramj-*.

ārīh- 'to share' mid. tr. ppp. *ārsta-*

1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ārīhe* Or 9609. 3v6-7 KT 1. 232.

3 pl. opt., O.Kh.: *āryāro* *Suv*. K. 33v1 KT 5. 111.

-*āmātā* abstract *ārīyāmātā-* Z 6. 20 (v. S. Konow, *AO*, 1946, 79-80). Cf. also *ārīho* Z 24. 205.

O.Kh. ppp. *ārsta-* Z 2. 223; 4. 94, 115, 120; 10. 8; 20. 46 (H. W. B.). Et. < **ā-raiθ-*. Cf. Av. *raēθwa-* '(sich) mengen' *AIW* 1482. Cf. also B. Sogd. **r'yδ* 'mélanger' P 2. 774, but **r'yδ* < **rāθ-* according to W. B. Henning, *BBB*, p. 69 (560) against Rosenberg, *Izvestija*, 1918, 837.

ārūh- 'to move, shake' V b intr. A ppp. *ārotta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ārūhāte* Z 2. 103, 235.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *ārautta* H 142 NS 47 23v1 KT 5. 87.

O.Kh. ppp. *ārotta-* Z 2. 66; *ārautta-* Z 24. 224.

Et. < **ā-raufya-* < **raup-*, v. *rrūh-*.

ālamgr- 'to adorn' LW tr. ppp. **ālamgrta-*

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *ālagrū* P 3513. 78v4 KBT 63.

ppp. *ālamgrya* P 3513. 54r4 (Asm. 52) tr. **alamkṛta-*; L.Kh. 3 pl. pf. tr.: *ālamgryāmdī* P 2957. 73 KBT 34 = *ālagrrauda* P 2025. 188 KBT 17 = *ālagrauda* Ch 00266. 122 KBT 25.

Et. Skt. *aram-kṛ-*, *alam-kṛ-*; NWPkt *Dhp* 80 *alagido* (*alamkṛta*).

āljs- 'to sing' I b act. tr. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *āljsindā* Z 23. 159; *āljsindī* Z 20. 7; 22. 266; 23. 156.

Et. < **ark/g-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, vii. 2, 1934, 412. Arm. *erg* 'song' LW < Ir. or < IE **erk-* or **erkʰ-* (Pok. 340). O.Ind. *ārcati* 'praises' but *rgmīn-* 'singing' (*RV*).

āvad- 'to obtain' V a act. tr. C ppp. *āvasta-*

3 sg. opt. act., O.Kh.: *āvaiyā* Z 18. 3.

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *āvayāña-* Z 12. 23.

ppp. *āvasta-* Kha 1. 13. 147v3 KBT 7 (O.Kh.), Or 8212. 162. 24 KT 2. 2 (L.Kh.).

Et. < **ā-vad-* (H. W. B.). Cf. 2. *bad-*.

āvun- 'to approve' III b tr. ppp. *orāta-*

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *aunū* P 2026. 69 KT 3. 51.

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *āvunāña* Z 4. 90.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *orātāndī* Z 22. 112; 23. 43; L.Kh.: *auryāmdā* P 2958. 12 KBT 40.

Et. < **ā-fri-na-ti*, ppp. **āfrita*- H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 4, 1942, 907.
Av. *āfrinā*- 'feierlich anwünschen' *AIW* 1017; Parth. 'fryn-, 'fryd
'bénir, louer' (Ghilain, p. 84); Man. Sogd. '(')fryn-, 'fryt 'to bless',
B. 'pryn- (I.G., *GMS*, § 579, p. 91).

āvul- 'to strike, beat' LW tr. ppp. *āvulāta*-

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *āvula* Z 2. 100; 3 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *āvulātu*
Z 2. 101.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *āvulāte* Z 2. 104.

Et. Pkt form of BHS *ākoṭayati* 'beats'; v. *ākūt*-.

āśvāś- 'to comfort' LW tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *āśvāśāte* Z 14. 22.

Et. Skt *āśvāsāyati*.

***āṣṭ-** 'to begin' II b ppp. **āṣṭāta*-

+pres. pt. or inf., H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 589.

+pres. pt.: *mīrām* *JS* 26v3-4, 4 (117).

+inf.: *hvarā* *JS* 17v2 (74).

L.Kh. ppp. *āṣṭa*- < **āṣṭāta*-: 3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *āṣṭi* *JS* 26v3, 4 (117);

3 sg. pf. tr. f.: *āṣṭā* *JS* 17v2 (74).

Et. Secondary formation < *ā+ṣṭ-* q.v. See also *eṣṭ*-.

***āṣṭañ-** 'to begin' ppp. *āṣṭamda*-

+inf., H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 589.

+inf.: *ysanā* P 2834. 40 *KB* 46.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *āṣṭamda* P 2957. 56 *KB* 33.

3 sg. pf. tr. f., L.Kh.: *āṣṭadā* P 2834. 39-40 *KB* 46.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *āṣṭamdamda* P 2783. 234 (73) *KT* 3. 75; Ch
00269. 70 *KT* 2. 45.

Et. Probably a secondary formation due to the influence of *ṣṭ-* and
later **āṣṭ-* on *āṣṭañ-* q.v.

***āsal-** 'to besmear' tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *esalyāñā* *Si* 14713-4 *KT* 1. 90 tr. *bskus-pa*; *esalyāñā*
Si 15211 *KT* 1. 98 tr. *g-yogs*.

Et. < **ā-sard-*, cf. Oss. D. *isārdun* 'to smear' H. W. B., *BSOAS*,
xii. 2, 1948, 330; *KT* 4. 96.

āstañ- 'to begin' VI b tr. A ppp. *āstaṃda*-

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *āstañe* *Si* 6v1 *KT* 1. 10 < **āstañāte*.

1 pl. subj., L.Kh.: *āstañāmanai* P 2787. 153 *KT* 2. 107.

pt. nec.: *āstañāñā*- *Si* 6v3 *KT* 1. 10.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *āstaṃdādi* Or 11252. 32. 1 *KT* 2. 26; *āstadāmdā*
P 2787. 171, 187 *KT* 2. 107, 108.
Et. Denominative < *āstana*- 'beginning' Z 4. 29+, < **ā-stā*-.

āspar- 'to tread' I b or I c act. intr. B ppp. *āspuḍa*-

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *āspīḍā* Z 22. 147.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *āspuḍe* Z 23. 153, 169.

Et. < **ā-spar-*, cf. Av. *spar-* 'schnellen, treten' *AIW* 1613, pres. I c

(3) *spara-*, cf. O.Ind. *sphurati*; NP *supurdan*; Parth. 'bysp'r- 'livrer'

< **upa-spar-* (Ghilain, p. 75).

āh- 'to sit; remain' I a mid. intr. B ppp. *āsta*-

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *āste* Z 6. 18+.

3 sg. subj. mid., O.Kh. *ā'te* Z 2. 222.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ā're* Z 2. 45+.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *āstā* Z 2. 2+.

Et. Av. 'āh- 'sitzen' *AIW* 344, *āste*, *ānhāire*; O.Ind. *āste*.

āhalj- 'to contract' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. **āhrīya*-

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *aihai'jida* Or 8212 (162). b3 *KT* 2. 10.

The *āp.* *λεγ. āhaljānindā* Z 24. 424 is probably for **āhaljāna indā*
(? assuming the verb was originally mid.), cf. *mīrāñiya* *JS* 22v1 (97)
for **mīrāna iya*.

L.Kh. ppp.: *āhrri* *Si* 128v4 *KT* 1. 60; 132r3 *KT* 1. 66, v. H. W. B.,

AM, N.S. xi. 1, 1964, 24.

Et. < **ā-θrak-*.

***āhus-** 'to sweat' IV a intr. ppp. *āhusāta*-

3 sg. pf. m.: *āhusāte* Z 2. 57.

Et. Meaning established H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 71. <

**ā-hvis-* inch. < **ā-hvaid-*. Cf. Av. *x'isa-*; B. Sogd. *γwys-* (I. G.,
GMS, § 539, p. 83).

***āhusāñ-** 'to make sweat' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *āhusāñe* P 2893. 256 *KT* 3. 93.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *āhasāñāñā* *Si* 8v3-4 *KT* 1. 12 tr. *svedanam*; *āhasāñāñā*

Si 121r3 *KT* 1. 48 tr. *duḡs byas-pa*.

Et. Caus. < **āhus-* q.v.

ihaste v. *uhy-*.

iśś- 'to turn back' V e act. tr. A

1 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *iśśāmā* *Suv. K.* 31v5 *KT* 5. 109 tr.

pratinivartayisyāmaḥ.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *iṣṭāte* Z 12. 48.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *iṣṭā* H 147 MBD 25b 42 *KT* 5. 64.
 Nom. ag., O.Kh.: *iṣṭākā* Or 9609. *27v5 *KT* 1. 236 tr. *pratinivartaka*.
 Et. Caus. < *iṣ-* q.v.

is- 'to return' IV a act. or mid. intr. B ppp. *iṣṭa-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: act., *iṣṭā* Z 8. 47; mid., *iṣṭe* Z 2. 61+.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *iṣāre* Z 12. 131; *Suv. K.* 29v3 *KT* 5. 107.
 Inf., O.Kh.: *iṣā* Z 2. 99.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m.: *iṣṭā* Z 20. 48; 24. 252 (O.Kh.); P 2801. 18, 46 *KT* 3. 66, 67; P 2958. 47 *KBT* 41 (L.Kh.).
 2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *iṣṭi* *JS* 32v4 (143).
 Et. < **ā-isa-* inch. < **aiṣ-*. See *hīs-*.

uchānn- 'to cut off' LW tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *uchānnāte* Z 13. 87, 88.
 Et. Skt. *ucchinatti*; NWPkt *uchina Dhp* 299 = Pāli *ucchinda*. Cf. **āchānn-*.

***uthep-** 'to send out' LW tr. ppp. *uthepāta-*

O.Kh. *uthepāte āya* (*Suv. K.* 32r5 *KT* 5. 110 tr. *yoyayitvā*) 'he should send out (army)'.
 Et. Skt. *utthāpayati* 'sends out'.

upekṣ- 'to neglect' LW tr.

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *upekṣāna-* Z 12. 72.
 Et. Skt. *upekṣate* 'neglects'.

upev- 'to produce' LW mid. (? or act.) tr. A ppp. *upautta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *upevāte* H. vii. 150. 1. 15 *KT* 5. 99.
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *upevāri Vajr.* 13a4-b1 *KT* 3. 22 tr. *utpādayiṣyanti*.
 O.Kh. pt. nec.: *upevāna-* Z 4. 89, 94, 120. Some O.Kh. modal forms: *upevāte* (Z 13. 97) 3 sg. subj.; *upevāni* (Z 7. 5) 1 sg. subj.; *upevīyā* (Z 8. 24, 25) 3 sg. opt.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *upauttāmdī* P 3513. 40r4-v1 *KBT* 61.
 Et. Pkt form of BHS *utpādaya-* 'produce'.

uysan- 'to breathe out' ppp. *uysaṃda-*

O.Kh. *uysanā-* 'the breath' Z 20. 57.
 L.Kh., 2 sg. pf. intr. m.: *uysaṃdī JS* 21v4 (94).
 Et. < **uz-an-*. O.Ind. *āniti* 'breathes'.

uysgārñ- 'to redeem' III b mid. tr. ppp. **uysgārāta-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *iysgede* Or 6397. 1. 6 *KT* 2. 66.
 2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *uysgārñu* Z 5. 51; 3 sg. subj., L.Kh.: *uysgināte* Or 9268. 1a10-11 *KT* 2. 13; 3 pl. subj. *uysgināmdē* Or 9268. 1c3 *KT* 2. 14.
 L.Kh. ppp. *iysgārñya* Or 6397. 1. 6 *KT* 2. 66.
 Et. < **us-xrina-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 71. Cf. B. Sogd. *sy'yn-* 'racheter' P 6. 141, 171 < **us-xrīn-* Benv., *TSP*, p. 206.

uysgun- 'to open' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 579. III a act. tr. A/B ppp. *uysgusta-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *uysgunindā* Z. 4. 111.
 O.Kh. ppp. *uysgusta* Z 5. 32; 3 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *uysguste* FM 25. 1a3 *KT* 3. 125; L.Kh., *uysgaustai* P 2801. 67 *KT* 3. 68.
 Et. < **uz-gunda-*. Cf. Parth. *ngwnd-*, *ngwst* 'couvrir, cacher'; **bgwnd-* 'découvrir, révéler' (Ghilain, p. 83); B. Sogd. **py'wnt-* 'découvrir' P.

uysgurs- 'to tear off' IV a act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *uysgursti* Z 20. 42.
 Inch. < **uysgru-* q.v.

***uysgru-** 'to tear' ppp. *uysgruta-*

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *uysgrute* Z 5. 7.
 Et. < **xrav-*, cf. Parth. **xr'w-* 'égratigner' (Ghilain, p. 76) W. B. Henning, *BSOS*, x. 2, 1940, 509.

uysdav- 'to rub, polish; beat; reject, remove' I b act. tr. A/B ppp. **uysduta-*

L.Kh. only. Probably here belong: *āysdyūvi* P 3513. 20r4 *KBT* 56; ||| < u > *ysdyū* Kha 1. 306b. b2 *KBT* 8; ?? *aysdyūva* P 2956. 7 *KT* 3. 36 = *aysdyāva* Ch 00266. 12 *KT* 3. 34 = *aysadrūvq* P 2895. 15 *KT* 3. 40.
 3 pl. pres. act.: *uysduidā* Kha 1. 306b. b1 *KBT* 8; *ūysdvida* Ch 00266. 29 *KT* 3. 35.
 1 sg. pres.: *uysdyūmā* Ch c. 001. 979-80 *KBT* 140 'remove'.
 2 sg. imper.: *uysdvyā Avdh* 13r1 *KT* 3. 6 'reject'.
uysdyāmcīnā Ch c. 001. 893 *KBT* 137 tr. *prrataṣedhani* l. 895.
 Ppp. *uysdva-* in *uysdva-chata* P 3513. 69v2 *KT* 1. 246 tr. *varṇa-avabhāṣita*.
 Et. < **uz-dav-*, v. *dav-*. -y- is secondary L.Kh. palatalization. Some forms may contain **dab-* 'to steal'.

1. **uysdiśś-** 'to throw' H. W. B. V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *uysdiśātā* H 142 NS 61. 47v3 *KT* 5. 29.
Et. See 1. *diśś-*.

2. **uysdiśś-** 'to confess; expound' V e act. tr. A/B

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *uysdiśimā* P 3513. 65v1 *KT* 1. 244 tr. *deśeyam*.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *uysdiśīdi* P 3513. 34r4 *KBT* 59.
Et. Av. *daēsaya-* 'zeigen'; O.Ind. *deśaya-*.

uysdai- 'to look up (at)' I b act. tr. or intr. D ppp. *uysdāta-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *uysdāindī* Z 3. 6; 20. 17, 20.
2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *uysdāya* Z 2. 84; pt. nec., O.Kh.: *uysdiyāñā-*,
uysdyāñā- Or 9609. 36r4 *KT* 1. 236.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *uysdāte* Z 2. 56+.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *uysdātānde* Stein E. 1. 7. 145v4 *KT* 5. 77.
Et. < **uz-day-*, v. *dai-*.

uysdem- 'to cool; extinguish' V e act. tr. A ppp. *uysdaunda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *uysdemāte* Z 5. 36, 49; 22. 186.
3 pl. pres., L.Kh.: *uysdaimīdā* P 3513. 69r1 *KT* 1. 246 tr. *prahlādayan*.
pt. nec., L.Kh.: *uysdaimāñā* Si 101r5-v1 *KT* 1. 36 tr. *bsgrāns-pa*.
ppp., O.Kh.: *uysdaunda-* Z 23. 123.
Et. < **uz-dam-*, v. 1. *dam-*.

uysbāy- 'to lead out' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres.: L.Kh., *uysbāyā* JS 5v1 (17); *uysbāyi* P 2893. 166 *KT* 3.
89; O.Kh. (l), *usbā* *Suv.* K. 63v7 *KT* 5. 115.
Et. Caus. < **uz-vad-*, cf. Av. *uzvādāya-* 'entführen' Yt 17. 59.

***uysbrījs-** 'to roast' tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *aysbrījsāñā* Si 146r2 *KT* 1. 88 tr. *brīnos-pa*.
Et. < **uz-braig-*, v. *brījs-*.

uysvāñ 'to throw up' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *uysvāñātā* N 50. 23.
Et. Caus. < **uz-van-*. Cf. OP *van-* 'throw' Benv., *BSL*, 47, 1951, 26.

usahy- 'to deign to come, go' LW act. intr. A ppp. *usahyāta-*

1 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *usahyāmā* Z 2. 70, 71; *Suv.* K. 31v1 *KT* 5. 109.
2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *usahya* Z 2. 58, 59; 5. 91; ? 3 sg. inj., O.Kh.:
usahyāta SS 16a3 = E 1. 7. 19r3 *KT* 5. 388.

3 sg. pf. m., O.Kh.: *usahyāte* Or 9609. 68r6 *KT* 1. 241. *usahye*
Z 2. 61 is probably 3 sg. opt.
Et. Skt *utsahate* 'endures'; Pāli *ussahati* 'is able'. = *sahy-* q.v.

usāv- 'to encourage' LW tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *usāvātā* Z 11. 49.
Et. ? Pkt form of BHS *utsāhayati* 'encourages'.

uskalj- 'to open' V e tr.

O.Kh. nom. ag.: *uskaljāka-* 'opener' Z 24. 643.
Et. < **us-kark-*, v. *kalj-*.

uskuj- 'to rise up (against)' V c mid. intr. B ppp. *uskujāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *uskuśde* Z 11. 50.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *uskujāre* Z 12. 79.
3 pl. subj., O.Kh.: *uskujāro* Z 12. 70.
1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *uskujātemā* Z 2. 134 'I attacked'.
Et. Caus. < **us-kauk-*. See *hamggūjs-*. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiv. 3,
1961, 480-1.

uskūṣ- 'to act frivolously' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *uskūśdā* Z 12. 75 'acts frivolously' H. W. B.,
BSOAS, xxiv. 3, 1961, 480, n. 4.
Et. < **us-kauś-*.

uskoś- 'to throw out' V e tr.

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *uskośāñā* Or 9609. 53v7 *KT* 1. 238 tr. *nikṣeptavyāñ*.
Et. Caus. < **us-kauz-*. ? cf. Orm. *nikiz-* 'to sow' (< **niś-kūzaya-*
Morg., *NTS*, v, 1932, 24, cf. Paštō *kūz* 'low').

uskhaj- 'to produce' V e tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *eskhejāñā* Si 133r5 *KT* 1. 68 tr. *bskyed*.
Et. Caus. < *uskhajs-* q.v.

uskhajs- 'to rise up' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *uskhasta-*

Nouns: *iskhajsā* Si 7v1 *KT* 1. 10 tr. *abhyudaya* (H. W. B., *AM*,
N.S. vii. 1-2, 1960, 15); *-āmātā* abstract *ūskhājsāmai* P. 2787. 52
KT 2. 103.
3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *uskhaysde* ApS 2b3 *KT* 5. 244 tr. *bhaviṣyanti*;
uskhaysde ApS 3a1 *KT* 5. 244; *u(s)khaysde* ApS 8a1-2 *KT* 5.
245 = *usakhīysde* S 2471. 109, 112, 113 *KBT* 94; *ibid.* 166 *KBT*
96 (-i- ? due to the influence of *ohīys-*).

L.Kh. ppp.: *uskhastā* P 3510. 3. 4 KBT 49; *ūskhastā* P 2787. 55 KT 2. 103; *uskhastā* Ch 1. 0021b, b13 KBT 152; *gūtera jsa uskhastā* Ch 1. 0021a, a. 1-2, KT 2. 53 = *gūtterāni hamye* Ch 1. 0021b, b. 2 KBT 151. Ppp. < *uskhajs-* implying **xač-* H. W. B., BSOAS, x. 4, 1942, 898; but ppp. < (unattested) **uskhah-* (v. **khah-*) H. W. B., AM, n.s. vii. 1-2, 1960, 15-16. If *uskhastā* is < **uskhah-* we have a suppletive system. Cf. also *naṣkhajs-*, *naṣkhastā-*. Et. < **us-k/xak/g-*. Cf. ?

ustar- 'to remove' I b act. tr. B ppp. *ustaḍa-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *istiḍā Si* 148v5 KT 1. 92 tr. *likhet*.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ustarāndā* Z 24. 385.
3 sg. pf. m., L. Kh.: *ustadi Vajr.* 24a3 KT 3. 25 tr. *pramjya*.
Et. < **us-tar-*, cf. NP *usturah* 'razor'; ZP *ustartan* 'to shave'; B. Sogd. *prtr-* 'essuyer' Vj (H. W. B.).

usthamj- 'to pull out' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *usthīya-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *usthamjindā* Z 24. 514.
O.Kh. inf.: *usthamji* Z 13. 75.
3 pl. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *usthīyāndā* Z 5. 30; 23. 160.
Et. See *thamj-*.

uspaśd- 'to produce, cause' VI b tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *uspaśde* Ch 00217. 2r2 KT 3. 135; P 3513. 22v2 KBT 56; *uspaśdi* P 3513. 21v3 KBT 56. *uspaśde* to be read also in P 3513. 31v1 KBT 59 (H. W. B., KT 4. 123).
Nom. ag., L.Kh.: *uspaśdā'ki* Ch 00268. 214 KBT 68; *uspaśdā'ki* ibid. 224 KBT 69.
Et. < **us-pazdaya-*, v. *tvaśd-*.

usphan- 'to be happy' I b act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *usphanindā* H [02]. 1b4 KT 5. 90 = N 113. 14.
Et. < **us-fan-*, v. *naṣphan-*. In the Pamir languages **usfan-* has the literal sense 'to rise', e.g. Rōš. *sifan*, *sifod* (v. V. A. Sokolova, *Bartangskie teksty i slovar'*, Moscow, 1960, 154).

usphir- 'to splash' V e intr.

L.Kh. pres. pt.: *asphīramdai* JS 8v3 (32); *usphīradai* Ch 00266. 147 KBT 27 = P 2025. 223 KBT 19 = *uphvīramdai* P 2957. 91 KBT 35; *asphīraca* Ch 00266. 10-11 KT 3. 34 = *asphīrācā* P 2895. 13-14 KT 3. 40 = *asphīrāca* P 2025. 19 KT 3. 46.
Et. < **us-far-aya-* 'to splash', cf. Oss. D. *purx(ä)* I. *pyrx* 'splashing water, spray' H. W. B., BSOAS, xxi. 3, 1958, 539; IE **per-* (v. Pok. 809) H. W. B., *Morg. Vol.*, 1964, 12.

usphis- 'to splash; flash' IV a intr.

L.Kh. pres. pt.: *ūsphīsadai* P 2787. 80 KT 2. 104; *ūsphīsa[ra]dā* P 2787. 77-78 KT 2. 104 (-*ra-* due to adj. *usphīsara-*: *ūsphīsaryām* P 2787. 69-70 KT 2. 104).
Et. Meaning is 'splash' (of water), 'flash' (of rays). Possibly inch. < **bag-*, cf. O.Ind. *bhājati* 'sich auf den Weg machen' (H. W. B.). If Kh. *ph* can be < O.Ir. **θw-*, we may have inch. of **θwīś-*, O.Ind. *twīś-* (I.G.). But cf. **phīś-* p. 90.

uhar- 'to watch over' LW act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *uharīde* P 3513. 62v4-63r1 KT 1. 243 tr. *samanvāharantu*; *uharīde* P 3513. 66r3 KT 1. 245 tr. *vyava-lokayantu*.
Et. ? Pkt form of Skt *upahar-*, cf. BHS *ohāra-* 'domicile, abode'; Amg *oharai* 'establish, settle'.

uhy- 'to shoot' tr. ppp. *ihasta-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *uhyāñā* P 2957. 123 KBT 37.
3 sg. pf. m.: O.Kh., *ihaste* Z 13. 73; L. Kh., *uhyastai* P 2783. 231 (70) KT 3. 75.
Et. ? reduplication of **ah-* 'throw' (Av. *zah-*, O.Ind. *āsyati*) H. W. B., BSOAS, xxiii. 1, 1960, 16.

ūm- 'to fall asleep' intr. ppp. *ūmāta-*

O.Kh. pres. pt.: *ūmanda-* Z. 11. 29.
ppp., O.Kh.: *ūmāta-* Z 4. 71; L.Kh., 3 sg. pf. m.: *ūmye* P 3513. 59v1 KT 1. 242; *umye* Ch 00268. 226 KBT 69.
Et. < **ava-hvap-* in **humna-* in Mid.Pers. *xum* H. W. B., KT 4. 133. Presumably denominative. If *ūy-* is from **ava-day-* as suggested by H. W. B., then *ūmāta-* may be < **ava-mita-*, cf. B. Sogd. *mytk* 'closed' (on which see H. W. B., BSOAS, xxiii. 1, 1960, 23). *ūm-* would then be for **ūmy-*, cf. O.Kh. *pāmā* for **pāyāmā* p. 86.

ūmījs- 'to awake' I c act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ūmīsdā* Kha. 1. 211. 113v4 KT 5. 164.
Et. *ū-* < **ava-*? **maik/g-*, v. *nāmājs-*.

ūy- 'to survey' tr. A

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *ūyāñā* P 3510. a r2 KT 3. 111; *uyyāñā* P 3510. g3r2 KT 3. 111.
3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *uye* P 3510. d2v3-g3r1 KT 3. 111.
Et. = *vūy-* q.v.

ūs- 'to sleep' IV a act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ūstā* Hed. 23. 11 *KT* 4. 36.
Et. See *hūs-*.

ešt- 'to endure' II b act. intr. A ppp. *eštāta-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *ešte* P 2025. 232 *KBT* 19.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *eštindā* H 142 NS 59 r4 *KT* 5. 28.
2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *eštara* P 2783. 220 (59) *KT* 3. 75 'have courage'
H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 572.
ppp., O.Kh.: *eštāta-* Z 23. 27; 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *eštyai* JS 18v1
(78); 30v4 (135).
Et. ? < **ā-hišta-* < **ā-stā-*. Cf. also **āšt-*, *št-*.

eh- 'to reach' V b mid. intr. A ppp. *autta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ehāte* Z 24. 236 'lasts'.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ehāre* H 143a NSB 4r3 *KT* 5. 84 = N. 93. 24.
O.Kh. ppp. *autta-* Z 24. 237.
Et. < **āfyā-* < **āp-*, v. *byev-*, *byeh-*.

oys- 'to be angry' I b mid. intr. B

+I-A (Comit.) R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 32 (§ IV. 10 (a)).
3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *oysde* Z 2. 137+; *auysde* Z 2. 133; 12. 43.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *oysārā* Z 15. 8; *oysāre* Suv. 66v2 *KT* 5. 117.
Et. < **ā-vaz-* H. W. B., cf. semantically, O.Ind. *kopa-* m. 'anger' <
kup- 'shake'.

aurāśś- 'to inform' V e tr. ppp. *orašta-*

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *aurāśśāna-* Z 12. 28.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *orašte* Z 23. 92.
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *aurāštāmdā* P 2801. 37 *KT* 3. 66.
Et. < **ā-frās-aya-*, caus. < **ā-fras-*, cf. Av. *ā.fras-* AIW 999.

auś- 'to anger' V e act. tr. A ppp. *aušta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *osātā* Suv. K. 64r4 *KT* 5. 115.
3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *osīyā* Z 18. 47 *KT* 5. 355; *auśā* Z 3. 69.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *ošte* Z 2. 209; 23. 106.
1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *auštāimā* Z. 12. 82.
Et. < **ā-vāzaya-*, caus. < **ā-vaz-*, v. *oys-*.

kaṃggan- 'to dig' II c act. tr. B ppp. *kaṃggata-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kaṃggāndi* Z 2. 28.
3 sg. pf. tr. m. (opt.), O.Kh.: *kaṃggate* iyā Z 4. 61.
Et. < **kan-* 'dig' with intensive reduplication as in O.Ind. *caṃkhan-*
(Leumann, 'E', p. 407 s.v.). Av. *²kan-* 'graben' AIW 437; MPe

**kn-*, *qnd* (*Verbum*, p. 172); Man. B. Sogd. *kn-* (I. G., *GMS*,
§ 577, p. 91).

kañ- 'to be thrown' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *kañāre* Z 24. 515.
Et. < **kan-ya-*, pass. < **kan-* 'throw', v. *kāñ-*, *pārāñ-*.

kalj- 'to strike' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *krīya-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kaljāndā* Z 14. 83; L.Kh.: *ka'jīmdā* Or
11344. 7. 2 *KT* 2. 35; *ka'jīdā* P 2025. 52 *KT* 3. 47 = *kejīda*
P 2956. 33 *KT* 3. 38 = *ke'jīda* Ch 00266. 35 *KT* 3. 35 (quoted
H. W. B., *AM*, n.s., ii. 1, 1951, 25).
3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hrrīye* P 2801. 45 *KT* 3. 67; O.Kh. ppp. in
akrīya- Z 13. 114 'unstruck'.
Et. Iter. < **kark-*, v. *kaljs-*.

kaljs- 'to be struck' I b mid. intr. (= pass.) B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *kalste* Z 20. 57; 24. 379 'resounds'.
Et. < **kurk-* < IE **krek-* 'schlagen' (Pok. 618). The basic meaning
of this group of words must be 'strike'. The meaning 'sound' (cf.
IE **kleg-* 'klingen' Pok. 599) would suit *kalste* and also *kalj-* 'to
make resound (drum)', but not *uskalj-*, *naṣkalj-* q.vv. *kalste* was
taken as inch. by S. Konow, *NTS*, xi, 1939, 44, but the inch. is
hrrīs- q.v. As mid. I b *kalste* suffers from the same phonological
difficulty as 3 sg. pres. *pasūste* (v. *pasūjs-*), but in this case the inch.
(*hrrīs-*) cannot help. The devoicing must be of the type *št* for *śd*,
see p. 192.

kaśś- meaning: see below. V b mid. intr. B ppp. *kašta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *kaštā* Z 22. 320; 24. 451; *kašte* Z 2. 111, 118;
10. 12; 11. 27; 24. 504.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *kaśśāre* Z 10. 11; 11. 17, 31, 33, 47.
ppp. *akašta* P 3513. 48v2-3 *KT* 1. 225 tr. *asakta-*. *kašte* Z 24. 178
could be 3 sg. pf. tr. m. 'attached'; *kašta* Z 23. 36. 3 sg. pf. intr. f.
'was attached'. But *ttye vī kašta* P 2025. 156 *KBT* 16 = *ttya vī*
kašta Ch 00266. 97 *KBT* 24 = *ttye vī ā* P 2957. 49 *KBT* 33.
Et. *kaśś-* < **kas-ya-*, cf. *ātas-*. That *kas-* is inch. < **kaf-* as implied
by H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 30 seems unlikely as **kafs-* should result
in **kaus-* like *ttaus-* < **tafs-*. The statement that *kaśś-* is 'inchoa-
tive of *kas-* < **kaf-s-*' (Dresden, p. 471 s.v. *kaś-*) is meaningless to
me. Three verbs may be hidden here according to H. W. B., *AM*,
n.s. ii. 1, 1951, 31:

1. *kašte* 'falls' Ch 00268. 47 *KBT* 103 etc., cf. Oss. D. *xaun*;
Parth. *kf-*, *kft*.

2. *kašta-* 'attached' with **kaz-*, cf. Arm. LW *kazm* 'order, ornament' (H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. i, 1949, 45).

3. *kašte* 'appears' Z 2. 118 < **kas-*, cf. Oss. D. *käsun* 'appear'. *kašta-* 'attached' could, however, be from a base **kas-* and this has been found in Oss. D. *nixäsun* 'to cling' (H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1961, 54; *KT* 4. 90). Unless this is really 'fall down upon', we still lack an etymology for **kas-* 'fall'. In further support of a base **kaz-*, H. W. B. has given me Sogd. *k'z'kh* 'hut', cf. NP *kāz* 'den of wild beasts', *kāzah* 'house' (W. B. Henning, *TPS*, 1945, 158, n. 3).

kas- 'to fall' (?) act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kasindä* Kha 00r3c6. b3 *KT* 5. 125.
Et. Cf. *ātas-*, *kašš-*.

kāñ- 'to throw' V e act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kāñindä* Z 2. 80.
Et. Iter. < **kan-* 'throw', v. *kañ-*, *pārāñ-*.

kār- 'to pull, draw' I d act. tr. A/B ppp. *kāda-* H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 12.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kārindä* Z 24. 420.
ppp. *kāda-*: *kādä* P 2956. 70-71 *KT* 3. 39 = *kāda* P 2022. 24 *KT* 3. 43.
Et. < **kar-*, cf. Av. **kar-* 'einfurchen' *AIW* 449; **karš-* 'trahere' *AIW* 456, v. Mayrh. s.v. *kāršati*.

kāt- 'to think; protect' I b act. tr. intr. B ppp. *kāšta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *kei'tä* Z 2. 5+.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kāti'ndi* Z 4. 67.
1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *kāštaimä* Z 3. 109.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *kāštāndä* Z 22. 234.
Probably inf.: *kešte* Kha 1. 133. 3a4 *KT* 5. 149.
Et. < **kaš-*, cf. Av. *kaš-* 'lehren' *AIW* 461, s-extension from Av. *kas-* 'perceive' *AIW* 459.

1. **kuš-** 'to look at' I c mid. tr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *kušde* Z 22. 249.
Et. < **kauš-*, cf. B. Sogd. *tk'wš-* 'regarder' (H. W. B., *BSOS*, vi. 1, 1930, 74).

2. ***kuš-** 'to agitate; flay' ppp. *kušta-*

3 pl. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *kuštāde* JS 28r2 (122); *kuštāmdē* JS 34r4 (150). ppp. *kušta-* JS 24v2 (106).

Et. < **kauš-*. See H. W. B. ap. Dresden, p. 472 s.v. *kausta-*. Cf. also Av. *fra . . . kušaiti* V. 5. 34; Parth. *qwš-*, *kwš'd* 'combattre' (Ghilain, p. 66); MPe *kwš-*, *kwšt* 'töten' (*Verbum*, p. 168); MPe *qwš-* 'streiten, kämpfen' (*Verbum*, p. 184); ZP *kwšš-*; NP *kōšidan*, *kuštan*.

kūṭ- 'to grind' LW tr. ppp. **kūṭāta-*

L.Kh. pt. nec. *kūṭāñq* Si 109v4 *KT* 1. 48 tr. *btagš* 'grind'.
L.Kh. ppp.: *kūṭya-* P 2893. 201 *KT* 3. 90.
Et. Skt *kuṭṭayati* 'crushes'.

kūs- 'to seek' V e act. tr. A ppp. *kūysda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *kūṣātā* Z 5. 10; Kha 1. 112b2 *KT* 5. 144; *kūṣāte* Z 5. 94, 112.
3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *kūṣindä* Z 7. 2; 13. 3; *kūṣindi* Z 11. 64; 13. 145;
L.Kh., *kūṣim'dä* P 2790. 70 *KT* 2. 112.
O.Kh. inf.: *kūṣā* Z 3. 74; 23. 107.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *kūysde* Z 5. 9, 112.
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *kūysdāmdē* JS 36v1 (159).
O.Kh. inf.: *kūṣde* Z 23. 144, 145; 24. 431.
Et. Meaning 'seek', not 'protect', H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 71.
kūṣ- has been noticed once only, O.Kh. *kūṣāro* Kha 1. 129a1. b2 *KT* 5. 147. The consistent use of O.Kh. *-š-/L.Kh. -s'* requires interpretation < **kauz-*. H. W. B. compares Arm. LW *xoyz-* 'search'. In any case, *kūs-* cannot possibly be inch. as Dresden, p. 472 s.v. *kūys-*. *kūs-* is probably iter. < **kauz-*. The ppp. *kūysda-* is exceptional; it may represent **kauzata-* with secondary contact of *-z-* and *-i-* as in the 3 sg. pres. of verbs in **-z*, e.g. *haraysde* < **fra-razatai*.

ker- 'to plant' V e act. tr. A/B suppletive ppp. *kilsta-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kerindi* Z 22. 125.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *kälste* Z 4. 35; *kilste* Z 4. 61.
2 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *kälstāndä sta* Suv. K. 30v6 *KT* 5. 108 tr. *avaropita-*.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *kilstāmdä* Kha 1. 170v2 *KT* 1. 255.
L.Kh. ppp.: *kai'stā* P 2741. 117 *KT* 2. 91; *kaista* P 2891. 19 *KT* 3. 80 (H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. i, 1949, 46).
Et. < **kāraya-*, **kršta-*. The same suppletive system in Av.: *kāraya-*, *haršta-*; MPe *q'r-*, *kyšt* 'säen' (*Verbum*, p. 192). B. Sogd. has *kyr-* 'to sow' < **kāraya-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 540, n. 1, p. 84); Man. Sogd. *kšt-* < **kršta-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 147, p. 21). Parth. has *kyšt* 'semer' (Ghilain, p. 98). See R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxix. 3, 1966, 612-13.

krris- 'to be beaten' IV a intr.

L.Kh. -āmātā abstr.: *krrisāme* P 3513. 61r1 *KT* 1. 242 tr. *ākotyamānāyā*.

Et. Inch. < **kark-*, v. *kaljs-*, p. 21.

kṣam- 'to endure' (trans.): Z 11. 45+. +inf.: *kṣamātā* . . . *dyte* Z 20. 18; *nā kṣamūdā pyūṣṭā* E 1. 7 19r3 *KT* 5. 388 tr. *notsahāmi śrotuṃ* ? LW act. tr. intr. A ppp. **kṣaunda-*

intr.: (a) 'to please' + G-D: *kṣamātā mā balysūstā* (Z 12. 31) 'bodhi pleases me' (dat., cf. R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 29, § III. 10); (b) 'to forgive' + I-A (comitative, R. E. E., *ibid.*, p. 32, § IV. 10 (b)): *kṣama muho jsa* (Z 5. 45) 'forgive me'.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *kṣamātā* Z 11. 45+.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kṣamūdā* Z 19. 60; Otani 5-6a1 *KT* 5. 314.

3 sg. pf. m., L.Kh.: *kṣaudi* *ṣS* 18r1 (76); *kṣām' da* P 2801. 9 *KT* 3. 65.

Et. ? LW < O.Ind. *kṣamate*, *kṣamyate*. Or cf. Av. *xṣamōnē* (Y. 29. 9); Paštō *xyamal* 'to bear' *EVP* 101.

kṣamev- 'to ask forgiveness of; take leave of' ? LW V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *kṣamotta-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kṣamevimā* Z 1. 189; 2. 125, 127.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kṣamevindā* Z 12. 84.

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *kṣamotte* Z 5. 111; L.Kh., *kṣi'mautte* P 2958. 88 *KB* 41.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *kṣamauttauda* Ch 00266. 188 *KB* 29.

O.Kh. inf.: *kṣamvattā* Z 2. 126.

Et. See *kṣam-*. Cf. also BHS *kṣamāpayati* 'asks pardon; takes leave of'.

kṣimj- 'to desire, long for' III d act. tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *kṣimjāte* Z 5. 64; *kṣijāte* Z 5. 64.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kṣimjyindā* Z 2. 226; *kṣimjindā* Z 3. 16; L.Kh., *kṣaijīdā* P 2022. 14 *KT* 3. 43; *kṣaijīda* P 2956. 31 *KT* 3. 38.

Et. < **xṣi-n-j-aya-*, cf. Oss. D. *āxsidzga* 'pleasant' < O.Ir. **xṣija-*, I. G., *BSOAS*, xxvi. 1, 1963, 193 (I.G.).

kṣiy- 'to be thrown' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *kṣiyāre* Z 2. 43; *kṣyāre* Z 21. 23.

Et. < **xṣub-ya-* rather than < **xṣvīp-ya-*, see on *kṣāv-*.

kṣār- 'to be ashamed' V c mid. intr. A/B ppp. *kṣāḍa-*

+ I-A (comitative): *ṣṣūjātena* Z 20. 17.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *kṣārāre* Z 20. 17.

O.Kh. ppp. *kṣāḍa-* Z 19. 73; 22. 99.

Et. < O.Ir. **ṣār-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxi. 3, 1958, 542. Cf. the inchoatives, Parth. *ṣfrs-* 'être confus'; Chr. Sogd. *ṣfrs-* 'be ashamed' (I. G., *GMS*, § 441, p. 67); B. Sogd. *ṣβ'rs-* P 2. 654.

1. **kṣāv-** 'to throw' V a tr. A ppp. *kṣautta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *kṣāvātā* Z 20. 49.

O.Kh. ppp. *kṣautta-* Z 2. 44; 20. 40.

Et. *kṣāv-* is probably secondary for **kṣuv-*, cf. *nikṣuv-*, **nikṣautta-*; **prakṣiv-*, *prakṣautta-*. Hence, < O.Ir. **xṣaub-*, cf. Av. *xṣaob-* in *xṣufsa-* Yt 10. 113; NP *āṣuftan*, v. *āḥṣuv-*. Earlier suggestions are to be rejected: *kṣautta-* caus. ppp. < *kṣāv-* to O.Ind. *kṣip-* Leumann, 'E', p. 414 s.v. *kṣāv-*; LW < O.Ind. *kṣapila-* S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 48. A suppletive system < O.Ir. **xṣvaip-* and **xṣaub-* is, however, possible. **xṣvaip-* is known in Av. *xṣviv-*; Parth. *ṣyft* 'troubler' (Ghilain, p. 95); MPe *ṣyb-* 'zittern' (*Verbum*, p. 180); NP *ṣēb* 'whip'; Sogd. *xwṣyp* 'whip' < **xṣvaipa-* (*Sogdica*, p. 23 (17, 18)). Possibly *kṣāv-* and *kṣuv-* have been conflated.

2. **kṣāv-** 'to cry (of birds)' (H. W. B.) VI b intr. A

3 pl. opt., O.Kh.: *kṣāvūru* Z 4. 63; L.Kh., *kṣvīrā* P 2891. 39 *KT* 3. 81.

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *kṣāvū* P 2936. 6 *KT* 3. 108 (< **kṣavā*, L.Kh. for older **kṣāvātā*, +u 'and'; see H. W. B. ap. R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxix. 3, 1966, 614).

Et. < **xṣiū-*, *u*-extension to **xṣai-* 'lament' in Av. *xṣyō* (Y. 31. 20), Yidgha *xṣi-im* 'weep' (*IIFL*, ii. 269), cf. B. Sogd. *ṣṣ'ywn* 'lamentation' (P, *VJ*), NP *ṣēvan*.

kṣer- 'to make ashamed' V e tr.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *kṣera* *Avdh* 20r1 *KT* 3. 11.

Et. < **ṣār-aya-*. Caus. < *kṣār-*, H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxi. 3, 1958, 542.

khad- 'to wound, hurt' V a act. tr. C ppp. *khasta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *khaittā* Kha 1. 182a1. a1 *KT* 5. 153. Here also belongs L.Kh. *khaitti* Hed. 17. 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16 *KT* 4. 31. *cu vara khaitti* 'when it hurts there' (not 'he who aches there' as *KT* 4. 109-10).

O.Kh. ppp. *khasta-* Z 13. 81; 15. 43; 24. 411.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *khaṭādā* *ṣS* 7v1 (27).

Et. Cf. NP *xastan* 'to wound' H. W. B., *KT* 4. 115. Av. *xad-*; Parth. *xst* (Ghilain, p. 81).

khan- 'to laugh' I b act. intr. B ppp. **khamtta-*

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *khūtā* *Si* 125v3 *KT* 1. 54 tr. *rgod-pa*; *khūta*

P 2025. 37 *KT* 3. 46 = id. Ch 00266. 24-25 *KT* 3. 35 = id. P 2956. 20 *KT* 3. 37 L.Kh. for **khimttā*.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *khanīndi* Z 20. 20.

O.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *khanandaa-* Z 3. 61; 23. 141.

3 sg. pf. m., L.Kh.: *khatta* P 2783. 173 (12) *KT* 3. 73 < ppp. **khamtta-*, as tr. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 568 not 'laughs' as ibid., p. 589.

Et. < O.Ir. **xand-*, cf. Parth. *xnd-* (Ghilain, p. 54); MPe *xn-* (*Verbum*, p. 171); NP *xand-*; B. Sogd. *γnt-* 'rire' *Vj* 1355.

**khah-* 'to appear' V a act. intr. C

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *khaittā* P 5538a 12 *KT* 2. 126 'appears' (H. W. B.).

Et. ? Cf. also *uskhajs-*, *naṣkhajs-*.

kh(ā)- 'to open' tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *khāñā* Si 150v4 *KT* 1. 96 tr. *gtar*; *khañā* P 2025. 222-3 *KBT* 19 = id. Ch 00266. 146 *KBT* 27 = *khūmāñā* P 2957. 91 *KBT* 35.

Et. O.Ir. **kā-* 'to open', v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 35, n. 8. Here perhaps belongs Av. *xā-* 'Quelle, Brunnen'.

khās- 'to eat, drink' V e act. tr. A ppp. *khaṣṭa-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *khāsāte* Z 23. 42; 24. 412.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *khāṣindā* Z 3. 59.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *khaṣtai* StH 57 *KT* 2. 75 (H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. ii. 1, 1951, 35).

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *khaṣtāmdā* P 2957. 80 *KBT* 35 = *khaṣtauda* P 2025. 197 *KBT* 18 = id. Ch 00266. 129 *KBT* 26.

O.Kh. ppp. *khaṣṭa-* Z 2. 120; 23. 42. *khīṣte* Z 5. 64; 11. 55; 24. 214 is probably a noun. The O.Kh. ppp. *khāṣṭa-* may have been specialized in a caus. sense 'give to eat/drink': *khāṣṭā* Z 24. 439 ('getränk't' 'E', p. 415); ? *khi* < *ṣtāndā* > H 142 NS 46r4 *KT* 5. 96. It is difficult to explain this as a caus. formation with umlaut (so H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxi. 3, 1958, 523). The verb may originally have been reciprocal in meaning like many other Ir. verbs, e.g. Av. *baxš-* 'Anteil haben, geben'. *khās-* in relation to *khāysa-* resembles caus./iteratives such as *rrās-*. For *khaṣṭa-/khāṣṭa* in O.Kh. cf. *padanda-/padānda-*.

Et. Denom. < *khāysa-* as Leumann, 'E', p. 415 s.v. *khās-*, is possible, but ppp. *khaṣṭa-*, unless formed secondarily on the analogy of *rrās-*, *rraṣṭa-*, seems to imply a base **xax-*, and as this is found also in the noun *khaṣa-* Or 9609. 53r3 *KT* 1. 237+ tr. *pāna-*, class V e

seems certain. Cf. Parth. *x'x-* 'devorer' (Ghilain, p. 59); NP *xāyīdan*.

khij- 'to be troubled' LW act. intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *khājātā* Z 15. 8.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *khijindā* Z 12. 83.

Et. BHS *khijjati*, -te 'is tormented, wearied'.

**khijev-* 'to torment' LW tr. ppp. **khijautta-*

L.Kh. ppp. *khejautte* *JS* 34r3 (149); *khajauttā* P 2801. 18 *KT* 3. 66.

Et. Caus. < *khij-* q.v.

khaus- 'to move' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *khaṣṭa-*

3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *khausde* Si 8r2 *KT* 1. 12 tr. *hgyur*; *khuāysda* P 4099. 92 *KBT* 117.

L.Kh. pres. pt.: *khoysamdaa-* *JS* 33r2 (144); Si 150r3 *KT* 1. 94.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *khaṣṭā* *JS* 12v3 (51).

Et. Uncertain. I. G., *Bibl. Orient.* xv. 6, 1958, 263, cf. Av. *xawza-* 'pedicans'.

khaus- 'to make move' V e tr. ppp. *khaṣṭa-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *khausāñā* Si 153r5 *KT* 1. 100 tr. *bsgul-žin* (quoted H. W. B., *KT* 4. 132; *BSOAS*, xxvi. 1, 1963, 89).

L.Kh. ppp.: *khaṣṭa-* Hed. 23. 10 (22) *KT* 4. 36.

Et. Caus. < *khaus-*.

khvīh- 'to be disturbed' V b intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *khvīhātā* Z 13. 22 'is disturbed' (H. W. B.). For the meaning, cf. the dyadic expression *akhvīhānau akṣubhyā* Or 9609. 4r4 *KT* 1. 233.

Et. ? < **kaufya-* < **kaup-*, cf. O.Ind. *kūpyati* 'shakes' > 'is angry'. v. *pachus-*.

gach- 'to suffer' ? V b

L.Kh. only: *gachānām* *jsa* Si 125v2 *KT* 1. 54 tr. *gduñs*; *gachānai* P 2958. 113 *KBT* 42 (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 577).

Et. ? < **ava-ačya-*. See *vyach-*.

ggaḍ- 'to lie about' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ggaltte* Z 24. 450.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ggaḍāre* Z 2. 44; 20. 44, 62; 21. 28; 24. 409, 411, 422.

Et. < **gart-*, cf. MPe *grd-* (*Verbum*, p. 170); NP *gardīdan* 'to turn';

Orm. *gal-* 'lying down' < **gart-* (Morg., *NTS*, v, 1932, 16). On **gart-*/**vart-*, see Morg., *EVP*, 27 s.v. *γaṛal*.

**gatcañ-* 'to break' III d tr. ppp. *gatcasta-*

L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *gatciñāmā* Ch ii 004. 3r4 *KBT* 145.

L.Kh. ppp.: *gatcasta* Ch ii 004. 3v1 *KBT* 145; *gatcastā* P 2741. 110 *KT* 2. 91.

Et. = **vatcañ-* q.v. < **ava-skand-*. Forms and et. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 22.

ggañih- 'to moisten' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 21-24. tr. A ppp. **ggañista-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ggañihāte* Z 19. 66.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *gañihāña* JP 56v1 *KT* 1. 147.

L.Kh. ppp.: *ganaista-* Si 6v3 *KT* 1. 10.

Et. < **nai-d/θ-*, v. H. W. B., loc. cit. On *gga-*, see p. 230.

**ggarah-* 'to reproach' LW ppp. *ggarahāta-*

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *ggarahāte* Z 23. 126; pseudo-archaic, *ggarahyātai* Z 23. 170; L.Kh., *garahye* P 2798. 167 *KBT* 43 = *ga(ra)hye* P 2958. 49 *KBT* 41.

Et. BHS *garahati* 'censures'; O.Ind. *gārhati*; Pāli *garahati*, *garahita-*.

ggalj- 'to thunder' V e act. intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ggaljāte* Z 4. 107.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ggaljāndi* Z 2. 19+.

Et. < O.Ir. **garg-*. Cf. O.Ind. *gārjati* 'roars' Leumann, 'E', p. 418.

ggän- 'to buy' III b mid. tr. B ppp. *ggārāta-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *ggändā* Z 22. 209; L.Kh., *gimde* P 2958. 68 *KBT* 41 = *gidi* P 2798. 185 *KBT* 44.

1 pl. pres., L.Kh.: *gīnām* P 5538b 81 *KT* 3. 124 tr. *grrāṇṇayamī*.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *gīnāre* P 2031. 14 *KT* 2. 84.

ppp., O.Kh. *ggārāta-*: 3 sg. pf. tr. f., *ggārātātā* Z 13. 76; inf. *ggārāte* SS 77v5 *KT* 5. 339; L.Kh. ppp. *gīrya-*: 1 pl. pf. tr., *gīryāmdūm* P 2031. 21 *KT* 2. 84.

Et. < **xrina-* < **xray-*. See H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 71; *KT* 4. 92-93. MPe *xryn-* 'kaufen' (*Verbum*, p. 200); Parth. ppp. *xryd* 'acheter' (Ghilain, p. 96); B. Sogd. *yr'yn-* 'acheter' *Vj*.

ggih- 'to help' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 584. mid. tr. intr. B ppp. *ggīsta-*

+inf.: Z 23. 105.

+G-D (dat.) R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 29, § III. 10 (a).

1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ggihā* Z 12. 51.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ggitte* Z 12. 114, 115; 19. 74.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *gīhyarā* P 2781. 103 (35) *KT* 3. 69.

ppp. *ggīsta-* H vii. 150. 1r1 *KT* 5. 98; 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *gīstai*

JS 36v1 (159); inf. *gīste* Hed. 7. 9 *KT* 4. 25.

The L.Kh. form *gīhidai* P 2022. 39 *KT* 3. 44 appears to be 3 pl. pres. act.!

Et. ? Forms imply **gaid-* or **gaiθ-*.

**gujsabalj-* 'to overcome; disperse' V e tr. A ppp. *gujsabrriya-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *gūjsaba'ji* P 3513. 55v3-4 (Asm. 59); *gūjsabaija* P 2739. 42 *KT* 2. 86. Mid. according to Asm., p. 56 s.v.—gratuitous assumption.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *gujsabrriya* Ch 00266. 49 *KBT* 22 = *gvāḍai* P 2025. 88 *KBT* 14.

Et. < **barg-*, v. *tcabalj-*. On *gujsa-*, see p. 243.

gujsabris- 'to be dispersed' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *gujsabrriya-*

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *gūjsabrriṣṭa* P 3513. 37v3-4 *KBT* 60.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *gūjsabrriṣṭida* P 2025. 57 *KT* 3. 47 = id. Ch 00266. 39 *KT* 3. 35 = *gūbrriṣṭida* P 2956. 38 *KT* 3. 38.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *gujsebrriya* JS 35r1 (153).

Et. Inch. < **barg-*, v. *tcabris-*.

gujsar- 'to harm' I b act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *gūjsarimda* P 2783. 187 (26) *KT* 3. 73.

Et. ? Meaning 'harm'. ? < **vi-čar-*. ἀπ. λεγ. See H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 590.

gguph- 'to dispraise' ? III a tr.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *ggupha* Avdh 18r2 *KT* 3. 9.

Et. Uncertain, as ἀπ. λεγ. Possibly L.Kh. spelling for **ggumph-* as O.Ir. *-f- > -h- and *-b- > -v-. According to H. W. B., *Adyar*, 1962, 7 the meaning is 'dispraise', pejorative development of O.Ir. **gaub-*. OP *gaub-*; MPe *gw-*, *gwpt* 'sagen' (*Verbum*, p. 184); NP *gōy-*, *guft*; Man. Sogd. *γwβ-*, *γwβt-* 'praise' (I. G., *GMS*, § 589, p. 92).

**ggumal-* 'to besmear' tr. ppp. **ggumalsta-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *gūmalyāñā* Si 122r1 *KT* 1. 50 tr. *bskus*.

O.Kh. ppp.: *ggumālsta-* Z 21. 11.

1 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *gūmaistāmdūm* Ch 00269. 42 *KT* 2. 44 (v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xii. 3-4, 1948, 621).

Et. < *vi-mard-. See murr-. The simplex is now attested in the ppp. *malsta*- Z. 2. 139; see R.E.E., BSOAS, xxx. 1, 1967, 92-93.

ggumerāñ- 'to remove' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ggumerāñāte* Z 5. 11.

Et. < *vi-māraya-, cf. Oss. D. *lāmārun* 'auspressen' H. W. B. ap. S. Konow, NTS, xi. 1939, 73.

gusprriś- 'to shine out' IV a intr.

Only in L.Kh. pres. pt. 'the east', v. H. W. B., AM, N.S. 1, 1949, 33, 40. *gusprriśamcā* P 2741. 24 KT 2. 88; *gusprriśamcāštā* ibid. 26; *gusprriśaca* P 2896. 45 KT 3. 95.

Et. Inch. < *vi-sparg-. Cf. Parth. *wyspryt* 'issu' ppp. < *vi-sparg- (Ghilain, p. 97).

gguhad- 'to harm, wound' V a act. tr. C ppp. *gguhasta-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *gguhaimā* Z 2. 199.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *guhei* D. III. 1. 8r5 KT 5. 69.

L.Kh. -āmatā abstract: *guhāme jsa* Si 136r5 KT 1. 72 tr. *hšata*.

L.Kh. ppp. *aguhasta* Ch 00266. 140-1 KBT 26 'invincible' = *agvīhasti* P 2957. 86 KBT 35 = *agvehasta* P 2025. 214 KBT 18.

Et. < *vi-xad-, cf. Parth. *wyxs*- 'être béni', inch. < *vi-xad- (Ghilain, p. 81).

ggūch- 'to deliver, set free' V b act. tr. A/B ppp. *ggūta-*

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *ggūchūm* Avdh 12r3 KT 3. 5.

1 sg. subj., O.Kh.: *ggūchīñi* Z 4. 110.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *gūchīde* P 3513. 66v3 KT 1. 245 tr. *mocayantu*. ppp., O.Kh.: *ggūta-* Z 3. 142 (v. *ggūs-*); 3 pl. pf. tr., *ggūvāndā* Dumaqu 0119. 89v2 KT 5. 263 tr. *mokṣayitvā*; L.Kh., *gūva-* JS 35v4 (156).

Et. < *vy-auč-ya- H. W. B., IIj, ii. 2, 1958, 157 < *vi-*auk-* 'dis-sociate' H. W. B., BSOAS, x. 4, 1942, 900. Av. *aok-* in *ušyāi* Y. 43. 15 etc., see H. W. B., TPS 1936, 98-101.

gūrās- 'to quarrel' V e or VI b mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *gūrāsāre* SS 80v1-2 KT 5. 341 (*lāstanīyā gūrāsu gūrāsāre*). The noun *gūrāsa-* also in Kha 0013c4. a3 KT 5. 124 (*lāstana gūrāsa*).

Et. Meaning evidently 'quarrel'. If < *vi-rāzaya-, why -ū-? If < *vi-frāsaya-, cf. Parth. *wyfr's-*, *wyfr'st* 'en-*seigner*' (Ghilain, p. 69), -śś- expected in O.Kh.

ggūs- 'to escape, be delivered' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *ggūta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ggūštā* Kha 1. 56. 1b4 KT 5. 131 tr. *grol-ba*.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *gūsīde* P 3513. 73v2 KT 1. 248.

3 pl. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *ggūte* Z 3. 142.

Et. Inch. < *vi-*auk-*, v. *ggūch-* p. 30.

ggei'ls- 'to revolve; return' IV a mid. intr. B ppp. *ggei'sāta-

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *ggeiste* Z 4. 98; L.Kh., *gaistā* P 2783. 162 (1) KT 3. 72; *ga'ste* P 2790. 73 KT 2. 112.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ggei'lsārā* Z 1. 50; *ggei'lsāre* Z 2. 164; *ggeisāre* Z 20. 56; L.Kh., *gesāre* P 4099. 314 KBT 129.

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *ga'se* P 2790. 108 KT 2. 114. *gesū* P 5538b 20 KT 3. 121 tr. *agatsamī* (? also *gaisū* P 2958. 204 KT 2. 120) shows L.Kh. use of originally 1 pl. mid. as 1 sg. due to confusion of form with 1 sg. act.

L.Kh. *ga'sānde* P 2741. 133 KT 2. 92 could be 3 pl. subj. mid. or 3 pl. pf. tr. but the pf. is probably intr., see below.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *ga'sāva* P 2741. 51-52 KT 2. 89; *gasā'ta* P 2741. 83-84 KT 2. 90 (v. H. W. B., AM, N.S. 1, 1949, 41).

The following L.Kh. forms: *gai'sāttā* P 2786. 226 KT 2. 100; *gaisāttā* ibid. 220 = *gaisāttā* Or 8212. 186. a55 KT 2. 12; *ge'sāttā* P 2786. 233 KT 2. 100; *gaisāttā* ibid. 235, appear to be 3 sg. pf. tr. f., but the sense appears to require 'he returned'. H. W. B. suggests contamination with *āta-*. Thus, *gaisāttā* < *ggei'sāta + *ātā* in O.Kh.

Et. Inch. < *gart-, v. *ggaḍ-* p. 27.

ggei'śś- 'to make revolve' V e act. tr. A ppp. *ggei'śśāta-*

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *ggei'śśīndi* Z 6. 4; 22. 227; *ggei'śśīndā* Z 11. 72; L.Kh., *ge'sīde* P 3513. 61v4 KT 1. 243 tr. *pravartayantu*.

O.Kh. *ggei'śśāta* Z 9. 28 is probably 3 sg. inj. (rather than 3 pl. pf. intr.) = L.Kh. *ge'se* P 4099. 406 KBT 133.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *ggei'śśātai* Z 2. 178; *ggei'śśātai* 22. 261.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *ggei'śśātāndā* Z 11. 65.

Et. Caus. < *ggei'ls-*.

grañ- 'to growl' V a or V b intr.

Only in L.Kh. pres. pt.: *grañānca* JS 17v2 (74) 'growling'.

Et. IE *gr-en- Pok. 383-4. Cf. also *ggalj-*.

grāśd- 'to stew' ān. ley. ? V e or VI act. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *grāśdīndi* Z 2. 43.

Et. ?

***gruśś-** 'to be called' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *gūrste* Si 14v1, 2 KT 1. 22 tr. *śes-bya-ste*.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *gaurštāre* (error for **gauršāre*) Si 151r1 KT 1. 96 tr. *śes-bya-ste*.

Et. < **xrus-ya-*, pass. to *grūs-* q.v.

grūs- 'to call' I b act. tr. B ppp. *gguršta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *grūsti* Z 2. 21; *grūttā* Z 22. 240; 24. 378, 481; *grūstu* Z 22. 249.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *grūsindā* Kha 1. 13 134r4 KBT 1.

3 sg. pf. m., O.Kh.: *guršte* Z 2. 81, 130; *gguršte* Z 20. 50; 22. 93, 95; 23. 120.

O.Kh. inf.: *gguršte* Z 23. 37; 24. 197.

Et. < O.Ir. **xraus-*, cf. Av. *xraos-* 'schreien' AIW 533; MPe *xrwah-* 'rufen' (*Verbum*, p. 185); Parth. *xrws-*, *xrwšt* 'appeler' (Ghilain, p. 64) O.Ind. has *krōśati* 'cries out'.

gvach- 'to be digested' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *gvaha-*

3 sg. pres. mid.: O.Kh., *gvašte* N 75. 40 tr. *jiryate*; L.Kh. *gvašte* P 4099. 27 KBT 114; *gvašte* Si 15v4 KT 1. 24. On *guvašte* in Z 2. 179, see R. E. E., BSOAS, xxx. 1, 1967, 89.

3 sg. subj. mid., L.Kh.: *gvachāve* Si 8r3 KT 1. 12.

L.Kh. ppp. *gvaha-* Si 134r5 KT 1. 68 tr. *žu-bar*.

Et. < **vi-pač-ya*, v. *pach-*.

gvachāñ- 'to cause to digest' V e tr.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *gvachāñāka* Si 4v3 KT 1. 8 tr. *hjug-par byed-pa*.

Et. Caus. < *gvach-* q.v.

gvays- 'to be separated' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *gvašta-*

+I-A (abl.) R. E. E., BSOAS, xxviii. 1, 1965, 30, § IV. 1 (a).

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *gvaysde* Suv. K. 64r7 KT 5. 115; Kha 1. 119. 71v3 KT 5. 146; *gvaysdā* Z 4. 116.

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *gvaysū* P 2897. 26 KT 2. 115 (v. *ggei*'s- p. 31).

2 sg. pf. tr. m. (tr.), L.Kh.: *gvaštai* JS 35v3 (156) 'you split'.

1 sg. pf. intr. m. (intr.), L.Kh.: *gvaštū* P 2897. 37 KT 2. 116.

1 pl. pf. intr. m. (intr.), L.Kh.: *gvaštamdūm* Or 8212. 162. 59 KT 2. 4.

Et. < **vi-vaz-* H. W. B., BSOS, viii. 1, 1935, 123.

gvith- meaning uncertain. mid. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *gvithāre* Ch 00266. 9 KT 3. 34 = *gvithārā* P 2025. 17 KT 3. 46; *gvithārā* P 2025. 65 KT 3. 47 = *gvithāva* P 2956. 44 KT 3. 38.

Et. ?

1. **gvīr-** 'to be revealed' V c intr. (= pass.) B

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *gvīde* Z 4. 22.

L.Kh. pres. pt.: *gvīracākyā* StH 55 KT 2. 75 ('opening' H. W. B., AM, n.s. ii. 1, 1951, 33).

Et. < **vi-vrya-*, cf. O.Ind. *vivara-* 'hole' < *vṛ-* 'to cover', v. S. Konow, NTS, xi, 1939, 49. V. *gver-*.

2. **gvīr-** 'to talk' V b intr. ppp. *gvīda-*; *gūda-*

O.Kh. pres. pt.: *gvīranda* Z 23. 141.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *gūde* P 2957. 88 KBT 35 = *gūde* P 2025. 218 KBT 18 = *gūda* Ch 00266. 143 KBT 26.

3 sg. pf. tr. f., L.Kh.: *gvīdā* P 2025. 242 KBT 19 = id. P 2957. 105 KBT 36 = *gvīda* Ch 00266. 160 KBT 27.

3 pl. pf. tr. (f.), L.Kh.: *gūdāda* Ch 00266. 214 KBT 30. *gvīda-* secondary < *gvīr-*; *gūda-* < **vi-vṛta-*, cf. *hauda-* / *hūda-* < *haur-*.

Et. < **vi-var-ya-*, cf. IE 6. **uer-* 'feierlich sagen' (Pok. 1162-3), Av. *varah-* 'ordéal' etc., H. W. B. against TPS, 1945, 21 (cf. Oss. D. *iūarun* 'to divide, share'). Cf. *šver-* p. 126.

gver- 'to reveal; explain' V e act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *gverīndi* Z 22. 330; L.Kh., *gverīdā* P 5538a33 KT 2. 127; *gvairīdā* P 5538b 71 KT 3. 123 tr. *kathaiyatti*.

Et. Caus. < **vi-var-* S. Konow, NTS, xi, 1939, 49. See 1. *gvīr-*.

car- 'to practise' LW act. tr. (O.Kh.); act. tr./mid. intr. (L.Kh.) A ppp. *carāta-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *carāmā* Z 3. 24.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *carātā* Z 3. 29; *carāte* Z 11. 17, 48; 14. 16.

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *carīndi* Z 1. 49; *carīndā* Z 11. 69; L.Kh., *carīde* P 3513. 73r3 KT 1. 248 tr. *carantu*.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *cerāre* P 3513. 32r3 KBT 59; *cirāre* P 3513. 34r4 KBT 59.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *carāte* Z 13. 9+; *carye* Z 13. 63 (L.Kh.1).

1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *carātemā* H 142 NS 78r2 KT 5. 103.

Et. BHS *carati* 'practises'.

cav- 'to (trans)migrate' LW act. intr. A/B ppp. *cavāta-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *cavīndā* Z 22. 306.

3 sg. pf. tr. m. (intr.), O.Kh.: *cavāte* Z 23. 108.

2 sg. pf. tr. m. (intr.), L.Kh.: *cavyai* N 171. 10.

Et. BHS, Pāli *cavati* 'falls'. See also *prvacav-* p. 88.

cev- 'to get' ? V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *cevāta-

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *cevindā* Or 9609. 53r3 *KT* 1. 237 tr. *pratilapsyante*.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *cevyai* *JS* 27v4 (121).

Et. Derivation from **cyāvaya-* as Dresden, p. 473 s.v. *cav-*, is impossible as O.Ir. **cyav-* appears in Kh. as *tsu-*. ? < **čāpaya-* < **kap-* 'hold, take'. On **kap-* in Ind. and Ir., see H. W. B., *TPS*, 1954, 146-53. Kh. *cev-* < **čāpaya-* H. W. B., *TPS*, 1954, 155-6.

ciṃd- 'to meditate (on)' LW act. tr. or intr. A ppp. *ciṃdāta-

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *cadū* Ch 00266. 165 *KBT* 28 = *caidū* P 2957. 109 *KBT* 36 = *caidu* P 2025. 249 *KBT* 20.

1 pl. pres., L.Kh.: *ciṃdām* P 2790. 70 *KT* 2. 112.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *ciṃdyarā* P 2801. 20-21 *KT* 3. 66.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ceṃdide* Ch c. 001. 869 *KBT* 136.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *cede* *JS* 32r1 (140).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *ciṃdye* P 2801. 15 *KT* 3. 65.

1 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *caidyai* P 3513. 67r4 *KT* 1. 245.

1 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *ciṃdyāṇdūṃ* P 2790. 46 *KT* 2. 112.

Et. NWPkt *ciṃd-* Khar. Docs., p. 89 s.v.

*jad- 'to ask for' V b tr. B ppp. *jista-*

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *jaitta* P 2801. 25 *KT* 3. 66.

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *jistā* Kha vi. 14b1. b6 *KT* 5. 180.

3 sg. pf. tr. f.: *jistā* ibid. b4, 5+.

1 pl. pf. tr. (?), L.Kh.: *jaistādū* P 2024. 10 *KT* 2. 77.

Inf. *jisci* Hed. 3. 5 *KT* 4. 22.

Et. Av. *gad-*, pres. 26 *jaidya-*.

jamph- 'to argue' LW intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *jamphāte* Z 12. 75.

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *jampha* Z 2. 128.

Et. See H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xi. 4, 1946, 769. Skt *jalpati* 'mutters'; NWPkt *jalpita* Khar. Docs., § 40, p. 15; Pkt *jamp-/japp-* Brough, § 11, p. 64.

gyays- 'to offer (sacrifice)' tr. ppp. *gyašta-*

gyays- in O.Kh. in noun *gyaysna* Z 23. 108 (cf. Av. *yasna-*).

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *jaysaṇa* Ch 00266. 145 *KBT* 26 = id. P 2025. 220 *KBT* 18.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *gyašte* Z 23. 108.

Et. < **yaz-*. Av. *yaz-*, *yašta-* *AIW* 1274; OP *yad-*; O.Ind. *yajati*, *iṣṭd-*; MPe *yz-* 'verehren, opfern' (*Verbum*, p. 170); Parth. *yštn*

(Ghilain, p. 99); B. Sogd. 'yz- (I. G., *GMS*, § 206a, p. 32). On the meaning of **yaz-* in Ir., see Benv., *JA*, cclii. 1, 1964, 45-58.

jah- 'to be cleaned, cured' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *gyasta-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *jatte Si* 6r4 *KT* 1. 10; 144r3 *KT* 1. 86; *jatti JP* 86r5 *KT* 1. 171 (bis); *jattai H* 143 NS 63a3, 4; b3 *KT* 5. 40.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *jahāre* P 2893. 65 *KT* 3. 85.

ppp.: O.Kh. *gyasta-* Z 24. 490; L.Kh. *jasta-* Ch 00266. 258 *KBT* 106.

Et. ? < **yaθ-*. *jah-* functions as pass. to *gyeh-* q.v.

jāy- 'to meditate' LW act. intr. A

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *jāyūṃ* P 2891. 5 *KT* 3. 79.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *jāyāte* Z 12. 60.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *jāyādi* Z 3. 114.

Et. NWPkt *Dhp* 92 *jayadi* (= Skt *dhyaṇi*).

jīn- 'to destroy' III b act. tr. B ppp. *jāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *jāndā* Z 3. 28+; *jindā* Z 18. 6; L.Kh.: *jidā JS* 15r3 (63); *jimdā Si* 10r2 *KT* 1. 14++ tr. *sel-to*.

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *jānindā* Z 24. 114+; L.Kh., *jīnindā Si* 18r1 *KT* 1. 28+ tr. *sel*.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh., *jītai* Z 22. 261, 285; L.Kh.: *jai JS* 20r3 (85).

2 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *jātānda* Z 22. 109.

O.Kh. inf. *jāte* Z 7. 2.

Et. Av. *jināiti* 'debilitat'.

jīy- 'to disappear, be removed' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *jīta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *jīye* Z 1. 38; 3. 139+; *jīyā* Z 6. 31; 13. 127; 15. 8; *jītā* Z 24. 482.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *jīyāre* Z 3. 29, 140, 143; 6. 1; 9. 21; 22. 116; 23. 370; 24. 458; *jyāre* Z 3. 139+; *SS* 83r6 *KT* 5. 341; *jyārā* Z 15. 11; Kha 1. 160. 2. a1 *KT* 5. 152; L.Kh.: *jāre JS* 38v2 (168); *jāre* P 3513. 5514 (Asm. 57) tr. *parikṣayu bhoti*.

O.Kh. ppp. *jīta-* Z 3. 139+; L.Kh. ppp. *ja-* Ch 00269. 47, 113 *KT* 2. 44, 48.

Et. See *jīn-*. For the form, cf. O.Ind. *jīyāte* or *kṣīyāte* (v. T. Burrow, *JAOS*, 79, 1959, 255-62).

jīṣ- 'to boil' II b mid. intr. B ppp. *jīšta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *jīṣḍi* P 2893. 63 *KT* 3. 85.

L.Kh. ppp.: *jīšta-* *Si* 122r4 *KT* 1. 50 tr. *skol-ba*.

Et. See H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 126; *TPS*, 1953, 22. Av. *yah-* 'sieden' (intr.), pres. 6 *yaēša-* (*AIW*); O.Ind. *yēṣati*. B. Sogd. *βy'yš'ntk* 'boiling' *SCE* 236 < **abi-yaiš-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 1068, p. 163). V. caus. *jšāñ-*.

1. *juv-* 'to live' ? VI act. intr. B ppp. *juta-*

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *jvīmā* P 3510. 8. 1 *KBT* 52.
2 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *jvī* P 2781. 92 (24) *KT* 3. 69 for **juvi*.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *jūtā* Z 11. 47, 57, 60; 12. 74.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *jvīndā* N 176. 9, 11.
O.Kh. pres. pt.: *jūndaa-* Z 19. 44, 59.
O.Kh. ppp. *juta-* in 3 pl. pf. tr. m. (intr.) *jutāndā* Z 13. 124. L.Kh. ppp. *jva-* in *jvem* P 2801. 29 *KT* 3. 66 1 sg. pf. tr. m.; *jve* P 2783. 253 (92) *KT* 3. 76 3 sg. pf. tr. m. (both intr.). L.Kh. also has an archaizing ppp. *jutta-* in *juttai* *JS* 26r3 (114) 3 sg. pf. tr. m.
Et. Av. *'gay-* 'leben', pres. 20 *jīva-*, *jva-*, purely graphic for **jīva-* according to Barth. (*GIP*, § 268. 17, p. 155) as in O.Ind. *jīvati*. On the one hand, however, we find Parth. *jyvw-* (Ghilain, p. 50), MPe *xyw-* (*Verbum*, p. 169) etc. and on the other, Kh. *juv-*, Man. Sogd. *jw-*, *jw-*, Paštō *žw-* (*EVP*, p. 106), as pointed out by W. B. Henning ap. I. G., *GMS*, § 574, n. 1, pp. 90-91. Kh. *juv-* is evidently a secondary development from older **jiv-* as *j-* instead of *js-* indicates. We clearly have another case of **-i-* > *-u-* due to *-v-* as in *nuvad-* < **nivad-* < **ni-pad-*. **jīva-* may be an old denom. rather than pres. 20, cf. IE **gʷiyo-* in *βlos* (Pok. 467-9).

2. *juv-* 'to fight' I c mid. intr. A/B ppp. *justa-*

+ I-A (comitative) R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 32, § IV. 10 (c).
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *juvāre* Z 2. 46; 20. 30; 24. 407, 499; *jvāre* Z 1. 33.
2 pl. opt., L.Kh.: *jvīrau* P 2781. 99 (31) *KT* 3. 69.
O.Kh. inf. *juštā* Z 23. 105.
Et. < **yauḍ-*, cf. Av. *yaod-* 'kämpfen' (*AIW* 1230); O.Ind. *yúdhyati*; Parth. *ywody-*, *ywd-* 'lutter' (Ghilain, p. 87).

jūh- 'to long, yearn' ? V b intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *jūhāte* Z 23. 27, 28.
O.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *jūhānaa-* Z 23. 25.
Possibly here also the L.Kh. forms: *jūhyī-me* P 2936. 7 *KT* 3. 108
1 sg. pres. act.; *jvīhīnai* P 2027. 35 *KT* 2. 80 1 sg. opt.; *jvīhā* *StH* 61 *KT* 2. 75 2 sg. pres. (H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. ii. 1, 1951, 32).
Et. < **yauḍya-* < **yauḍ-*, cf. Parth. *ywb-* (Ghilain, p. 65) 'souffrir, être affligé' (Benv., *JA*, 1936, 201-2).

jeh- 'to cleanse' V e act. tr. A

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *jehūm* P 2783. 221 (60) *KT* 3. 75.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *jehāte* Z 24. 490.
3 sg. opt. act., O.Kh.: *gyehā* Z 2. 174.
O.Kh. pt. nec.: *gyehāna* Or 9609. 53v4-5 *KT* 1. 237-8 tr. *śodhayitavyam*.
Et. ? < **yāḍaya-*, caus. < **yaḍ-*, v. *jah-*.

jšāñ- 'to make boil' V e act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *jšāñdā* *Si* 20r3 *KT* 1. 32 tr. *skol-ba*.
Et. Caus. < *jš-* p. 35.

jsañ- 'to be struck; slain' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *jsata-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *jsīnde* Z 19. 10.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *jsañāre* Z 24. 426.
O.Kh. ppp.: *jsata-* Z 4. 13; 24. 509, 510.
Et. < **jan-ya-*, cf. Av. *janya-*, O.Ind. *hanyāte*. See *jsan-*.

jsan- 'to strike; slay' I b act. tr. B ppp. *jsata-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *jsīndi* Z 7. 24+.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *jsanīndi* Z 23. 32; 24. 467; *jsanīndā* Z 24. 403.
2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *jsanyarā* P 2783. 234 (73) *KT* 3. 75.
L.Kh. inf.: *jsaṇā* P 2783. 234 (73) *KT* 3. 75.
1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *jsataimā* Z 24. 445, 448.
3 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *jsate* Z 24. 449; L.Kh., *jse* P 2801. 50 *KT* 3. 67.
3 pl. pf. tr.: O.Kh., *jsatāndā* Z 5. 2; *jsatāndi* Z 22. 235; L.Kh., *jsāmde* *JS* 30v4 (134).
O.Kh. inf.: *jsīye* Z 24. 442, 450.
Et. Av. *'gan-* 'schlagen' (*AIW* 490), *janaiti* 3 sg. pres. them. (V. 5. 34+); Parth. *jn-* (Ghilain, p. 55); MPe *zn-*, *zd* (*Verbum*, p. 172); Man. Sogd. *jn-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 264, p. 42).

jsā- 'to go' I a mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *jsāte* Z 2. 13++; *jsātā* H 143 NS 71r1 *KT* 5. 80; L.Kh., *jsāte* *JS* 14v1 (59); *jsāvi* P 3513. 55v2 (Asm. 59) tr. *gacchati*; *jsāvai* P 5538b. 64 *KT* 3. 123 tr. *gatsattī*.
O.Kh. pres. pt.: *jsāna-* Z 2. 85+.
jsamane Z 19. 94; 20. 28 may be < **jsamāmane*, v. *hamjsam-*.
Et. Av. *gāt* Y. 46. 6; O.Ind. *gāt*. IE **gʷā-* (Pok. 462).

jsīr- 'to deceive' ? V a or V e mid. tr. A ppp. *jsīda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *jsīrāte* Z 19. 8, 9; Kha 1. 206a2. a4 *KT* 5. 162.

- 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *jsirāre* Z 19. 9; 24. 245.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *jsīde* Z 2. 54.
 3 sg. pf. tr. f., O.Kh.: *jsīdātā* Z 24. 246.
 O.Kh. inf. *jsīde* Z 2. 124.
 Et. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 31 cf. Toch. B *tser*- 'deceive'.
 ? < **jaraya*-, v. *ttājser*-.

- jsaus-** ? 'to amount to' H. W. B., *KT* 4. 141. IV a
 3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *jsausīya* Hed. 26. 6 *KT* 4. 38; Or 11252. 30. 8
KT 2. 25.
 Et. ? < **jafs*-, inch., cf. B. Sogd. *γβs*- (H. W. B., *KT* 4. 141).

- ttajs-** 'to run, flow' I b act. intr. B
 3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ttāstq Si* 131v5 *KT* 1. 64 tr. *hag*.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ttajśida* JP 59r3 *KT* 1. 149.
 L.Kh. pres. pt.: *ttajsaca* Ch 00266. 183 *KBT* 29 = *ttajsace* P 4089a8 *KBT* 21.
 Et. Av. *tak*- 'fließen' (*AIW* 624), pres. 2 *tačā*-; Parth. *tč*- 'couler' (Ghilain, p. 50).

- ttav-** 'to be hot' I b mid. intr. A/B ppp. *ttauda*-
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *ttavāre Si* 136v1 *KT* 1. 72 tr. *cha-ba*.
 ppp. *ttauda*- Z 20. 5+ (O.Kh.), *Si* 9r2 *KT* 1. 14+ (L.Kh.).
 Et. < **tap*-, cf. Av. *tap*-; O.Ind. *tāpati* 'heats'; Parth. *t'b*-, *t'b'd* 'briller' (Ghilain, p. 72); NP *tābad* 'burns'.

- ttājser-** 'to dispraise' (?) V e tr.
 2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *ttājsera Avdh* 18r2 *KT* 3. 9.
 Et. < **ati-jāraya*- 'dispraise', pejorative development of **gar*- as opposed to Av. *gar*- 'preisen' (*AIW* 512). Cf. also Kh. *pajārūna*- 'abuse' H 144 NS 55. 44v1 *KT* 5. 76. H. W. B., *Adyar*, 1962, 8. Cf. also Paštō *šarəl* 'to cry, weep' (*EVP*, p. 105), NP *paiyārah* 'abuse' (H. W. B.).

- ttātsu-** 'to cross' I d tr. D
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ttātsaiyi* Z 13. 27; *ttitsaiyi* Z 13. 28.
 Et. < **ati-čyav*-, v. *tsu*- p. 42.

- ttāš-** 'to cut' I b mid. tr. B
 3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ttāšdā* Z 2. 139.
 Et. < O.Ir. **taš*-, cf. Av. *taš*-, O.Ind. *takṣ*-. See R.E.E., *BSOAS*, xxx. 1, 1967, 90.

- ttāhvah-** 'to cross' V a act. tr. C ppp. *ttāhvasta*-
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ttāhvaittā* Z 13. 21, 22.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ttāhvaindā* Z 13. 20, 21; 24. 277.
 O.Kh. ppp. *ttāhvasta*- Z 13. 22.
 Et. < **ati-hvah*-, v. *hvah*-.

- *ttun-** 'to plunder' III b tr. ppp. *ttunda*-
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *ttude* Hed. 2. 4 *KT* 4. 21; *ttudā* ibid. 5.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *ttundāndā* Z 22. 235.
 L.Kh. ppp. *ttūda*- P 2790. 66 *KT* 2. 112.
 Et. < **taṇ*-, cf. Oss. D. *tonun*, *tund* 'to pluck off, tear out' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 35-36.

- *ttumalys-** 'to consume, devour' I b act. tr. B ppp. *ttumalsta*-
 3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ttremvašta* P 4099. 61 *KBT* 116.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *ttumalste* Z 13. 83.
 Et. < **ati-marz*-, v. *nimalys*- p. 54.

- ttuvar-** 'to bring' I b act. tr. B ppp. **ttūda*-
 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ttuvīdā* Z 22. 156.
 2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *tvaryarā* Or 11252. 16a8 *KT* 2. 22.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *tvaridā* Hed. 20. 14 *KT* 4. 34.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *ttudāndā* P 2790. 22 *KT* 2. 111; id. P 2958. 59
KBT 41 = *ttudādī* P 2798. 177 *KBT* 44 (H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 14).
 Et. < **ati-bar*-, cf. Av. *aiti.bara*- 'hinübertragen' (Leumann, N 5).

- ttuvāy-** 'to convey across' V e act. tr. A ppp. *ttuvāsta*-
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *tvāyātā* Z 6. 19; 16. 63.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ttuvāyindā* Z 1. 187.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *ttuvāste* Z 5. 105; 24. 229, 275.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *ttuvāstāndā* Z 9. 23; 24. 240.
 O.Kh. inf.: *ttuvāsti* Z 23. 53.
 Et. < **ati-vādaya*-, v. *bāy*-. In L.Kh., *ttuvāy*- and *ttāy*- q.v. were conflated as *trvāy*- *Si* 20r4 *KT* 1. 32; see p. 231.

- ttuvā'y-** 'to bring across' V e tr. ppp. *ttuvā'sta*-
 3 sg. subj., O.Kh.: *tvā'ya* Z 24. 238.
 O.Kh. inf.: *ttuvā'ste* Z 24. 232.
 Et. < **ati-šādaya*-, cf. **nišā'y*- p. 57.

- ttṛṣṭh-** 'to stand' LW act. intr. A
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ttṛṣṭhāte* Z 14. 17.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ttaiṣṭide* P 3513. 61v4 *KT* 1. 243 tr. *tiṣṭhantu*.

Pres. pt.: O.Kh., *ttāṣṭhanda-* SS 21r2 KT 5. 331; *ttṛṣṭhanda-* Z 14. 1+; L.Kh., *ttirṣṭhanda* JS 4v4 (15). Other L.Kh. spellings ap. Dresden p. 475 s.v. *ttirṣṭhanda-*.
Et. BHS *tiṣṭhati*. For intrusive -r- due to -ṣ-, cf. Kh. *trṃkha-*, Pkt form of Skt *tikṣṇa-* (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xi. 4, 1946, 769).

ttaus- 'to become hot' IV a act. intr. B
3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ttaustā* Si 103r3 KT 1. 38.
L.Kh. pres. pt.: *ttausace* Si 128v2 KT 1. 60.
Et. Inch. < *tap-, cf. Av. *tafsa-*, NP *tafsad*. The genuineness of L.Kh. *ttaus-* is confirmed by the O.Kh. noun *ttausaa-* 'fever' Z 23. 123; 24. 430.

tcabalj- 'to scatter' V e tr. A ppp. *tcabriya-*
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *tcabaljātā* N 50. 23.
3 sg. pf. tr. m.+i, O.Kh.: *tcabriyei* Z 24. 267.
Et. *tca-* + *barg-. S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 184, cf. Lat. *frangō*. Tq *tsawarg-*. IE *bhreg- Pok. 165. B. Sogd. 'nḅrytk 'perclus' SCE 93 < *ham-braxta- I. G., JRAS, 1946, 182. See also p. 232.

tcabrīs- 'to be scattered' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *tcabriya-*
3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *tcabrīstā* Z 24. 520; N 50. 34.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *tcabrrisida* P 4099. 32 KBT 114.
O.Kh. ppp. *tcabriya*: Z 2. 44+.
Et. *tca-* + inch. < *barg-, v. *tcabalj-*.

tcāṣ- 'to perceive' I b mid. tr. A/B
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *tcāṣā'ri* Z 22. 319.
Et. < *caṣ-, v. *kāt'* - p. 22.

ttrām- 'to cross over; enter' V d mid. (O.Kh.); act. or mid. (L.Kh.)
tr. or intr. A ppp. *ttranda-*
Constructions, see R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 26: (i) intr.
(ii) +prep.; (iii) +acc. = 'cross over'; (iv) +loc. = 'enter'.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ttrāmāte* Z 2. 132+; *ttrāmāte* Z 13. 114+.
3 pl. pres.: O.Kh., *ttrāmāre* Z 22. 263; L.Kh., *ttrāmāre* Si 103r3 KT 1. 38; 153r3 KT 1. 100; 156r3 KT 1. 104; *ttrāmāda* Si 131v5 KT 1. 64; *ttrāmāda* Si 156r1 KT 1. 102; *ttrāmāda* P 2022. 22 KT 3. 43; *ttrāmādi* Ch 1. 0021a, b 11 KT 2. 56.
ppp. once spelled with *ttr-*: *ttrāṇdā vyata* Kha ix. 13a1. 40v5 KT 5. 184.
The pf. is formally intr. whether tr. or intr.: 2 sg. pf. intr. m.: O.Kh., *ttrāṇdī* Z 22. 258+acc.; L.Kh., *ttrāṇdī* JS 24r3 (105) +loc.

1 pl. pf. intr., L.Kh.: *ttrāṇdamdūm* P 2790. 25 KT 2. 111 +loc.
2 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *ttrāṇda sta* Z 22. 109 +acc.
O.Kh. inf.: *ttrāṇde* Z 24. 172.
Et. < *ati-ram-, cf. Parth. 'hr'm'd ppp. 'monter' (Ghilain, p. 73); MPe 'hr'm-, 'hr'pt 'hinaufleiten' (*Verbum*, p. 190).

ttrāy- 'to rescue, deliver' V e act. tr. A ppp. *ttrāsta-*
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ttrāyāte* Z 12. 4; 13. 21.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ttrāyindā* Z 16. 67.
2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *ttrāste* JS 22v4 (98).
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *ttrāste* Z 4. 9.
Et. < *ati-rādaya-, cf. Av. 'rād- 'sich) bereit machen' (*AIW* 1520), pres. 30 *rādaya-*, ppp. *rāsta-*; O.Ind. *rādhnōti* 'achieves, prepares'.
See also *ttuvāy-* p. 39.

tvaśd- 'to transfer' VI b act. tr. A/B
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *tvaśdīm* < *dā* > Hed. 20. 7-8 KT 4. 34.
2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *tva* < *śdya* > Hed. 20. 6-7 KT 4. 34; *tvaśdyarā* ibid. 12; *tvaśdyari* Or 11252. 18a3 KT 2. 23.
tvaśdā Or 11252. 18a2 KT 2. 22 form?
Et. H. W. B., KT 4. 123 'transfer' < *ati-pazdaya-, cf. Av. *pazdaya-* 'frighten'; Parth. *pzd-* 'effrayer; chasser' (Ghilain, p. 53). Av. *pazdaya-* denom. < *pazda- F. B. J. Kuiper, *AO*, xvii, 1939, 28.

tvāñ- 'to strengthen' V e mid. tr. A
3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *tvāñā* JP 85r1 KT 1. 169; *tvāñē* Si 14v2 KT 1. 22 tr. *skye-bar byed*.
3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *tvāñāre* P 4099. 223 KBT 124.
L.Kh. nom. ag.: *tvāñāka* Si 16v3-4 KT 1. 26 tr. *skye-bar byed*.
Et. Caus. < *tav- 'be strong', cf. Av. 'tav- 'potentem esse' (*AIW* 638); O.Ind. *tavīti* 'is strong'; Parth. 'stwb- 'vaincre, affaiblir' < *uz- + tav- (Ghilain, p. 67); MPe *pt'y-* 'bleiben, dauern' < *pati-tāvaya- (*Verbum*, p. 209); B. Sogd. *pt'w-* 'endurer' P 2. 837.

tsām- 'to swallow' tr. ppp. *tsaunda-
L.Kh. pt. nec.: *tsāmāña* JP 84v5 KT 1. 169; *tsāmāña* H 143 NS 63a3 KT 5. 40.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *tsodi* JS 12v2 (51).
Et. < *čyām-, v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 59; JRAS, 1957, 105. Cf. Av. *šam-* 'schlucken' (*AIW* 1705-6); B. Sogd. *š'm-* 'avaler' P 2. 115.

tsu- 'to go' I b act. intr. B ppp. *tsuta-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *tsimä* Z 3. 73; 11. 37; 23. 32.

2 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *tsai* Z 19. 22; H. vii. 150 13r4 KT 5. 82 = N 66.
31 tr. *upasaṃkramiṣyasi* (inj. according to S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 186 s.v. *tsu-*).

3 sg. pres. or opt., O.Kh.: *tsiyä* H 144 NS 55 44r5 KT 5. 76; *tsiyü* Z 2. 51 (< *tsiyä* u); *tsilä* Z 2. 214.

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *tsindi* Z 2. 135++; L.Kh., *tsida* P 5538b 82 KT 3. 124 tr. *gatsattī*.

Modal: 1 sg. subj., O.Kh.: *tsiñi* Z 2. 214; 7. 4; 2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *tso* Z 2. 70; 24. 121; SS 20v5 KT 5. 330; *tsu* SS 80v2 KT 5. 341; Stein E. 1. 7. 145vi KT 5. 77; 3 sg. inj., O.Kh.: *tsüta* Suv. K. 32r5 KT 5. 110.

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *tsuñaa-* Z 12. 16.

O.Kh. ppp. *tsuta-*, once *tsva-*; L.Kh. *tsva-*, *tsa-*:

2 sg. pf. tr. m. (intr.): O.Kh., *tsutai* Z 2. 53, 89; L.Kh., *tsvai* JS 30r3 (132); *tsuai* 8r2 (30); 16v4 (71); 23r2 (100); *tsve* 27r4 (119); *tsai* 21v1 (92).

3 sg. pf. tr. m. (intr.), O.Kh.: *tsute* Z 2. 47, 67, 86.

3 pl. pf. tr. (intr.): O.Kh., *tsutāndi* Z 2. 24+; *tsvāndi* Z 24. 514; L.Kh., *tsvāmdā* P 3513. 55r1 (Asm. 56).

L.Kh. inf.: *tsai* JS 13v1 (55); *Si* 129r1 KT 1. 60.

Et. < **čyav-*, cf. O.Ind. *cyávate*; Av. *š(y)av-*; Parth. *šw-*, *šwd-* (Ghilain, p. 67); MPe *šw-*, *šwd* (*Verbum*, p. 185); NP *šav-*, *šud*; Man. B. Sogd. *šw-*.

thamj- 'to pull' V e mid. intr. (O.Kh.); act. tr. (L.Kh.) A ppp. *thiya-*

+loc. R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 33, § V. 2.

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *thamjū* P 5538b 75 KT 3. 124 tr. *ūtpaṇḍayamī*; *thamjūm* P 2781. 111 (43) KT 3. 70.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *thamjäte* Z 5. 90; 24. 121.

3 pl. pres.: O.Kh. mid. intr., *thamjäre* Z 24. 407; L.Kh. act. tr., *thamjūmdā* P 2781. 120 (52) KT 3. 70; *thajūmdā* ibid. 114 (46); *thajūdā* Ch ii 004 2r4 KBT 144.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *thiyai* Z 5. 89, 90; 22. 269.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *thiye* Z 24. 263.

O.Kh. inf.: *thiye* Z 21. 20.

Et. < O.Ir. **thanjaya-*, cf. Av. *thanjaya-*, *θaxta-*.

thīs- 'to pull' (at, on) IV a act. intr. B ppp. *thiya-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *thiṣti* Z 20. 14.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *thiṣā* Z 4. 91.

O.Kh. ppp.: *thiya-* Z 20. 37.

Et. Inch. < **θang-*, v. *thamj-*.

thurs- 'to be oppressed' H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 2, 1965, 114. IV a intr. ppp. **thursāta-*; *thursāta-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *thursa* Avdh 13r4 KT 3. 6.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *thursātāndā* H 143 NSB 13r7 KT 5. 96.

Note also the following: *thursūm* Avdh 13r2 KT 3. 6; *thürsī* P 2787. 87 KT 2. 104; *thārsā* P 2891. 30 KT 3. 80; *thausāva* P 2025. 121 KBT 15 = *thaurasā* Ch 00266. 71 KBT 23; *thārsāva* *bijātta* Or 8212. 162. 23 KT 2. 2.

Et. Formally *thurs-* must be inch. < **θrau-*, probably IE **tr-eu-* (Pok. 1072-3).

thūs- 'to kindle' IV a mid. tr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *thūste* Z 4. 45.

Et. Inch. < **θau-*, v. *paṭhu-* p. 66.

daj- 'to ripen' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *dīṣta-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *dasde* *Si* 15v4, 5 KT 1. 24 tr. *smin-pa*; *dasde* *Si* 138r2 KT 1. 76 tr. *smin-te*. Hardly act. or from *das-* as H. W. B., KT 4. 115. Rather < **daj-ya-tai*, cf. *uskuṣde/uskujāre* p. 17.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *dagyāre* Suv. K. 64r2 KT 5. 115 tr. *paripacyate*.

ppp.: O.Kh., *dīṣta-* Z 22. 294; L.Kh., *dīṣtā* *Si* 18v1 KT 1. 28+ tr. *smin-pa*.

Et. < **daj-ya-*, pass. < **dag-* 'burn' (v. *dajs-*). Cf. O.Ind. *dahyāte*. Ppp. *dīṣta-* either secondary < inch. **dīs-* (cf. *pandīs-*) H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 30 or < **daxš-*, cf. Av. *ḍaxšta-* < **daxš-* (v. W. B. Henning, *TPS*, 1954, 176; *Sogdica*, p. 49), cf. Yaghn. *daxš-* 'to give pain' (Benv., *JA*, 1955, 154).

dajs- 'to burn' I b act. tr. (?); mid. intr. B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *dajsīndā* Kha 0013c6. a3 KT 5. 125.

3 sg. pres. mid. intr., L.Kh.: *daysdi* Hed. 17. 3, 5, 13, 15, 17 KT 4. 31.

Et. Av. *dag-* 'urere', pres. 2 *daža-* (*AIW* 675); O.Ind. *dāhati*. Parth. *'wdj-* < **ava-dag-* (Ghilain, p. 51).

dam- 'to blow' V a act. tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *damāte* Z 19. 88.

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *damīndā* Z 23. 160; L.Kh., *damūda* P 2928. 33 KT 3. 106.

Et. O.Ir. *dam- 'blow' in Av. only in *dādmāinya*- 'sich aufblasend' (*AIW* 731-2) and *dušdaḡdrō* V. 19. 43 'qui respire difficilement' (Benv., *MO*, xxvi-xxvii, 1932-3, 179-80). O.Ind. *dhāmati* 'blows'. Parth. *dm*- 'souffler' (Ghilain, p. 56); MPe *dm*- 'atmen' (*Verbum*, p. 173); NP *damidan* 'to blow'. B. Sogd. has extended **dmā*- in *dm's't* 'swollen' P 7. 61 (I. G., *GMS*, § 318, p. 49).

darrv- 'to dare' III e mid. intr. A/B ppp. **darruta-*

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *darvāre* Ch 00327. 11a *KT* 2. 52.

3 sg. inj., O.Kh.: *darrauva* N 21. 5 = H 147 NS 109. 41v3 *KT* 5. 73 +pres. pt. *vahīysānā*; < **dṛṣnavata* with strong stem extended; inj. confirmed by following inj. *hautta*.

L.Kh. ppp. *dirva-*, *darva-* < **darruta-*:

3 sg. pf. tr. f.: *darvā* P 2781. 127 (59) *KT* 3. 70.

3 pl. pf. tr.: *dirvāmdā* P 2741. 60 *KT* 2. 89 (v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 585).

Et. < O.Ir. **dṛṣ-nu-*, cf. OP *darṣnu-*, O.Ind. *dhṛṣṇōti*.

dals- 'to make firm, fasten; load' V e ppp. *dārṣṣa-*; *dirṣta-*

dalsā N 76. 42 tr. *upanāmya*. Form? 2 pl. imper. S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 131 s.v. *dalys*; 2 sg. imper., read **dalsā* Leumann, N 88; 2 sg. subj. H. W. B., *Languages of the Saka*, p. 144.

O.Kh. ppp.: *dārṣṣa-* Z 4. 57 (variant *dirṣṣa* Kha 1. 101, 113 *KT* 5. 380); 5. 99; *dirṣta-* Z 17. 22; 20. 53; 21. 31. The ppp. means 'firm, secure'.

Et. < **darsaya-* < O.Ir. **dars-* 'load', cf. Av. *darz-* 'stabilire; uincire' (*AIW* 697); Parth. *drz-* 'lier, charger (les bêtes de somme)' (Ghilain, p. 52); B. Sogd. *βδ'yšk* 'loaded' < **abi-dṛṣta-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 147. A, p. 245); Orm. *daṣ-ēk* 'to load' (*IIFL*, i. 393); Paštō *lēṣəl* (*EVP* 42); Waxī *durz-*, *dežd* 'to take, seize' (*IIFL*, ii. 520-1). O.Ir. **dars-* appears in Kh. also in: *dālysa-* 'raft' Z 13. 28; *drāysā* *Vajr*. 14b4 *KT* 3. 23 tr. *kola-* 'raft'; *draysa-* 'load' (v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xi. 4, 1946, 767-8) in *draysi-barā stūra* P 5538a 34 *KT* 2. 127.

***dav-** 'to strike; to clean' I b act. tr.; mid. intr. (= pass.) B

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *dvāñā* *Si* 13715 *KT* 1. 74 tr. *dhautam* (v. H. W. B., *Dumézil Vol.*, 1960, 13); *dvāñā* P 3513. 71v1 *KT* 1. 247 tr. *saṃtādītā*; id. *Si* 126v5 *KT* 1. 58 tr. *rdeg-pa* (-y- due to secondary L.Kh. palatalization).

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *dyū* P 2801. 36 *KT* 3. 66 'beats' < **dyūtā* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 576; **dyūtā* < **dyūtā* impossible; **dyūtā* for **dūtā* (with -y- as above) < **duvati* < **davati* (cf. *nuvatte/ñutte* < *nuvad-*).

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *dūte* Z 24. 379 < **duvatai* < **davatai*.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *dvymdā* *Si* 121v2 *KT* 1. 48 tr. *hkhyl-bar*.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *dvya* P 5538b 70 *KT* 3. 123 tr. *ttāḡaya*.

L.Kh. -*āmātā* abstract.: *dvymī* *JP* 91v1 *KT* 1. 173 tr. *ttāḡani*.

Et. Av. *ḍav-* 'reinigend abreiben' (*AIW* 688); O.Ind. *dhāvati* 'wipes off, cleans'; B. Sogd. *ḍ'w-* 'frotter, balayer' P; Oss. D. *daun* 'frottir, polir' (Benv., *Oss.*, p. 89).

dāśś- 'to complete, finish' ? V e act. tr. A ppp. **dāśśāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *dāśśāte* Z 10. 26; *dāśśātā* N 50. 37.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh. *dāśśide* Or 11344. 3b4 *KT* 2. 33.

+inf.: *padide* Z 23. 36; *naṣkošā* N 50. 37.

+pres. pt. (?): *dāśśādūm paphūjā* Hed. 3v6 *KT* 4. 23 'we have completed collecting'. Cf. *āksuv-* p. 7.

L.Kh. ppp. *dāśśya-*, *dāśśa-* < **dāśśāta-*: *dāśśyā* *JP* 47v3 *KT* 1. 139 tr. *saṃāpitta*; 3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *dāśśe* *JS* 13v1 (55) +inf. *tsai*; 3 sg. pf. tr. f.: *dāśśā* *JS* 814 (31) +inf. *hīsā*; 3 pl. pf. tr.: *dāśśāmdā* P 3513. 46r1 (Asm. 13).

Et. H. W. B. cf. Oss. D. *dāsun*, *dāst* 'heap up; cut'.

did- 'to appear' II a mid. intr. B ppp. *dista-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ditte* Z 1. 37+; *dätte* Z 1. 38+; *dittā* Z 6. 6; *dättā* Z 9. 27.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *diyāri* Z 4. 37; *diyāre* Z 4. 100; *dāyāre* Z 5. 12; 23. 13; *dyāre* Z 3. 113, 137+; *dyārā* Z 17. 3.

3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *dāsta* Z 5. 36.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *dāsta* Z 22. 238.

Et. < **di-da-* S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 42. Them. of **di-dā-* (like Av. *daθa-* them. of *daθā-* redupl. pres. of *dā-*), cf. Av. *diḍā-* redupl. pres. of *ḍā(y)-* 'sehen' (*AIW* 724-5).

1. **dīm-** 'to tame' V e tr. ppp. *danda-*

O.Kh. -*āmātā* abstract: *dīmāmātā-* Kha 1. 309a1. 43v4 *KB* 9.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *dānde* Z 24. 273.

ppp., O.Kh.: *danda-* Z 6. 20; L.Kh., *damda-* *JS* 1714 (73).

Et. < **damaya-*, cf. O.Ind. *damāyati* 'overpowers'. Cf. H. W. B., *KT* 4. 163. **dam-* is attested in Kh. in the -*gyā* abstract: *damgyo* *Suv*. K. 67r5 *KT* 5. 118 tr. *damanam*; *dagyē* ibid. 66r5 *KT* 5. 117 tr. *damana-* (v. H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1961, 55). O.Ir. **dam-*, cf. Oss. D. *domun* 'dompter' (Benv., *Oss.*, p. 90); Chor. *ḍms-* 'be tamed' (W. B. Henning, *Togan Vol.*, p. 434).

2. **dim-* 'to create' V e ppp. **danda-*2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *didai* JS 25v4 (112).Et. See *padim-*.1. *diśś-* 'to throw' H. W. B., BSOS, viii. 121, 1935. V e tr. ppp. *dišta-*L.Kh. pt. nec.: *diśāñā, diśāñā* Si 153v2 KT 1. 100 tr. *bor*.2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *dištai* JS 6v2 (23); 9v1 (36).3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *dište* Ch 00266. 203 KBT 29 = *niśāve* P 2957. 138 KBT 38.Et. H. W. B., cf. *daxš-* 'throw' in Av. *fradaxšanā-* 'sling'. *diśś-* is then caus. < inch. of **dag-* 'throw', and Av. has an *s*-extension (cf. Av. *bag-*, *baxš-*, etc.). I. G. draws my attention to B. Sogd. 'nd'yšēy 'Verwerfen', d.i. *pratikšepa* ST, ii. 575 s.v. From a base **daj-* (with *s*-extension in Sogd.), the inch. should be **diś-*. However, all presents of class V e in *-śś* have a long vowel in the root syllable.2. **diśś-* 'to confess' V e act. tr. A/B1 sg. pres. act.: O.Kh., *diśāmā* Z 11. 68; L.Kh., *diśūm* P 3513. 63r2 KT 1. 243 tr. *dešayisyāmi*.2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *diša* Z 12. 53.Et. Iter. < **dais-*, cf. Av. *daēs-* 'zeigen', pres. 3o *daēsaya-* (AIW 672); O.Ind. *diśāti, deśayati*; Parth. 'bdys- 'montrer, informer' < **abi-dais-* (Ghilain, p. 61); B. Sogd. *pδ'ys-* 'montrer' P 15. 30; Oss. D. *rādesun* 'manifeste' < **fra-dais-* (Benv., Oss., p. 41). O.Kh. always *-ś-*, L.Kh. usually *-š-* instead of expected *-śś-* and *-š-* respectively. Probably influenced by BHS *deśayati*, but Ir., cf. 2. *uysdiśś-* p. 16.*dukhev-* 'to make unhappy' LW tr. A ppp. *dukhautta-*3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *dukhevāte* Z 12. 43.O.Kh. ppp.: *dukhautta-* Z 5. 74+; *dukhotta-* Z 11. 15+; L.Kh. ppp. *dakhautta-* JS 28v2 (125); 33r4 (145).Et. BHS *duḥkḥāpayati*; Pāli *dukkhāpeti*. For *dukh-*, cf. NWPkt *dukha* Dh 106++.*drjs-* 'to hold' I c mid. tr. B ppp. *dyta-*3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *drysde* Z 12. 8, 47; *därysdē* Z 6. 35 (bis); 11. 23, 26; 16. 8; 22. 291; *därysdē* Z 11. 19; 22. 158; *därysdē* Or 9609. 68r4 KT 1. 241 tr. *dhāreti*; L.Kh., *daiysda* P 3513. 55v4 (Asm. 60).3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *drjsāre* Z 22. 265; *djsāre* Z 2. 45; (!) *trjsāre* Z 3. 126 only.O.Kh. ppp. *dyta-*, *draita-*, *dreita-*, *drita-*, *dārāta-*:1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *dytemā* Z 22. 286.2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *dritai* Z 24. 512.3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *dyte* Z 22. 301; *draite* Z 24. 392; *drraite* Z 24. 46.3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *dytāndā* Z 24. 507; *drreitāndā* Z 22. 229; *dārātāndā* Kha 1. 13 142r3 KBT 4.Inf. *dyte* Z 20. 18.L.Kh. ppp. *dirya-*, *dūrya-*:2 sg. pf. tr. m.: *diryai* JS 25r4 (110).3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *dirye* P 2801. 34 KT 3. 66.Et. < **dyja-* < O.Ir. **drag-*, cf. Av. *drag-* 'halten' (AIW 771); Man. Sogd. *jyt-*, B. Sogd. *dyrt-* ppp. 'to hold' (I. G., GMS, § 285, p. 45).*dai-* 'to see' I b act. tr. D ppp. *dāta-*

Complete O.Kh. pres. paradigm:

1 sg.: *daimā* Z 6. 7+; Stein E. 1. 7 149r2 KT 5. 78 (so read).2 sg.: *dai* Stein E. 1. 7 149r2 KT 5. 78.3 sg.: *daiyā* Z 2. 11+; *deiyā* Z 14. 70+; *daitā* Z 24. 416.1 pl.: *dāyāmā* Z 14. 56; *dyāmā* Z 4. 54; 23. 168.2 pl.: *daiya* Z 14. 58+.3 pl.: *dāindā* Z 14. 57+.L.Kh. has 3 sg. pres. *daitā* P 3513. 54v4 (Asm. 54) tr. *pašyati* but also *daittā* Si 7v3 KT 1. 12. This is the common use of L.Kh. *-tt-* for O.Kh. *-t-*. *-tt-* is not found in O.Kh., where C and D are always distinct in 3 sg. pres. act.O.Kh. ppp. *dāta-*, *dita-*:3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *dāte* Z 4. 70+.3 pl. pf. tr.: *dātāndā* Z 3. 17+.Inf. *dāte* Z 20. 28; *dite* Z 22. 284.L.Kh. ppp. *dya-*:2 sg. pf. tr. m.: *dyai* JS 5v4 (20)+.Et. < **daya-*, S. Konow, NTS, vii, 1934, 42. Cf. Av. *²dā(y)-* 'sehen' (AIW 724); Parth. *dyd* ppp. 'voir' (Ghilain, p. 96); NP *diḍan*; B. Sogd. *wyδ'y-* 'disparaître' P. *dai-* contrasts with *did-* 'appear' q.v.**dem-* 'to blow' V e tr. ppp. *daunda-*3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *daunde* Z 4. 45.O.Kh. ppp. *daunda-* Z 20. 35; cf. *adaunda-* Z 13. 114.Et. Iter. < **dam-*, v. *uysdem-* p. 16; *dam-* p. 43.

dyāñ- 'to make appear, reveal' V e act. tr.; intr. mid. (= pass.) A ppp. *dyāñāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *dyāñāte* *Suv. K.* 66r3 *KT* 5. 117; *Z* 19. 20; *dyāñāte* *Z* 22. 165.

1 sg. pres. act. tr., L.Kh.: *dyāñāme* *P* 2787. 87 *KT* 2. 104.

3 pl. pres. mid. (= pass.?), O.Kh.: *dyāñāre* *Z* 19. 30.

1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *dyāñātaimā* *Kha* 1. 13. 142r3 *KBT* 4 tr. *bstan.*

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *dyāñāte* *Z* 13. 55; *dyāñāte* *Z* 13. 136.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *dyāñātāndā* *Kha* 1. 13. 142r4 *KBT* 4.

Et. Caus. to *did-*.

drāh- 'to fly (up)' V d act. intr. A ppp. *drautta-*

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *drāha* *Z* 17. 1.

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *drāhe* *P* 2936. 6 *KT* 3. 108.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *drāhidā* *P* 2895. 21 *KT* 3. 40.

ppp. *drautta-*: *drautta hamīya* *P* 2025. 172 *KBT* 17 = *drautta hamī* *Ch* 00266. 110-11 *KBT* 25 = *āśa' hamdrāysī tsvā* *P* 2957. 60-61 *KBT* 33. Cf. also *aysdrauttā* *P* 2783. 180 (19) *KT* 3. 73 ('flying up' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 590).

Et. < **drāfya-* < **drap-* < IE **dr-ep-*, see R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxix. 3, 1966, 613-15.

drem- 'to drive away' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *dremāte* *Z* 12. 95.

Et. Caus. < **dram-*, cf. O.Ind. *dramati* 'runs'. **dram-* in Ir. also in Av. *handramanā-* 'Zusammenrottung' (*AIW* 1772) and Kh. *hamdramā* Or 9609. *27v6 *KT* 1. 236 tr. *kāntāra-*.

najs- 'to make a noise (of animals)' I b act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *najsīndi* *Z* 2. 46; *najsīndā* *Z* 20. 30.

Et. ? Base **nag/k-*. H. W. B. points to Toch. A *nāk-*, B *nāk-* 'to reproach'.

namas- 'to worship' LW act. tr. B ppp. *namasāta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *namastā* *Z* 12. 55; 22. 188, 282, 296; 23. 170.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *namasīndā* *Z* 5. 40+.

O.Kh. ppp. *namasāta-*:

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *namasāte* *SS* 13v2 *KT* 5. 329.

3 pl. pf. tr.: *namasātāndā* *Z* 24. 240; H 142 NS 88+89. 8v3 *KT* 5. 81.

L.Kh. ppp. *namasya-*: 3 sg. pf. tr. f.: *namasyā* *Ch* c. 001. 1035-6 *KBT* 142.

Et. NWPKt *Dhp* 3 *namase'a* = Pāli *namasseyya*.

narām- 'to go out' (of, from) V d act. tr. or intr. A ppp. *naranda-*

Constructions, see R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 27: (i) intr. *Z* 3. 99; (ii) +acc. *Z* 13. 147; (iii) +I-A *Z* 2. 104; 24. 166.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *narāmāte* *Z* 4. 96; *narāmātā* *Z* 22. 204, 213; Khot. (IO). 1a3 *KT* 5. 346.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *narāmīndā* *Z* 3. 99; 22. 279; *narāmīndi* *Z* 22. 173, 205, 212, 303.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *narānda* *Z* 2. 104; *naranda* *Z* 2. 123.

3 pl. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *narande* *Z* 13. 109.

O.Kh. inf.: *narinde* *Z* 22. 276.

Et. < **niš-ram-*. See *ttrām-* p. 40. Cf. Av. *ram-* 'ruhen', pres. 28 *rāmya-* (*AIW* 1511); Parth. *n(y)r'm-* 'abaisser, soumettre' < **ni-ram-* (Ghilain, p. 73).

***naljsem-** 'to finish' V e tr. ppp. *naljsonda-*

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *naljsonde* *Z* 3. 150; 22. 334; *naljsondā* *Z* 1. 188.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *naljsondāndi* *Z* 2. 166.

Et. < **niš-jāmaya-*, caus. < **niš-gam-*. Cf. Av. *gam-* 'kommen', pres. 30 *jāmaya-* (*AIW* 494).

***naltcīmph-** 'to remove' III d tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *naltcīphā* *Si* 16v3 *KT* 1. 26 tr. *sel-bar byed-do*; *na'tcīphe* *Si* 15v3 *KT* 1. 24.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *naltcīphāka* *Si* 129v4 *KT* 1. 62 tr. *sel-to*.

Et. < **niš-sčambaya-*, cf. Av. *skamb-* 'stemmen', pres. 9+24 *sčimbaya-* (*AIW* 1587). For **niš-* here, see p. 232.

naltsu- 'to go out' I d act. tr. or intr. D ppp. *naltsuta-*

Constructions, see R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 27: (i) intr.; (ii) +acc.; (iii) +loc.; (iv) +preposition: *patā rrunde naltseyiā* *Z* 24. 405 'he goes out against the kings'.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *naltseyiye* *Z* 22. 202; *naltsaiye* *Z* 24. 252; *naltseyiā* *Z* 24. 405.

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *naltsute* *Z* 5. 32; L.Kh., *naṭsū* *Ch* 00266. 112 *KBT* 25 = *netsūe* *P* 2025. 173-4 *KBT* 17 = *netsve* *P* 2957. 62 *KBT* 33.

Et. < **niš-čyav-*, v. *tsu-* p. 42.

***nalysv-** 'to issue' H. W. B., *KT* 4. 134. I b mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *na'ysvārai* *P* 4099. 70 *KBT* 116; *na'ysvāre* *P* 4099. 205 *KBT* 123.

Et. < **niš-zav-*, cf. Oss. D. *ävzujun* 'fall' (of hair) H. W. B., loc. cit.

naṣkalj- 'to drive away' V e tr. A ppp. *naṣkrriya-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *naṣkaljāte* Z 12. 67.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *naṣkalja* Avdh 13r2 KT 3. 6.

L.Kh. ppp. *naṣkrriya-* Avdh 18r4 KT 3. 9.

Et. < *niš-+kalj- p. 21.

naṣkār- 'to drag away' H. W. B., KT 4. 65. I d tr. ppp. *naṣkāda-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *naṣkāra* Or 11252. 4b7 KT 2. 17; Hoernle MBD 25a2 KT 5. 67.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *naṣkāḍāmdā* Hed. 2. 6 KT 4. 22.

Et. < *niš-+kār- p. 22.

naṣkīrr- 'to cut out' III b tr. B

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *naṣkīrrdā* P 2893. 199 KT 3. 90.

Et. < *niš-kīrra- < niš-kar-, cf. Av. *frākərənaoṣ* (V. 22. 2) < kar- 'to cut' < IE *(s)ker- (Pok. 938). O.Ind. *kṛṇāti* 'injures'.

naṣkoš- 'to bale out' V e tr.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *naṣkoṣātā* N 50. 32.

O.Kh. inf.: *naṣkoṣā* N 50. 38.

Et. < *niš-kauz-aya-, v. *uškoš-* p. 17.

naṣkhaj- 'to remove' V e tr.

O.Kh. -āmatā abstract: *naṣkhajāmata* Suv. K. 34v4 KT 5. 112 tr. *parihāraṃ*.

Et. See *uskhaj-*, *uskhajs-* p. 17.

naṣkhajs- 'to come out' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *naṣkhasta-*

3 sg. pres. mid.: <na>*ṣkhaysdī* Kha vi. 3 3a1 KT 5. 191 (fragment).

L.Kh. ppp.: *naṣakhastye* P 4649. 1 KT 2. 124; *naṣkhasta* H 147

MBD 23a12 KT 5. 66. ? *naṣkhasta-* = *naṣkhasta-*: *naṣkasye* P 2896. 45 KT 3. 95; *naṣkastyai* Or 8212. 162. 116 KT 2. 7.

Et. See *uskhaj-*, *uskhajs-* p. 17.

naṣkhan- 'to laugh' I b intr. B

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *naṣkhamttā* Z 12. 75; *naṣkhamtt* <ā> Kha 1. 115 3b1 KT 5. 189 (fragment).

Et. < *niš-+khan- p. 25.

1. ***naṣtav-** 'to burn' ppp. *naṣtauda-*

Cf. *naṣtāvya* jsa P 3513. 64r4 KT 1. 244 tr. *saṃtāpāir*.

ppp. O.Kh., *naṣtauda-* Z 5. 49; L.Kh., *niṣtauda* P 3513. 68v4 KT 1. 246 tr. *tapta*.

Et. < *niš-tap-, v. *ttav-* p. 38.

2. **naṣtav-** 'to pour out' tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *naṣtvāṇa* Si 156v2 KT 1. 104 tr. *dbo-bar* (pour out).

Et. < *niš-tav-. H. W. B. cf. Av. *taoṣ-* 'leer, los sein' (AIW 624) as s-extension. Cf. also Oss. D. *itaun* 'säen'; Rōš. *patēw-* 'throw' (Sokolova, *Ruṣanskie i xufskie teksty i slovar'*, 1959, 228).

***naṣtos-** 'to be consumed' IV a intr. ppp. *naṣtosāta-*

3 sg. pf., O.Kh.: *naṣtosāte* Z 5. 28.

Cf. also *naṣtausai* Si 140r1 KT 1. 78 tr. *šoṣaḥ* (v. H. W. B., BSOS, ix. 1, 1937, 76).

Et. < *niš-tafsa- inch. < *niš-tap-, v. *ttaus-* p. 40.

***naṣthris-** 'to be pushed out' (v. Leumann, N 78) IV a intr.

ppp. *naṣthrrita-*

O.Kh. ppp. *naṣthrrita-* H 142 NS 29 etc. 611v5 KT 5. 92.

Et. < *niš-+θrak-; v. *hamthris-* p. 140.

naṣdam- 'to blow out, extinguish' V a act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *naṣda'mide* P 3513. 62r1 KT 1. 243 tr. *vidhamantu*.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *naṣdamāka* Avdh 11r4 KT 3. 5.

Et. < *niš-+dam- p. 43.

***naṣḍem-** 'to blow out, extinguish' V e ppp. **naṣḍaunda-*

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *naṣḍodai*, JS 34v4 (152).

Et. Iter. < *naṣdam-* q.v.

naṣpaśd- 'to remove' VI b tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *naṣpaśde* Si 4v2 KT 1. 8 tr. *hbyuñ-bar byed-pa*; id. P 2893. 70 KT 3. 85 'dispels' (H. W. B., BSOAS, xxiii. 1, 1960, 14).

L.Kh. -āmatā abstract: *naṣpaśdāme* Si 4v2 KT 1. 8 tr. *hbyin-pa*.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *niṣpaśdā'nā* Si 102v3 KT 1. 38.

Et. < *niš-paśdaya-, v. *tvaśd-* p. 41.

naṣpul- 'to hiss' or 'to spit'

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *naṣpulamdā* JS 23r1 (99).

Et. Dresden, p. 477 s.v. cf. Av. *parədan* V. 3. 32 (why 'vomited'?). Cf. also O.Ind. *pardate* 'farts'; Yidgha *pil-em* (IIFL, ii. 236).

naṣphaj- 'to be obtained' V c intr.

3 pl. subj., L.Kh.: *naṣphajānde* JS 38r2 (166) only.

Et. ? < *niš-bag-, cf. Av. *bag-* 'als Anteil zuweisen, zugehören' (AIW

921); O.Ind. *bhājati*. See also *hamphāj-*. If Kh. *ph* can be < *θw*, I. G. suggests < **niš-θwāj-*, cf. Chr. Sogd. *tfyž-* 'to collect'.

našphan- 'to come out' intr.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *našphanā* Z 5. 28 'come out'.
? L.Kh. *našphana* P 4099. 87 KBT 117.
Et. < **niš-fan-*, see H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 120-3.

našphašt- 'to remove' V e tr.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *našphašta* Avdh 13r2 KT 3. 6.
pt. nec.: O.Kh., *našphaštānā* N 52. 12; L.Kh., *našphaštānā* Si 100v5 KT 1. 34.
L.Kh. nom. ag.: *našphaštākā* Si 121v1 KT 1. 48; *našphaštākā* Si 19r1 KT 1. 30 tr. *hbyuñ-bar byed-do*.
Et. Caus. < **našphast-*; v. *phast-* p. 90.

našphāñ- 'to bring out' V e tr. A

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *našphāñū* Vajr. 20a1 KT 3. 24 tr. *nišpādayiṣyāmi*.
3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *našphāñe* Vajr. 34a3 KT 3. 27.
-āmātā abstract: *našphāñāme* Kha ii. 29. 8v4, 5 KBT 10.
Et. Caus. < *našphan-* q.v. Cf. Sarikolī *nañon-* H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 120, n. 3; KT 4. 18. Cf. also Šughnī *nañfēn-* (I. Zarubin, *Šugnanskie teksty i slovar'*, Moscow, 1960, 185); Rōš. *nawfēn-* (V. S. Sokolova, *Ružanskie i xufskie teksty i slovar'*, Moscow, 1959, 213).

našphīś- 'to avoid' V e A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *našphīśātā* H 143a NSB 24r3 KT 5. 86 'avoids'.
Et. Iter. < **našphis-*, see *usphis-* p. 19.

nās- 'to take' I d act. or mid. (L.Kh.); mid. (O.Kh.) tr. B ppp. *nāta-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *nāste* Z 14. 78++; *nāstā* Z 12. 63; L.Kh., *nāste* JS 38v2 (168).
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nāsāre* Z 3. 55+; L.Kh.: *nāsāra* P 4099. 15 KBT 114.
3 pl. pres. (? opt.) act., L.Kh. only: *nāsīda* P 2942. 5 KT 3. 109; *nāsīdā* Or 8212. 162. 32 KT 2. 2; Ch 1.0021a, a8 KT 2. 53; *nāsīde* P 2027. 49 KT 2. 81; *nāsīdai* P 2027. 60-1 KT 2. 82.
1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *nātaimā* Z 1. 190.
2 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *nātai* Z 24. 436; L.Kh., id. JS 4v2 (14)+; *nāvai* JS 14v2 (60).
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *nāte* Z 2. 57+.
3 sg. pf. tr. f.: O.Kh., *nātā* Z 23. 106 < **nātātā*; L.Kh., *nā* JS 8v1 (31).
3 pl. pf. tr.: O.Kh., *nāndā* Z 5. 6++ < **nātāndā*; L.Kh., *nāmdā* JS 17r3 (72); *node* JS 35r4 (154).

O.Kh. inf.: *nete* Suv. K. 35r7 KT 5. 113.

L.Kh. inf., see H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xi. 1, 1943, 3: *nāte* P 5538a 39, 40 KT 2. 127; *nī* P 2801. 21 KT 3. 66; *nati* Vajr. 11b4 KT 3. 22 tr. *udgrahitum*; *nātā* ibid. 12a1; *nītā* ibid. 12a4.
Et. Cf. Av. **nas-* 'hingelangen zu', pres. 4 *nāsa-* (*AIW* 1056); O.Ind. *nāsati* (aor.-subj.); Yaghn. *nos-*, *nōta* 'take' (Andreev, p. 295). The ppp. *nāta-* is secondary, due to reinterpretation of *nās-* as inch. on the analogy of *stās-/stāta-* etc. That the base is **nas-* is shown by the noun *nasa-* 'share' Z 5. 42, 48; Vajr. 31a2 KT 3. 26 tr. *kalā-*.

niḱṣuv- 'to urge; promote' I c act. tr. B ppp. **niḱṣautta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *niḱṣūtā* Z 24. 43 (H. W. B.).
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *niḱṣvi(da)* Ch 00268. 168 KBT 67 = *nakṣvīda* Ch 00277. 7r2 KBT 70.
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *nakṣūauttāndi* P 2834. 11 KBT 45.
L.Kh. inf.: *nakṣāttai* P 2787. 111 KT 2. 105; *nakṣuauttā* P 2834. 14 KBT 45 (?).
Et. See **ḱṣuv-* p. 25.

nājs- 'to fight' I c act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nājsindā* Z 22. 118.
Et. < **naik-* < IE **neik-* (Pok. 761) 'attack', Gk. *νεῖκος* 'strife' (H. W. B.).

nijaṣ- 'to show' I b mid. tr. B ppp. *nājsaṣta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nijaṣṣe* Z 2. 73+.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nājsātā're* Z 4. 73.
3 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *nājsaṣte* Z 23. 149+; L.Kh., *nājsūṣta* P 4099. 402 KBT 133 = *nājsaṣṣe* Z 9. 24 (3 sg. pres., O.Kh.).
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *nājsaṣtāndi* Or 9609. 68r3 KT 1. 241 tr. *darsenti* var. *deṣenti*.
Et. < **ni-čaṣa-*, see *tcāṣ-* p. 40; *kāt-* p. 20. Cf. also Yidgha *niṣāž-*, Munji *niṣāž-* 'to show' < **ni-čaṣ-* (*IIFL*, ii. 233); Chor. *nētk* < **ničaṣta-* (W. B. Henning, *Hdb.*, p. 111, n. 6).

nijsvāñ- 'to show' V e mid. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *nijsvāñāre* Si 140r4 KT 1. 78 tr. *bstan-to*.
Et. Caus. < *nijaṣ-* q.v.

***nitcañ-** 'to break up' III d ppp. *nitcasta-*

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *nitcaste* N 76. 46 tr. *cchitvā*.
Et. See *hatcañ-*.

nād- 'to sit down' I c act. intr. B ppp. *nāta'sta-*

+*dī*, *bendā*, *vīrā*, *vāte*, *patāna* or loc. (Z 19. 91; 24. 488).

- 3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *nättä* Z 13. 28; 22. 215; *Suv. K.* 63r4 KT 5. 114 tr. *pravekṣyati*; L.Kh., *naittä* P 3513. 55v3 (Asm. 59) tr. *niṣṭati*.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nindā* Z 3. 60.
 2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *nya* Z 2. 188; 5. 52.
 O.Kh. pt. nec.: *niyāñā-* Z 2. 221; 3. 30.
 2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *na'stā* N 171. 16, 18.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m.: O.Kh., *nāta'stā* Z 2. 168; 5. 44; *nita'stā* Z 2. 187; 14. 88; 24. 254; *niga'lstā* Z 2. 93; L.Kh., *naista* Ch 00266. 194 KBT 29 = *ne'stā* P 2957. 132 KBT 38.
 3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *na'stā* Z 2. 98.
 3 pl. pf. intr. m.: O.Kh., *nāta'stā* Z 19. 91; L.Kh., *ne'stā* P 2741. 55 KT 2. 89.
 Et. Hardly < **ni-ṣad-*, **ni-ṣasta-* as Dresden, p. 477 s.v. *ne'stā*-, as there is no trace of -ṣ- in the pres. forms. Rather is *nād-* to be derived < **ni-hida-* as is Man. Sogd. *nyδ-* 'to sit' (I. G., GMS, § 545, p. 85). Other forms are: Av. *niṣhida-* (with shortening of -i- in compound, see AIW 1754, n. 3; O.Ind. *niṣṭati*); Parth. *nṣyd-*, *nṣst* (Ghilain, p. 50); MPe *nṣyy-*, *nṣt* (*Verbium*, p. 169). Kh. and Sogd. seem also to show that -i- was shortened in polysyllabic forms as a phonetic feature. Ppp. < **niṣasta-*.

***niphan-** 'to rejoice' I b act. intr. A/B

- 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *naphanīdā* Or 8212. 162. 29 KT 2. 2.
 Et. < **ni-fan-* H. W. B., AM, N.S. vii. 1-2, 1959, 20.

nimandrai- 'to invite' LW act. tr. D ppp. *numandrāta-*

- 1 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nimandraimā* Z 2. 50.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nāmaṇdraiyā* Z 24. 465, 473.
 3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *nāmaṇdraindā* Z 12. 61; *numandrāindā* Z 1. 53; L.Kh., *namadrīda* P 5538b32 KT 3. 122 tr. *nmattrīyattī*.
 1 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *nimaṇdrīye* JS 2r2 (4).
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *numadrītai* Z 2. 99.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *numandrāte* Z 12. 1; L.Kh., *namaṇdrye* P 2801. 19 KT 3. 66.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *nimaṇdrādi* Kha 1. 221. 23 KT 3. 129.
 L.Kh. inf.: *nimaṇdre* Kha 1. 221. 25-26 KT 3. 130.
 Et. < BHS **nimandrayate*, cf. *upanimandrayate* SPAW, 1930, 11 (6v6) H. W. B.

nimalys- 'to rub down' I b act. tr. B ppp. *nāmalsta-*

- 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nimalśdā* Z 22. 147.
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *nima'ysāñā* H 143 NS 63b3 KT 5. 40.
 O.Kh. ppp. *nāmalsta-* Z 21. 32.

Et. < **ni-marz-* H. W. B., TPS, 1956, 113-14. Ppp. < **ni-mard-* according to S. Konow, NTS, xi, 1939, 57, but see H. W. B. loc. cit. and R. E. E., BSOAS, xxix. 3, 1966, 613. Av. *nī mārāḍdyāi* Y. 44. 14; B. Sogd. *nm'rz-* 'berühren' Dhy 298, 385, 403; Parth. *nmrz-*, *nmawšt* 'épurer, nettoyer' (Ghilain, p. 53).

nāmājs- 'to wink' I c act. intr. B

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nāmāśdi* Z 23. 122.
 Cf. *anāmājsyau tce'maṇyau* H 142 NS 88+89. 8v3-4 KT 5. 81.
 Et. < **ni-maig-* H. W. B., BSOAS, xxiii. 1, 1960, 23. Cf. Yidgha *na'miž* 'winking' (IIFL, ii. 232); B. Sogd. *nymz'y* Vim. 201 (Benv., JA, 1933, 1, 241; BSL, xxxviii. 1937, 280-1).

niriks- 'to examine' LW tr.

- L.Kh. pt. nec.: *niriksāñā* Si 4v5 KT 1. 8 tr. *phyed-par byas*.
 Et. Skt *nirīkṣate* 'views'.

***nirūj-** 'to burst; disappear' V c act. intr. (= pass.) A

- 3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *nirūje* Ch 00268. 170-1 KBT 67 = *narrūje* Ch 00277. 7v2 KBT 70; *nairūje* P 4099. 398 KBT 133 (= *nihuśdā* Z 9. 21); id. ibid. 394 (= *niruddha* Z 9. 17).
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *narūjīdi* P 3513. 16v3 KBT 55; *narrūjīdā* ibid. 17r1; *narūjīdi* ibid. 17v4.
 Et. < **ni-ruj-ya-*, v. 2. **nirūj-*. For the act. cf. *baj-* p. 91.

***nirus-** 'to burst' IV a act. intr. B

- 3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *nirauštā* Si 103v5 KT 1. 40 tr. *brdol-ba*.
 L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *nirasamḍai* Si 103r1 KT 1. 38 tr. *rdol-ba*.
 Et. Inch. < **ni-raug-*; v. 2. **rrus-* p. 116.

nirūj- 'to break open' V e tr. ppp. **niruta-*

- L.Kh. pt. nec.: *nirūjāñā* Si 156v3 KT 1. 104 tr. *rtol-te*.
 L.Kh. ppp. *narvā-* < **niruta-*:
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *narvāi* JS 18r3 (77).
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *narvāmdā* P 2891. 26 KT 3. 80.
 Et. < **ni-raujaya-*; v. 2. **rrus-* p. 116.

nārmān- 'to create magically' III b act. tr. B ppp. *nārmāta-*

- 2 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nārmāñi* Z 2. 155.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nārmāndā* Z 1. 34; 14. 93; *nirminde* Z 2. 48; *nirmāndā* Z 2. 50.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nārmānīndi* Z 4. 30; *nārmānāndā* Z 4. 31.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *nirmāte* Z 2. 47; *nārmāte* Z 14. 90.

- 3 sg. pf. tr. f., O.Kh.: *nārmātātā* Z 4. 13.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *nārmātāndā* *Suv.* K. 63r5 *KT* 5. 114 tr. *nirmito*.
 L.Kh. ppp. *narmya*:- *cā'ya-narmya* P 4099. 183 *KBt* 122 =
cā'ya-nirmātu Z 5. 58.
 Et. See *hamān*- and p. 233.

nārsāy- 'to present' LW tr. A ppp. *nārsāyāta*-

- 1 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *narasā'yū* P 3513. 8or4 *KBt* 64; *nārisā'yūm*
 P 3510. 4. 5 *KBt* 49.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nārsāyāte* Kha 1. 13. 138v4 *KBt* 3 tr. *phul-nas*.
 1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *nārsāyātāmā* *Suv.* K. 67v1 *KT* 5. 118 tr.
niryātītā.
 Et. BHS *niryātayati*, *niryādayati*; Pāli *niyyādeti*; Niya 511v2 p. 186
niryādayāti; Khar. Konow 88, p. 172 *niryāide*.

nivartt- 'to repel' LW tr. A

- 3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *nivartte* *JS* 12r1 (47) 'repels'.
 Et. BHS *nivarteti*.

niśś- 'to throw away' V b act. tr. A ppp. *niśśāta*-

- 1 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *niśīmā* P 3510. 5. 7 *KBt* 50.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *niśśāte* Z 19. 54.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *niśīmā* P 2782. 7 *KT* 3. 58 = *niśīda* Or
 8212. 162. 89 *KT* 2. 6.
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *niśāñā* *Si* 109v3 *KT* 1. 48 tr. *btāb-pa*.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *niśśāte* Kha 1. 185. 1a3 *KT* 5. 155.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *niśāmā* P 2783. 245 (84) *KT* 3. 76; *niśāmā*
 P 2801. 65 *KT* 3. 68 < **niśātāndā*+i 'they cast her'.
 Et. < **ni-śuā-ya*- with secondary shortening of -ā- as in Av. *spaya*-
 < **spā*- 'iacere' (*AIW* 1615), ppp. *spāta*-. Cf. Parth. *nyspy*-,
nysp'd 'ployer le genou' (Ghilain, p. 87). See also *paśś*- p. 76.

nāṣam- 'to be stilled; cease' act. (O.Kh.); mid. (L.Kh.) intr. (= pass.)
 A/B ppp. *nāṣa'ta*-

- 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nāṣamindā* Or 9609. 4v5 *KT* 1. 233 tr.
śāmyante.
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *niṣe'māre* P 3513. 37r1 *KBt* 60; *naiṣa'mārai*
 P 4099. 399 *KBt* 133 (= *nāhuta puṣṣo* Z 9. 21).
 3 sg. subj., L.Kh.: *niṣi'māte* *Si* 102r3 *KT* 1. 38 tr. *śi-bar* . . . *gyur-na*.
 3 pl. subj., L.Kh.: *niṣa'māndi* P 3513. 71r1 *KT* 1. 247 tr. *praśamantu*.
 Note formal confusion in L.Kh. of pres. stem of *nāṣam*- with
niṣem- q.v.
 L.Kh. abstract noun: *niṣā'mā* *Vajr.* 18b2 *KT* 3. 23.

O.Kh. ppp.: *nāṣa'tā* Or 9609. 5v2 *KT* 1. 234; *ibid.* 55r2 *KT* 1. 239.
 Et. ? H. W. B. < **niṣ-am*-, cf. O.Ind. *dmīti* 'presses on'.

nāṣa's- 'to end' IV a act. intr. B

- 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nāṣa'stā* Z 2. 29; 5. 83.
 Et. Inch. < **ni-ṣad*- H. W. B. V. *nād*-. Cf. noun *nāṣa'skyā*- 'end'
 Z 24. 252 and adj. *aṇe'scya* P 3513. 57v1 (*Asm.* 67) tr. *ananta*-.

***niṣā'y**- 'to establish; appoint' V e act. tr. A ppp. *nāṣa'sta*-

- 1 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *nā'yūm* P 2801. 41-42 *KT* 3. 67.
 2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *nā'ya* P 2781. 152 (84) *KT* 3. 72.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nātā'yātā* H 142 NS 61. 47r3 *KT* 5. 29.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *nā'yidā* Hed. 20. 13 *KT* 4. 34.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *nesta* Ch 00266. 118 *KBt* 25 = *neṣte* P 2957. 67
KBt 34 = *naiste* P 2025. 181 *KBt* 17.
 3 pl. pf. tr.: O.Kh., *nāṣa'stāndā* *Suv.* K. 63v2 *KT* 5. 114; L.Kh.,
nā'stāmdā P 2783. 232 (71) *KT* 3. 75; *ne'stāmdā* P 2741. 12 *KT*
 2. 88.
 Et. < **ni-ṣādāya* (Dresden, p. 477 s.v. *ne'sta*-). Cf. Av. *niṣādaya*;-
 MPe *nṣ'y*-, *nṣ'st* (*Verbum*, p. 169); Man. Sogd. *nṣyyδ*- (I. G.,
GMS, § 545, p. 85).

niṣem- 'to remove, extinguish' V e tr. A ppp. *nāṣaunda*-

- O.Kh. pt. nec.: *niṣemāñā*- Z 5. 79; -*āmatā* abstract: *nāṣemāmate*
Suv. K. 33r2 *KT* 5. 111; nom. ag.: *nāṣemākā* Or 9609. *27v7 *KT*
 1. 236 tr. *oprasamayitā*, *opranāsayitā*.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nāṣeme* Reuter 1v6 *KT* 5. 395 tr. *nirvāpayiṣyanti*.
 O.Kh. ppp.: *nāṣaunda*- Z 3. 103; 10. 6; 22. 101, 223; 23. 158; *niṣaunda*-
 Z 20. 32; *niṣonda*- Z 5. 35; *neṣo'nda* Z 3. 103.
 Et. Iter. < *nāṣam*- p. 56. Not from **niṣrāmay* as Leumann, 'E',
 p. 451 s.v., but S. Konow's objection is not strong (*NTS*, xi, 1939,
 57).

niṣkal- 'to expound' I b act. tr. A/B ppp. **niṣkālsta*-

- L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *niṣkalyāme* Ch xlvii. 0012c. 3a2 *KT* 2. 59
 'exposition' (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xv. 3, 1953, 531).
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *naiṣkalīda* S 6701. 18 *KT* 3. 137.
 L.Kh. ppp.: *naiṣkaista* Or 8212. 162. 121 *KT* 2. 7.
 Et. < **ni-ṣkard*-, v. *pāṣkal*- p. 83.

nihalj- 'to destroy' V e act. tr. A ppp. *nihīya*-

- O.Kh. nom. ag.: *nihaljāka* Z 22. 142; L.Kh., *nihejāka* *Si* 10r3 *KT*
 1. 14 tr. *sel-to*.

- 3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *niheje Si* 10r4 KT 1. 14 tr. *sel-to*.
 3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *nihaljā Z* 2. 178.
 3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh.: *nihaljīndi Kha* 1. 131a1. b2 KT 5. 148; L.Kh.: *nihejēde P* 3513. 62r1 KT 1. 243 tr. *hanantu*.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *nḥīye Z* 23. 46.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *nḥīyāndā Z* 12. 92.
 Et. Iter. < **ni-θrak-*, v. *hamthris-* p. 140.

nihujs- 'to sink down, set' I c act. intr. B ppp. *nihuta-*

- 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nihuśdā Z* 5. 54; 9. 21; 22. 90; *nāhuśdā Z* 5. 79; 22. 187.
 O.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *nihujsāmatā- Kha* 1. 13. 139v3 KBT 3; 140r4 KBT 4; 145v2 KBT 6.
 O.Kh. ppp. *nāhuta-* Z 9. 21; 14. 10, 27; 22. 285; *nihuta-* Z 24. 320; Kha 1. 13. 140r4 KBT 4.
 Et. < **ni-baug-* E. Leumann, *Festgabe für H. Jacobi*, 1926, 80. O.Ind. *bhujāti* 'bends'.

nāhvarr- 'to long for; grasp at' III b mid. intr. B ppp. *nihvarrda-*

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nāhvarrde Z* 12. 93; H 142 NS 77+H 142 NS 80. 16r4 KT 5. 102; *nihvarrde H* 144 NS 32+H 144 NSB 17r1, 4, 7 KT 5. 93.
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *nāhvarāre P* 4099. 147 KBT 120.
 -*āmatā* abstract: *anāhvarremāte jsa Kha* 0013c4. b4 KT 5. 124.
 L.Kh. ppp.: *anihvarrdye bāvani gīhna P* 3510. 10. 10 KBT 53 = *anahvarrdye bāvāña gīhna P* 3513. 78r1 KBT 63 'by aid of the ... ungraspable *bhāvanā-* meditation' (H. W. B., *Brown Vol.*, 19).
 Et. < **ni-hvar-na-* H. W. B., *Zor. Prob.* 71-72. See *hvar-*.

1. **nuvad-** 'to lie down' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *nvasta-*

- 3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nuvatte Z* 4. 72; *nütte Z* 22. 129.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nūyāre Z* 24. 168.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *nvasta P* 2834. 17 KBT 45.
 3 pl. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *nvasta Ch* 00266. 68 KBT 23 (= *vīstauda P* 2025. 118 KBT 15 = *vīstāve P* 2957. 24 KBT 31).
nvastā JS 18v3 (79) ppp. or 2 sg. pf. m. (for **nvastī*).
 Et. < **ni-pada-* < **ni-pad-*, cf. B. Sogd. *nypδ-* SCE 324 < **nipada-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 545, p. 85). Pres. V b in Av. *ni.paīdya-* and O.Ind. *nīpadyate*. **ni-pad-* is found in caus. forms in Parth. *nb'y-* 'déposer' (Ghilain, p. 70); MPe *nb'st* ppp. 'warf nieder' (*Verbum*, p. 188).

2. ***nuvad-** 'to make a noise' V a act. intr. C/D

- 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nuvaindā Z* 2. 46; *nuveindi Z* 24. 420; *nvaindā Z* 20. 30.

Et. ? < **ni-vadaya-* < **ni-vad-*, cf. O.Ind. *nivādayate* 'to make resound (drum)' MBh.

nuvaṃth- 'to be removed' v. H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 131. III a mid. intr. B ppp. *nuvaṃthāta-*

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nuvaṃtte Z* 20. 14; 23. 30.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nuvaṃthāre Z* 12. 6; *nuvaṃthārā Z* 24. 423.
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *nuvaṃthātai JS* 22r4 (96).
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *nuvaṃthātā Z* 24. 117.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *nuvaṃthāndā Z* 20. 14 < **nuvaṃthātāndā*.
 L.Kh. inf.: *nvūthye P* 5538a. 57 KT 2. 128; 65 KT 2. 129 (v. H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 25). See p. 219.
 Et. < **ni-pa-n-θ-* H. W. B. On O.Ir. **paθ-*, see Benv., *Oss.*, p. 47.

***nuvaṃthāñ-** 'to purify' V e tr.

- L.Kh. pt. nec.: *nvathāñāñā Si* 141r4 KT 1. 80 tr. *sbyaṇs*.
 Et. Caus. < *nuvaṃth-* q.v.

***nuvar-** 'to offer' I b act. tr. B ppp. *nūda-*

- 3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *nūḍā P* 2781. 146 (78) KT 3. 71.
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *nūḍai JS* 16r3 (68); 30r3-4 (132); *nūḍai JS* 33r3-4 (145).
 3 sg. pf. tr. f., L.Kh.: *nūḍā P* 2781. 86 (18) KT 3. 69 < **nūḍātā*.
 Et. < **anu-bar-* or **ni-bar-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 582.
nūḍā excludes a pres. stem **nuvār-* as Dresden, p. 477 s.v. *nuvār-*.

nuvalys- 'to flow down' I b mid. intr. B

- 3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nuvalysde Z* 17. 18; *nuvaysde Z* 20. 57.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nuva'ysāre Z* 3. 125; 4. 56 (= *nuvajsā' <re>* Kha 1. 101. 1r2 KT 5. 380); *nuva'ysāre Z* 3. 121; 24. 413.
 Et. Probably there has been conflation of **ni-šarz-*, cf. Skt *sarj-* (S. Konow, *NTS*, 1934, 30) and **ni-vaz-*, cf. Av. *ni.vaz-* (S. Konow, *Primer*, p. 109 s.v. *nuvaysa-*). < **ni-barz-*, cf. Skt *ni-barh-*, Leumann, 'E', p. 452 s.v.

nuvašt- 'to examine' V b mid. tr. A/B

- 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nuvaštāre Z* 1. 51; 15. 94; *nuvaštāri Z* 22. 317; *nuvaštāre Z* 20. 20.
 O.Kh. pt. nec.: *nuvaštāña-* Z 4. 83; *nuvaštāña-* Z 12. 11.
 Et. < **anu-ā-stā-ya-*, see pp. 243-4.

nuhamj- 'to hold back; open' V e act. A/B ppp. *nuhīya-*

- 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nuhamjīndā Kha* 0013c6. b4 KT 5. 125.
 O.Kh. ppp. *nuhīya-* Z 22. 169.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *nuhīyāndā* Kha 001306. a1 KT 5. 124.
Et. < **ni-ṭanjaya-* < **ni-ṭang-*, cf. Parth. *nhynj-*, *nhxt* 'retenir' (Ghilain, p. 51); MPe *nhynz-*, *nhxt* 'zurückhalten' (*Verbum*, p. 198); NP *nihaxtan* 'zügeln'.

nṛhiśś- 'to restrain' V e tr.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *nṛhiśśiṣyā* Z 12. 128, 129.
O.Kh. pt. nec.: *nṛhiśśāṇa* Z 12. 128.
O.Kh. -āmatā abstract: *nṛhiśśāma* Kha 1. 182a1. b3 KT 5. 154.
Et. Caus. < inch, **nṛhiś-* < **nīhris-* < *nīhalj-* E. Leumann, N 60.
See *nīhalj-* p. 57.

nei'hvah- 'ati-kram-' H. W. B. i.e. 'to cross over; conquer' V a act. tr. C ppp. *nei'hvasta-*

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ne'hvettā* P 3513. 28r1 KBT 58; *ne'hvaitta* P 4099. 169 KBT 121.
O.Kh. ppp. *nei'hvastu* Z 11. 3; 24. 469 (H. W. B.).
3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *nehvāste* Ch 00266. 140 KBT 26 = *nehveste* P 2025. 213 KBT 18; *nai'hvastai* Ch ii. 004. 1v2 KBT 144 ('he mastered' H. W. B., *Koyasan Vol.*, 1965, 35).
Et. < **niś-hvāh-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xiii. 4, 1951, 936. Cf. B. Sogd. *nšy(')wst-* 'to lacerate' < **niś-xwasta-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 679, p. 106).
See also *hvah-*.

nyas- 'to despise' I b mid. tr. B

O.Kh. -cā abstract: *nyascā-* Z 22. 300; 23. 116; *nyaskyā-* Z 22. 249.
O.Kh. -āmatā abstract: *nyasāmatā-* Kha 1. 13 138r3 KBT 3 tr. *smad-pa*.
3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nyaste* Z 2. 7; 12. 41, 44, 67.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nyasāre* N 77. 5 tr. *kutsayanti*; *smod-do*; *nyasārai* (+-i) H 144 NS 55 44r1 KT 5. 76 tr. *smad-par hgyur-ro*.
Et. < **ni-has-* 'dēspiciō', cf. Oss. D. *nikkāsun* 'look down on' (H. W. B.). Older connexions: cf. Av. *nyās-* Leumann, 'E', p. 454 s.v.; inch. < *ni-yam-* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 162 s. v.

nyāp- 'to be known' LW act. intr. A ppp. **nyāpāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nyāpātā* SS 20v2 KT 5. 330 tr. *yod-do*.
3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *nyāpiyā* H 142 NS 88+89 8v1 KT 5. 81; *Suv. K.* 31v2 KT 5. 109 tr. *pracarisyati*.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ñāpīdā* P 2958. 87-8 KBT 41.
L.Kh. ppp. *ñāpya-* P 2781. 105 (37) KT 3. 70 (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 584).
Et. Skt *jñāpyate*. ñ < jñ in NWPkt, Burrow, *Khar. Docs.*, § 44, p. 17.

nyūj- 'to teach' V e tr. A ppp. *nyūta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nyūjāte* Z 24. 194.
1 sg. subj., L.Kh.: *ñūjāne* Hed. 23. 15 (26) KT 4. 36.
O.Kh. -āmatā abstract: *nyūjāmatā-* Z 12. 86.
O.Kh. ppp. *nyūta-* Z 5. 1; 22. 233; Kha 1. 302 2v4 KT 5. 171; *nyūwa-* Z 24. 117.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *nyūte* Z 24. 176.
1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *nyūtemā* Kha 1. 108a1. 13r3 KT 5. 142 tr. *ñas . . . ye-śes-la . . . bkod-pa*.
Et. < **ni-yaučaya-* < **ni-yauk-* H. W. B., *IIJ*, ii. 2, 1958, 153. Cf. Man. Sogd. *ywč-*, *ywxt-* 'to teach'.

nyūd- 'to rush down' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nyūltte* Z 17. 14; 24. 419.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nyūdāre* Z 17. 14.
Et. < **ni-vart-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 76. O.Ind. *nivartate* 'turns back'. ? Cf. Man. Sogd. *nw'rt* 'Anregung' (*BBB*, p. 82 (679)).

***nyūr-** 'to harness' III b ppp. *nyūrda-*

O.Kh. ppp. *nyūrda-* Z 24. 405.
Cf. O.Kh. *aśā-nyūrta-* Z 24. 405 'horse-harness'.
Et. < **ni-var-na-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 76. < **ni-var-* 'to cover' H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. xi. 1, 1964, 13.

nyūšt- 'to wrap up' act. tr. A/B ppp. **nyūštāta-*

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ñūštīmdq* Si 128v3 KT 1. 60.
L.Kh. pt. nec.: *ñūštīāñā* Si 153v1 KT 1. 100 tr. *phur-la*; *ñūštāñq* Si 152v2 KT 1. 98.
L.Kh. ppp. *ñūšt(y)a-*: *ñūštīe basti* Ch 00268. 137 KBT 66 = *ñūšte basta* Ch 00277. 2r3 KBT 69.
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *ñūštīāmdī* P 2957. 87-88 KBT 35.
Et. < **ni-pašt-aya-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 131. Cf. ZP *pašt* 'covenant' (H. W. B.). Rather < **ni-yauxšt-*, cf. *pajarūšt-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxix. 3, 1966, 526.

nyūs- 'to learn' IV a mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nyūste* Kha 1. 302. 2v4 KT 5. 171.
3 pl. subj., L.Kh.: *ñūsāmdē* Hed. 23. 17 (29) KT 4. 37.
Et. Inch. < **ni-yauk-* H. W. B., *KT* 4. 134. Cf. B. Sogd. *ywys-*, *ywyt-* 'to learn'.

nyauys- 'to be overcome' I b mid. intr. A/B ppp. *nyaušta-*

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nyauysāre* Z 12. 40.

O.Kh. -*auscā* abstract: *nyauscā*- *Sw.* K. 29v2 *KT* 5. 107 tr. *parājaya*-.
 < older **nyausauscā*- cf. *purroscā*- *ibid.* < *pur-*.

O.Kh. ppp. *nyaustā*- *Z* 12. 45; 14. 91.

1 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *nyaustūm* *P* 2783. 213 (52) *KT* 3. 74
 (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 593).

3 pl. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *ñaustā* *P* 2783. 247 (86) *KT* 3. 76.

Et. < **ni-yaux-*, v. *āyauys-* p. 9.

nvāy- 'to grasp' *V e* act. tr. A/B ppp. *nvāsta*-

1 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *nvāyīme* *P* 3513. 51v2 (Asm. 39) tr. *abhinirhari*.
 L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *nvā'yāme* *AdhS* 93. 36; 94. 1-2; *nvā'yāmā*
ibid. 93. 1.

ppp. *nvāsta*- *Kha* vi. 14b1. a13, 14 *KT* 5. 180.

2 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *nvāstai* *N* 169. 10; L.Kh., *nvā'stai* *JS* 7r2
 (25); *nvāstai* *JS* 30v3 (134).

Et. < **ni-vādaya*- < **ni-vad*-, cf. Dresden s.v. *uysbāy*- p. 470 <
 **anu-vād*-, but see p. 234. See *bāy*-. Most of these forms probably
 belong under **nišā'y*- p. 57 < **ni-šādaya*-, as the subscript hooks
 imply *-š-.

nvāśś- 'to make a noise' *V e* act. intr. A ppp. **nvāśśāta*-

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *nvāśe* *P* 2025. 175 *KBT* 17 = id. *P* 2957. 63
KBT 34 = *mīśe* *Ch* 00266. 113 *KBT* 25 < O.Kh. **nvāśśātā*.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nvāśśindā* *Z* 24. 503.

3 sg. pf. tr. f., L.Kh.: *nvāśā* *P* 2025. 241 *KBT* 19.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *nvāśānde* *JS* 37r4 (163); *nvāśāndā* *P* 2781. 88
 (20) *KT* 3. 69 < **nvāśśātāndā*.

Et. Iter. < **ni-vas*-, cf. Oss. D. *niūlasun* 'make a sound'. Nouns:
nvāsa- *Z* 13. 137; *bāsa*- *P* 2781. 158 (90) *KT* 3. 72 'trumpeting' (of
 elephants). B. Sogd. *w's*- 'hurler' *P*; O.Ind. *vāś*- 'to roar'. See
 H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 27.

pakūt- 'to strike' *LW* tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pakūtāte* *Z* 22. 282.

Et. Cf. *ākūt*- p. 7. See S. Konow, *NTS*, xi, 1939, 59.

pacan- tr. ppp. **pacata*-

1. 'to give, present'; 2. 'to cover' H. W. B., *Morg. Vol.*, p. 10.

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *pacanūm* *P* 3513. 67r2 *KT* 1. 245 tr. *cchādayāmi*.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *pacana* *P* 5538b. 68 *KT* 3. 123 tr. *prratsadaya*
 (i.e. *pracchādaya*).

Dyadic, L.Kh.: *pvi'stā pace* *P* 2906. 27 *KT* 3. 98 'covered'.

3 sg. pf. tr. f., L.Kh.: *pacā* *P* 2801. 47 *KT* 3. 67 < **pacatātā* (rather
 than as H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 577).

Et. < **pati-čan*- < **kan*- 'cover', H. W. B., *Morg. Vol.*, pp. 9-10.

pacas- 'to confess' mid. tr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pacaste* *Z* 24. 434.

1 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *pacase* *P* 3513. 84r4 *KBT* 66 (dyadic with
dišū).

Et. < **pati-čaxs*- H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1961, 54-55, cf. Oss. I. *fā-dzäxs*-
 'donner instruction', cf. Av. *čaxse* *Y* 65. 9 (Benv., *Oss.*, pp. 32-33).

pach- 'to be cooked, refined' *V c* mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp.
paha-

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *paste* *Si* 132v5 *KT* 1. 66 tr. *bčos-pas*.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *pachāre* *Si* 101r4 *KT* 1. 36 tr. *čos-par*
byed-do.

O.Kh. ppp. *paha*- *Z* 20. 36 'cooked'; *Z* 3. 37, 48, 89 'refined'.

L.Kh. ppp.: *pahā* *Si* 111v1 *KT* 1. 16 tr. *pakva-*, *zu-ba*.

Et. < **pač-ya*- < **pak-*, v. *pajs*-. Cf. O.Ind. *pacydāte* 'is cooked'.

The ppp. *paha*- (cf. also *gvaha*- < *gvach*-) is possibly < **paxva*-,
 cf. O.Ind. *pakvā*- (H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 118) rather than <
 **paxθa*-, cf. RV *pakthn*-, as **paxθa*- appears as **puxda*- in Av.
 (v. Waag, p. 77, 1. 1) (cf. for the vowel also B. Sogd. *pwyl*-, I. G.,
GMS, § 551, p. 87) and cf. Kh. *pūha*- 'fifth' beside Av. *puxda*-.

***pachiś-** 'to be called, considered' *V c* intr. (= pass.) B

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *pachište* *S* 2471. 209 *KBT* 98 (= *pachiysde* *ApS*
 9b1 *KT* 5. 245); *pachiśde* *P* 3513. 84v3 *KBT* 66.

Et. < **pati-xiz-ya*-, v. *pachiys*-.

pachiys- 'to be called, considered' *I b* mid. intr. (= pass.) B

+nom. complement, R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 25.

1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pachiysse* *Z* 22. 324.

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pachiysde* *Z* 11. 22, 35; 24. 463; L.Kh.,
pachiysdā *Vajr.* 3a1 *KT* 3. 20.

Et. < **xaiz*-, cf. **xaig*- in Oss. D. *xincun*, *xinst* 'to count' H. W. B.,
KT 4. 79. Different is Benv., *Oss.*, pp. 85-86.

pachiś- 'to regard, consider' *V e* mid. tr. A ppp. **pachāšta*-

1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pachiše* *Z* 22. 284; L.Kh., *pachiše* *P* 4649.
 6 *KT* 2. 124.

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., <*pa*>*chīšāte* *H* 144 *NS* 30 etc. v5 *KT* 5. 95;
pachišete *ibid.*

1 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pachišāmane* *Z* 22. 107; 23. 115.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *pachišā're* *Kha* 1. 221. 17-18 *KT* 3. 129;
 25 *KT* 3. 130.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *pachaište* *P* 2957. 47 *KBT* 33.

Et. < **pati-xaiz-aya*-, v. *pachiys*-.

pachus- 'to vanish' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *pachuta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pachuštā* Z 5. 41.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pachusindā* Z 14. 54.

O.Kh. ppp.: *pachutātena* Kha 1. 133. 4b5 KT 5. 150 (I-ASm with intrusive -āt-). *parchuta* Or 9609. 4r7 KT 1. 233 tr. *upahata* may have preverb **pari-*.

Et. < **pati-kufs-* H. W. B., TPS, 1945, 33. Cf. for **kaup-* O.Ind. *kūpyati*, v. *khvīh-* p. 27.

pajarūšt- 'to envelop' (H. W. B.) act. tr. A/B ppp. **pajarūštāta-*

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pajarūštāda* Ch 00266. 26 KT 3. 35 = id. P 2025. 39 KT 3. 46 = *pajarūštāda* P 2956. 22 KT 3. 37.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *pajarūštāda* Ch 00266. 142 KBT 26 = *parajūštāda* P 2025. 217 KBT 18 (= *nūštyāmdī* P 2957. 87-88 KBT 35).

Et. ? < **parā-ā-yauxšt-*, cf. *nyūšt-* H. W. B., BSOAS, xxix. 3, 1966, 526.

pajāy- 'to ask for, beg' V e mid. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pajāyāre* Z 3. 86.

Et. < **pati-jādaya-*, v. *pajād-*.

pajāys- 'to enjoy; accept' I d mid. tr. B ppp. *pajāšta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pajāysde* E 1. 7 19v4 KT 5. 389; SS 32v1 KT 5. 334.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pajāysāre* Z 3. 114; *pagyāysāre* Suv. K. 34v7 KT 5. 112 tr. *anubhaviṣyanti*; id. ibid. 65r7 KT 5. 116 tr. *bhuktva*.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pajāšte* Z 13. 90, 91, 94; *pajāštā* Z 5. 110; 13. 83; *pajāšti* Z 24. 271.

Et. < **pati-jāza-* < **pati-gaz-*, cf. Man. Sogd. *pčy'z-* 'to receive' (I. G., GMS, § 957, p. 141).

pajād- 'to ask for' V b act. tr. B ppp. *pajāsta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pajāttā* Z 12. 42.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *pajāyi* Z 11. 19.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *pajitta* Domoko F 11 KT 2. 64 (H. W. B., BSOAS, xiii. 4, 1951, 921).

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *pajindā* Z 2. 190; L.Kh., *pajidā* Or 11252. 4b2 KT 2. 16; *pajimdā* Or 11344. 9b8 KT 2. 36.

O.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *pajyandaa-* Z 11. 19.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *pajiste* JS 20r4 (86); *pajeste* ibid. 37r1 (161); *pajaiste* ibid. 5r4 (17).

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *pajistāmdī* Domoko A4. 2 KT 2. 62; *pajaistāmdā* P 2781. 71 (3) KT 3. 68.

L.Kh. inf.: *pajistā* MT c. 0013. 6 KT 5. 220.

Et. Cf. Av. *paiti. jaidya-*, v. H. W. B., BSOS, ix. 1, 1937, 76; BSOAS, x. 3, 1941, 573.

pajjy- 'to decay (of teeth)' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *pajjāre* Si 156r1 KT 1. 102 tr. *brug*.

Et. See *jīy-* p. 35.

pajud- 'to conceal' I c tr. B ppp. *pajusta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pajuttā* Z 2. 28.

O.Kh. ppp.: *pajusta-* Z 21. 34; Stein E 1. 7 145v5 KT 5. 77 tr. *brgyan*.

Et. < **pati-juda-* < **pati-gaud-*, v. H. W. B., BSOS, ix. 1, 1937, 76.

Cf. B. Sogd. *pty'wδ Dhuta* 101 = *āvarana* (< **pati-gaud-* Benv., JRAS, 1933, 39-40); Chr. Sogd. *ptywst* 'caché' (Benv., JA, 1959, 133).

pajs- 'to cook; refine' I b act. tr. B

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pastā* Z 2. 198 (R. E. E., BSOAS, xxx. 1, 1967, 91); L.Kh., *pašta* P 2025. 257 KBT 20; Ch 00266. 169 KBT 28.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pajsqānā* Si 122r1 KT 1. 50+ tr. *chos-pa*.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *pajśāka* Si 11v4 KT 1. 18 tr. *pācaniyo*.

Et. < **pača-*, cf. Av. *pak-* 'kochen', pres. 2 *pača-* (AIW 819); O.Ind. *pācati*; B. Sogd. (?) *pč-* 'to cook' SCE 219, 233; Yaghn. *pač-* (Andreev, p. 301; S. Klimčitskij, 1937, 22).

pajsañ- 'to be struck, beaten' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *pajsata-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pajsinde* Z 5. 86; 19. 58.

O.Kh. ppp.: *pajsata-* Z 5. 86; 17. 25.

Et. See *jsañ-* p. 37.

***pajsabalj-** 'to beat (drum)' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *pajsabrriya-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pajsaba'jindī* Stein E 1. 7 149r1 KT 5. 78.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh. *pajsabrriyāmdā* P 2781. 156 (88) KT 3. 72.

Et. For *pajsa-*, see p. 244. Iter. < **barg-*, v. *tcabalj-* p. 40.

pajsamev- 'to honour' V e tr. ppp. **pajsamevāta-*

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *pajsamevum* P 3513. 65r1 KT 1. 244 tr. *pūjayiṣye... aham*.

L.Kh. ppp. *pajsamevya-* P 3513. 47r1 (Asm. 18) tr. *pūjita*.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *pajsameyāda* Ch 00266. 128 KBT 26 = *pajsimevyādi* P 2957. 79 KBT 35 = *pajsamiyāda* P 2025. 196 KBT 18.

Et. Secondary formation to *pajsama-* 'honour' Z 2. 72+ on the analogy of *dukhev-* beside *dukha-* etc.

***pajsiṭh-** 'to store away' V b ppp. **pajsiṭhāta-*

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *pajsiṭhyi Vajr.* 4b2 KT 3. 20 tr. *pratiśāmya*.
Et. < **pa-jarṭhya-*, cf. MPe *gyš-*, *gyšt* (*Verbum*, p. 181) < **grṭhya-*;
Paštō *γarəl* 'to twist, spin' (*EVP* 27); O.Ind. *granth-* etc. (H. W. B.,
JRAS, 1953, 111).

paṃjs- 'to put on (clothing)' I c mid. tr. A/B ppp. *paṃāta-*

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *paṃjsāre* Z 3. 55; 15. 86.
O.Kh. pt. nec.: *paṃjsāñā Suv.* K. 35v7 KT 5. 113 tr. *°dhāriṇā*.
2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *paṃye* JS 30v4 (135).
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *paṃā* Z 5. 31 for expected **paṃāte*.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *paṃātāndā* Z 24. 406; *SS* 155 a 5 (unpublished;
Leningrad).
Et. < **pa(ti)-muča-* < **pa(ti)-mauk-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937,
72, cf. Av. *paiti.šmuxta-*; Parth. *pdmwč-*, *pdmwxt* 'revêtir' (Ghilain,
p. 62); MPe *pymwč-*, *pymwxt* 'anziehen' (*Verbum*, p. 182); NP
paimōxtan; B. Sogd. *ptm'ynč-*, *ptm'wytik* (I. G., *GMS*, § 119,
p. 16).

paṭhu- 'to burn up' I d tr. D ppp. *paṭhuta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *paṭhaiyā* Z 4. 95; 9. 16; 19. 84.
O.Kh. pt. nec.: *paṭhāñā* Or 9609. 53r6 KT 1. 237.
O.Kh. ppp.: *paṭhuta-* Z 15. 4.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *paṭhute* Z 8. 44.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *paṭhutāndā* Kha 1. 13 143r3 KBT 5 tr. *bsregs-so*.
Et. < **ṭhay-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 78. Cf. Waxī *ṭāw-*, *ṭit* 'to
burn' (intr.) (*IIFL*, ii. 546). On *-ṭh-*, see H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1953,
111. See also H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 27.

pat- 'to fall' I b act. intr. B ppp. *pasta-*

+loc., see R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 32.
3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pittā* Z 2. 29, 125; 11. 58; 13. 131+.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *patindā* Z 4. 59; 24. 169; *payindā* Z 12. 40.
3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *pastā* Z 5. 29; 13. 71.
3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *pasta* Z 13. 77; 20. 63.
3 pl. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *paste* Z 5. 105.
Et. Av. *pat-* 'fallen', pres. 2 *pata-* (*AIW* 819); O.Ind. *pātati* 'falls'.

pattamj- 'to produce' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *pattīya-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pattamjāñā* H 143 NS 63a4 KT 5. 40.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pattajūdā* Si 102r2 KT 1. 38 tr. *bskyed-ciñ*.

3 pl. pf. intr. f., L.Kh.: *pattīye* P 2741. 100 KT 2. 91; 3 sg. *pattīya*
ibid. 123 KT 2. 92 'increased'.
O.Kh. noun: *pattīma-* Z 24. 517 'result'.
Et. See H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 3, 1938, 543; *AM*, n.s. 1, 1949, 45. IE
**ten-k/g(h)-* Pok. 1065 ff.

pattav- 'to illuminate; burn up' ppp. *pattauda-*

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *pattavīya* P 3513. 60v3 KT 1. 242.
O.Kh. ppp. *pattauda-* Z 13. 152.
Et. < **pati-tap-*, v. *ttav-* p. 38. Cf. Parth. *pt'b-* 'marquer au fer rouge'
(Ghilain, p. 72); Man. Sogd. *ptpyy*, B. *pttpy* 'lamp, light' <
**pati-tapah-* (BBB, p. 84 ad 717).

patāts- 'to give up, abandon' V b tr. ppp. *patātsāta-*

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *patātsāñā* Suv. K. 66v4 KT 5. 117 tr. *parityajya*;
L.Kh., *paṃtsāñā* Si 122v5 KT 1. 50 tr. *span-bar byaho*, H. W. B.,
BSOS, viii. 1, 1935, 133.
3 sg. pres. O.Kh. possibly *patāste* Z 2. 190 (< **patāts(ā)te*), see
R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxx. 1, 1966, 93-94.
1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *patātsātaimā* Suv. K. 67v3 KT 5. 118 tr.
tyaktam.
L.Kh. ppp. *pa(n)ts(y)a-*:
2 sg. pf. tr. m.: *paṃtsyai* JS 7v2 (27)+; *patsyai* JS 13v1 (55)+;
paṃtsai JS 12r2 (48).
3 pl. pf. tr.: *paṃtsyānde* JS 24r2 (104).
Et. < **pati-čyā-* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 168 s.v. *patātsā-*. Cf.
B. Sogd. *'nč'y-* 'to cease' H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1961, 54.

patāmar- 'to report' I b mid. tr. A/B ppp. **patāmuḍa-*

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *patāmarāre* Z 23. 133.
L.Kh. *paṃmar-*, *paṃmuḍa-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 584-5;
KT 4. 115. L.Kh. pt. nec.: *paṃmarāñā* Kha vi. 4. 1 a2 KT 3. 130.
1 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *paṃmuḍāmdū* P 2790. 44-45 KT 2. 112.
Et. Av. *paitiṣmara-* 'recall; long for'; Man. Sogd. *ptšmrt* 'to think,
count' (I. G., *GMS*, § 142, p. 20).

patālt- 'to cut off' I c tr. B ppp. *patālsta-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *patālttā* Z 12. 49; *patā'ttā* D III. 1 8v2 KT 5. 69
tr. *bcad-la*.
O.Kh. ppp. *patālsta-* Z 5. 78; 24. 491.
L.Kh. ppp. *pa'sta-*: 3 sg. pf. tr. m. *pa'ste* *Vajr.* 25b2 KT 3. 25 tr.
acchaiti.
Et. < **pa(ti)-kṛta-*, cf. B. Sogd. *ptkrnt-* 'découper' SCE H. W. B.,
TPS, 1945, 33. See also *naškirr-* p. 50.

patis- 'to withdraw' IV a intr.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *patisā* Z 4. 117.

O.Kh. inf.: *patisā* Z 2. 98.

Et. < **pati*-+is- p. 14.

pathamj- 'to restrain' V e act. tr. A ppp. *pathiāya-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pathamjāte* Z 12. 118.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pathamjāndi* Z 22. 91.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pathiye* Z 2. 128.

Et. < **pa-θanjaya-*, v. *thamj-* p. 42. Cf. Parth. *pdhynj-* 'peser' (Ghilain, p. 51); Man. Sogd. *pdδynč-*, B. *pd'ynč-* 'to pull'; Man. ppp. *pdδ'γt-* (I. G., GMS, § 600, p. 93).

pathis- 'to refrain' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *pathiāya-*

+I-A (abl.), R. E. E., BSOAS, xxviii. 1, 1965, 30, § IV. 1.

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pathistā* Z 12. 68; *pathisti* Z 2. 196; 22. 313.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pathisindā* Z 24. 49.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *pathiā* Z 13. 124.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *pathiā* Z 22. 230.

Et. Inch. < **pa-θang-*, v. *pathamj-*.

padajs- 'to burn' (tr.) I b act. tr. B ppp. *padīya-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *padaśdā* Z 11. 36; L.Kh., *padaštā* Ch 0048. 19 KBT 72. L.Kh. *padašta* Ch 00266. 224 KBT 104 is probably intr. and hence < *pada-j-*, v. *daj-* p. 43.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *padajsindā* Z 24. 394.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *padajsāñā* Si 14114 KT 1. 80 tr. *sregs-so*.

O.Kh. ppp. *padīya-* Z 4. 46+.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *padīyāndā* N 169. 6.

Et. See *dajs-* p. 43.

padav- 'to dim, smoke; perfume; burn' I b act. tr. (?) / mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. **paduta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *padūte* Z 6. 39.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *padvāñā* JP 5411 KT 1. 145.

L.Kh. -āmātā abstract: *padvāñā* jsa JP 9112 KT 1. 173 tr. *dhūpattis*.

L.Kh. ppp.: *padva-* JP 5411 KT 1. 145; P 2783. 245 (84) KT 3. 76 ('burnt' H. W. B., BSOAS, x. 3, 1941, 597).

Et. < **dav-* 'burn', cf. Kh. *nādo* 'fire' Z 24. 500 < **ni-dāva-*; O.Ind. *dunōti* 'burns', *dāvā-* 'fire'; Man. Sogd. *prδwty* 'entflammt'; *prδ'w* 'Flammen' (BBB, p. 92 ad b15), Benv., BSOS, ix. 3, 1938, 518, n. 1. If the meaning 'fumigate' (S. Konow, *A Medical Text in Khotanese*, 1941, 94) is taken as basic, we would probably have to connect rather with O.Ind. *dhūmōti* 'agitates', *dhūmā-* 'smoke'.

padīm- 'to make' V e mid.¹ tr. A ppp. *padānda-*

1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *padīme* Z 23. 132.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *padīmātā* Khot. (IO) 1b3 KT 5. 346; *padīmāte* Suv. K. 66v6 KT 5. 117.

3 pl. pres. mid.: L.Kh., *padīmāre* N 176. 7; P 2790. 57-58 KT 2. 112; Si 17v5 KT 1. 28 tr. *hbyun-ba*.

O.Kh. ppp. *padānda-* Z 2. 91+; *padānda-* Z 22. 143.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *padānde* Z 2. 91+.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *padēmdai* JS 1714 (73); *padēdai* JS 3314 (145).

3 pl. pf. tr.: O.Kh., *padāndāndā* Z 23. 38; L.Kh., *padīmdāmdā* P 2790. 81 (bis) KT 2. 113; *padāidāmdā* P 2787. 188 KT 2. 108.

O.Kh. inf.: *padīnde* Z 23. 3; 23. 33, 43; *padīde* Z 23. 36.

Et. < **pati-dam-aya-*. See H. W. B., JRAS, 1953, 96-97. IE **dem-* Pok. 198.

padīs- v. *pandīs-*

***padem-** 'to blow' (tr.) V e ppp. **padaūmda-*

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *padāmdāmdā* P 2781. 156 (88) KT 3. 72.

Cf. Kh. *padama-* 'wind' Z 3. 57+ (H. W. B., BSOAS, x. 3, 1941, 587).

Et. Iter. < **pati-dam-*, v. *dam-* p. 43; **dem-* p. 47.

pader- 'to maintain' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *padāḍa-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paderindā* Z 22. 90.

2 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *padādānda* Z 22. 239.

Et. < **pati-dāraya-*, cf. Chr. Sogd. *pd'r-* 'soutenir' (Benv., JA, 1955, 331); Man. Sogd. *pdδ'r-* '*to keep' (I. G., GMS, § 892, p. 133); Oss. I. *fādaryn* 'soutenir' (Benv., Oss., p. 99). Av. *dāraya-* (iter.); O.Ind. *dhārdyati* 'holds'.

padaus- 'to swell' IV a act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *padausidā* JP 56v3 KT 1. 147, tr. *vardha* < *na* > *m*.

Et. ? < **pati-dafsa-*, cf. ZP *daftan* 'to blow'.

panam- 'to rise' V a mid. intr. A ppp. *panata-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *panamāte* Z 2. 125, 240; 22. 207.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *panamāre* Z 5. 54; 16. 45; 24. 498.

2 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *panatī* Z 22. 263.

3 sg. pf. intr. m.: O.Kh., *panatū* D III. 1 8r2 KT 5. 69; L.Kh., *pana* JS 34v1 (150).

¹ Once only, act. tr., L.Kh.: *padīmīdā* (P 2787. 97 KT 2. 105) 3 pl. pres. act.

Et. < **pati-nam-aya-*. See *binam-*, *hanam-*. Cf. Orm. *nim-^vek* 'to descend' (IIFL, i. 402).

panāśś- 'to perish' V b mid. intr. B ppp. *panāšta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *panāšte* Z 10. 2+.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *panāśśāre* Z 24. 52.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *panāštā* Z 23. 108; 24. 379.

Et. < **apa-nas-ya-*, cf. Av. *apanasya-*, *apanašta-* 'verschwinden' (AIW 1055). O.Ind. *nāsyati*, *nāštā-* 'disappear'; Man. Sogd. *nyš-* 'be lost' < **nasya-* (I. G., GMS, § 549, p. 86).

panāy- 'to make a noise' V e act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *panāyida* Ch 00266. 12 KT 3. 34 = *panāyidā* P 2956. 7 KT 3. 36.

L.Kh. -āmatā abstract: *panāyāma* JP 87r4 KT 1. 171.

Et. < **pati-nādaya-* < **pati-nad-*, v. H. W. B., BSOAS, x. 3, 1941, 588. O.Ind. *nādati* 'sounds, roars'. ? Av. *nadant-* Y 33. 4.

panāśś- 'to lose' V e tr. ppp. *panāšta-*

1 pl. subj., L.Kh.: *panāśśāmanai* P 2787. 17-18 KT 2. 102.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *panāśśari* MT a. 1. 0033. 4 KT 2. 71.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *panāštāmdā* JP 54r3 KT 1. 145.

Et. Caus. < *panāśś-* q.v. < **apa-nāsaya-*, cf. B. Sogd. *pn'yš-* 'perdre' P; Chr. Sogd. *pn'yš-* (I. G., GMS, § 549, p. 86).

paniys- 'to bind up' I b act. B

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *paniśdā* P 2895. 27 KT 3. 41.

Et. < **pati-naiza-*. On **nai-z-*, see H. W. B., BSOAS, xxiii. 1, 1960, 23. **naik/g-* is also possible.

panem- 'to raise' V e tr. A ppp. *panata-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *panemāte* D III. 1 8v1 KT 5. 69.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *panatān[d]ā* Kha i. 13 147v4 KBT 7^{tr}. *bskyed-de*.

Et. < **pati-nāmaya-*, v. *panam-* p. 69.

pandīs- 'to catch fire' IV a act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *padištā* Z 4. 45.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pandisindā* Z 4. 59.

Et. Inch. < **pati-dag-*, v. *padajs-* p. 68. For *pan-*, see p. 236. For inch., cf. B. Sogd. *δys-* 'mûrir' (intr.) P 6. 158 (v. R.E.E., TPS, 1966, 2n. 5.).

paphan- 'to rejoice' I b act. intr. B ppp. *paphanda-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paphindā* Iledong 023a6 KT 3. 134.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paphanīndi* Z 21. 22, 23.

O.Kh.: -āmatā abstract: *paphanāmata* Suv. K. 65r7 KT 5. 116 tr. *trptim*.

O.Kh. ppp. *paphanda-* Z 21. 22; (with privative *a-*) *avaphanda-* Z 19. 18.

Et. < **pati-fan-*. See *našphan-*, *našphān-* p. 52.

paphān- 'to make happy' V e mid. tr. A/B ppp. *paphānda-*

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *paphānu* Z 5. 95.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *paphānāre* Suv. K. 34r6 KT 5. 112 tr. *saṃtarpayed*; id. ibid. 65r6 KT 5. 116 tr. *prīnayisyanti*.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *paphādai* JS 23v4 (103).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *paphānde* Z 5. 47.

Et. Caus. < *paphan-* q.v.

paphūj- 'to collect' H. W. B., KT 4. 60. V e tr. ppp. **paphuta-*

L.Kh. pres. pt.: *paphūjā* Hed. 3v6 KT 4. 23.

3 pl. opt., L.Kh.: *paphūjirau* P 2790. 33 KT 2. 111.

Cf. noun *paphūka* Hed. 1. 7 KT 4. 21 'sum'.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *paphvai* JS 27v4 (121).

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *paphvādi* MT c. 0019. 5 KT 5. 222.

Et. ? < **baug-* H. W. B. See 2. *hambujs-*; **hamphūj-* pp. 142-3.

pabañ- 'to bind' V a act. tr. A/B ppp. *pabasta-*

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pabañida* P 4099. 281 KBT 127.

Cf. O.Kh. noun: *pabana-* Z 5. 81 'connexion'.

ppp., cf. *pabastā* P 3513. 49v2 (Asm. 30); P 280r. 6 KT 3. 65 'continuously'.

Et. < **pati-band-aya-*. Cf. Parth. *pdbstg* 'relie' (Ghilain, p. 55); MPe *pywst* 'verbinden' = NP *paivand* < **pati-band-* (*Verbum*, p. 171); B. Sogd. *ptβ'ynt-* 'répondre' V7.

paysān- 'to recognize' III b act. or mid. tr. B ppp. *paysānda-*

1 sg. pres. mid.: O.Kh., *paysāni* Z 2. 135; L.Kh., *paysāne* P 3513. 45v4 (Asm. 12); Hed. 23. 8 (19) KT 4. 36.

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paysendā* Z 4. 97, 98; 5. 54+; *paysendi* Z 3. 146.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paysānindā* Stein E 1. 7 149r4-5 KT 5. 78.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *paysānāre* Suv. K. 66r1 KT 5. 117.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *paysānde* Z 2. 237; 6. 11; 13. 151+.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *paysāndāndi* Z 22. 226.

Et. Cf. Av. *paiti.xāna-* 'recognize'; B. Sogd. *ptz'n-*; Orm. *pa'zan-* (IIFL, i. 405).

1. *par- 'to bring out; present' ppp. *puḍa-*

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *puḍi* Hed. 1. 5 *KT* 4. 21; *puḍā* ibid. 25. 7 *KT* 4. 38; 70a1 *KT* 4. 50; 70b1 (bis), 2 *KT* 4. 50.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *puḍāmdī* S 2469. 7 *KT* 2. 130 'they produced'; *puḍāmdā* P 2741. 68 *KT* 2. 90 'they brought out'.

Et. See H. W. B., *KT* 4. 59, 56, 117. Cf. MPE *p'rg* 'gift'; O.Ind. *prṇāti* 'gives', *pūrtā* n. 'gift'.

2. *par- 'to remove' ppp. **puḍa-*

L.Kh. ppp. *puḍa-* P 4099. 89 *KBT* 117; P 3510. 9. 3 *KBT* 53 = id. P 3513. 76v2 *KBT* 62.

Et. H. W. B., *KT* 4. 57 cf. ZP *appurtan* 'take'; *āpār* 'booty'. Doubt must remain as the L.Kh. spelling *puḍa-* could be genuine and derive < **apa-brta-*, cf. *hūḍa-* < **frābrta-*.

parajūṣṭ- v. *pajarūṣṭ-**paranirv-* 'to attain complete *nirvāṇa*' LW act. intr. A ppp. *paranārvṛta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *paranirvite* Z 22. 297.

1 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paranirvāmā* Z 22. 107.

3 sg. pf. tr. m. (intr.), O.Kh.: *paranārvṛte* Z 24. 461.

3 pl. pf. tr. (intr.), O.Kh.: *paranārvṛtāndā* SS 2415 *KT* 5. 332.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *paranirvāṇa* *Vajr.* 10a1-2 *KT* 3. 22 tr. *parinirvāpayitavyāḥ*.

L.Kh. ppp. *parinārvya* P 3513. 2914 *KBT* 58.

Et. BHS *parinirvāyati*, *parinirvṛta-*. Popular etymological connexion with Skt *para-* 'other', see Z 13. 131-2. Cf. also Parth. *prnybr'd* 'il mourut' (Ghilain, p. 92).

parāth- 'to sell' II a tr. ppp. *parāta-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *parā[n]tha* Ch 00266. 109 *KBT* 25 = *parātha* P 2025. 170 *KBT* 17 = *parāthā* P 2957. 58 *KBT* 33.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *pirāthyarā* P 2958. 60-61 *KBT* 41 = (*pa*)*rāthyari* P 2798. 178 *KBT* 44.

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *parāti* MT c. 0019. 7 *KT* 5. 222.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *pirāmdā* P 2958. 62 *KBT* 41 = *pirāmdī* P 2798. 179 *KBT* 44.

O.Kh. inf.: *paretā* SS 77v3 *KT* 5. 339 tr. *hēhoñ-du*.

Et. < **parā-daba-*, **parā-dāta-*, cf. Av. *para.daba-*, *paradāta-*; B. Sogd. ppp. *pr'()*δt- 'sell' < **parādāta-*. The B. Sogd. pres. stem *pr'yδ-* is from **parā-dāya-* according to W. B. Henning ap. I. G., *GMS*, § 122, n. 1, p. 17. Cf. also Paštō *prōlāl* 'to sell' (*EVP* 58).

parrām- 'to grasp, understand' V d act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *parāmīdi* *Vajr.* 29b3 *KT* 3. 26 tr. *paryavāpsyanti*.

O.Kh. -āmatā abstract: *parrāmemate* D. x 10a. b1 *KT* 5. 261.

Et. < **pari-ram-*, v. *trām-*, *narām-*.

parikalp- 'to imagine falsely' LW tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *parikalpāte* Z 4. 38, 51, 56.

Et. BHS *parihalpayati* 'imagines falsely'.

pariṇām- 'to ripen' LW act. tr. A ppp. **pariṇāmāta-*

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *pariṇāmūṇi* P 3513. 45r1 (Asm. 8); *pariṇāmūṇ* N 164. 12.

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *pariṇāmāte* H 142 NS 43r5 *KT* 5. 100; L.Kh., *pariṇāme* P 3513. 55r1 (Asm. 54).

O.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *pariṇāmāmdaa-* Or 9609. 54v3 *KT* 1. 238.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *pariṇāmīti* H 142 NS 43v1 *KT* 5. 100; < *pa* > *riṇāmīyā* ibid. v7 *KT* 5. 101.

L.Kh. ppp.: *paraṇaumya-* Ch 00267. 43 *KBT* 148; *paraṇāmya-* ibid. 44.

Et. BHS *pariṇāmayati* 'ripens'.

paridiv- 'to lament' LW tr. or intr. ppp. **paridivāta-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *paradivāñā* *Avdh* 10r4 *KT* 3. 4.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *paridivyaī* JS 6r4 (22).

Cf. also *parādivam* P 2022. 6 *KT* 3. 42.

Et. Skt, Pāli *paridevati*.

pari- 1. 'to order'; 2. 'to deign' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 574. act. intr. ppp. *parsta-*

+G-D (dat.), R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 29, § III. 9 (a).

+inf. e.g. *parste padīnde* Z 23. 3.

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *parimā* Z 12. 51; 23. 33.

2 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pari* Z 22. 112; 23. 114.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *paritā* Z 24. 450; *pariyi* Z 24. 442.

2 pl. pres., O.Kh.: *pariya* Z 12. 28 (?).

2 pl. imper., O.Kh.: *parya* Z 23. 52.

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *parindā* N 158. 29; L.Kh., *paridi* JS 39v1; *Vajr.* 30b4 *KT* 3. 26.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *parste* Z 2. 101+; *paste* Z 5. 43.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *parstāmdī* Or 11252 18a2 *KT* 2. 22.

Et. *pari-* < **pa-rud-* N, p. 102; 'E', p. 459 s.v.; *paru* cf. Skt *ru*, *rud* or Av. *mraV* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 167 s.v. The ppp. requires a stem ending in a dental but the pres. forms seem to exclude it, cf. e.g. *rrvūtā* 'grows' ppp. *rrusta-*.

parrīj- 'to deliver, rescue' V e act. tr. A ppp. *parrāta-*
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *parrijāte* Z 9. 24, 28+; *parrijātā* Z 2. 230.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *parrijādi* Z 1. 187; 11. 69; 22. 227.
 1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *parritaimā* Z 22. 293; *parretēmā* Z 22. 227.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *parrāte* Z 4. 10; 5. 22+.
 L.Kh. ppp. *parrya-*: 2 sg. pf. tr. m., *parryai* JS 19r2 (81).
 Et. < **pari-raičaya-* < **pari-raik-*, v. *rrij-* p. 115. See also p. 237.

parruṣ- 'to be afflicted (by)' ? I b mid. intr. B
 3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *parruṣte* H 144 NS 32 etc. r4 KT 5. 93; Kha
 1. 56. 2 b1 KT 5. 132.
 O.Kh. noun *parrūṣka* H 143 NS 65 etc. 8r5 KT 5. 68 = 'kleśa'. Cf.
 also O.Kh. *avarūṣka-* Z 6. 44.
 Et. H. E. B., *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 53 assumes -*ūṣka* suffix and cf. Av.
paršta- but this does not account for *parruṣte*, which clearly belongs
 here. Better formally is the older derivation < **rauxš-*, s-extension
 of **rauk-* 'desire' (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x, 3, 1941, 581), but the
 meaning is unsuitable. Perhaps s-extension of **raug-* 'break; afflict'.
 See *burṣ-* p. 101.

parrus- 'to shine' IV a act. intr. A/B
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *parrusindā* Z 24. 417.
 Et. See 1. *rrus-*.

pareh- 'to restrain oneself' V e mid. (O.Kh.); act. (L.Kh.) intr.
 ppp. *parausta-*
 +I-A (abl.), R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii, 1, 1965, 30, § IV. 1 (d).
 1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *parehi* Z 24. 493.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *parehāte* Kha 1. 205. 35r3 KT 5. 161.
 3 pl. pres., O.Kh.: *parehāre* E 1. 7. 19v5 KT 5. 389 tr. *vivarjayanti*;
 L.Kh., *paraihi* P 2787. 106 KT 2. 105.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *parauste* Z 24. 494.
 2 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *parostānda* Z 22. 237.
 O.Kh. noun *parāha-* Z 2. 16+ = *śila*.
 Et. < **pa-rāfaya-* < **pa-raf-*, cf. Parth. *rf-* 'attack', O.Ind. *raphitā-*,
 Kh. *rraphai* 'fighting' (Si 104v2 KT 1. 40) H. W. B., *Dr. S. K.*
Belvalkar Felicitation Volume, 1957, pp. 1-2. The ppp. *parausta-*
 is difficult to relate to *pareh-*. H. W. B. suggests **rafs-* or **rafδ-*,
 extensions of **raf-*.

paraus- 'to drown' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *parausta-*
 3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *paroyse* Kha 0013c6. b2 KT 5. 125.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *parausārā* Z 24. 467.

O.Kh. ppp. *parausta* Z 20. 65; *parašta* Z 2. 225.
 Et. < **parā-vaza-*, cf. Av. *para.vaza-* 'wegfliegen' (*AIW* 1388);
 B. Sogd. *pr'wyz-* 'inonder' P 12. 48, ppp. *pr'wšt* P 7. 139 (W. B.
 Henning, *BSOAS*, xi, 4, 1946, 716).

paraus- 'to drown' V e tr.
 2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *parausa'rā* P 2801. 64 KT 3. 68.
 Et. Caus. < *paraus-* q.v., H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x, 3, 1941, 579.

***parkun-** 'to sprinkle, scatter' ? III B tr. ppp. **parkunda-*
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *parkūnāñā* Si 100r2 KT 1. 34.
 L.Kh. ppp. *parkāmda* P 3513. 79v3 KBT 63.
 Et. ? < **pari-ku-na-*. The above spellings can hardly be reconciled
 with derivation < **pari-kan-* with **kan-* 'throw'. Cf. *uskoš-* p. 17.

parchās- 'to make consume' V e tr. ppp. *parchašta-*; *parchāšta-*
 3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *parchāša* Z 24. 237.
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *parchāštai* Z 5. 89.
 ppp. *parkhyaštu* H 144 NS 30 etc. r8 KT 5. 95.
 Et. < **pari-+khās-* p. 26.

parnai- 'to touch' I b or V b act. tr. C/D
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *parnaindā* Z 2. 122, 228 (-i).
 Et. See H. W. B., *TPS*, 1955, 70. Either < **nāya-* V b < **nā-* or
 < **naya-* I b < **nay-*. Cf. Oss. *nād* 'beaten' or O.Ind. *onāta-* in
navanāta-.

parbav- 'to overcome' (tr.); 'to grow up' (intr.). ppp. **parbuta-*
 2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *parbava* Avdh 13r1 KT 3. 6.
 3 sg. pf. m., L.Kh.: *parbutti* P 2798. 161 KBT 43 = *parbuttā* P
 2958. 42 KBT 41; *parbautta* P 2928. 13 KT 3. 105. *parbutta-*
 archaizing, cf. *jutta-* p. 36.
 Et. Cf. Av. *pairi.bava-* 1. 'sich machen über'; 2. 'sich bemächtigen';
 3. 'zum Abschluß kommen' (*AIW* 932).

parvach- 'to ripen' V c mid. intr. (= pass). B
 3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *parvašte* Si 138v1 KT 1. 76 tr. *smin*; 142r2-3
 KT 1. 82.
 Et. < **pari-+pach-* p. 63.

parś- 'to serve' VI b act. tr. A/B ppp. **parśāta-*
 1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *paśūm*, *parśūm* Or 11252. 15b3 KT 2. 21.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *parśi'dā* P 3510. 7. 8 KBT 52.

- 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *paršai'* JS 4v4-5r1 (15).
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *paršāmdā Vajr.* 13b3 KT 3. 22 tr. *paryupāsītā*.
 O.Kh. noun *pārša-* 'service' Z 2. 185.
 Et. Denom. < *pārysa-* 'servant' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 587.
 O.Kh. *parysa-* Z 2. 50; *pārysa-* Or 9609. 5r4 KT 1. 234.

pars- 'to escape' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *parrāta-*
 +I-A (abl.), R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 30, § IV. 1 (e).
 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *parštā* Z 2. 68+.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *parsīndi* Z 2. 60+.
 1 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *parrātāmā* D III. 1. 8v5 KT 5. 70.
 3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *parrāta* Z 13. 14.
 Et. Inch. < **pari-raik-*. See *parrīj-* p. 74 and p. 237. Cf. also Man.
 Sogd. *prxs-* inch. < *pryč-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 825, p. 124).

***paljsan-** 'to put round, surround; apply' I b act. tr. B ppp. *paljsata-*
 3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pejsidā* JS 26r4 (115) 'applies'.
 3 pl. opt., L.Kh.: *pijsanira-m* Si 1 bis r1 KT 1. 2 (differently H. W. B.,
Taqizadeh Vol., p. 37).
 O.Kh. ppp.: *paljsata-* Z 17. 26; *paljsāta-* Z 17. 23. *paljsāte* Or 9609.
 56r6 KT 1. 240 tr. *ārāma-* 'enclosure'.
 L.Kh. ppp.: *pa'jsa-* JS 7r4 (27).
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *pa'jsāmdē* JS 34v3 (151).
 Et. < **pari-čana-* < **pari-kan-*. See *pārān-* p. 83.

paljsem- 'to go about, be engaged in' v. H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. ii. 1, 1951,
 26. V e tr. A ppp. **paljsaunda-*
 3 sg. pres.: *paljsemāte* H 144 NS 30 etc. r5 KT 5. 95.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *pa'jsāmdāmdā* StH 41 KT 2. 74 'they engaged in'.
 L.Kh. inf.: *paijsādai* P 2787. 132 KT 2. 106.
 Et. < **pari-jāmaya-* < **pari-gam-*, cf. Av. *pairi.gam-*.

paltcīmph- 'to check' III d tr. A ppp. **paltcautta-*
 3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *pi'tcīphe* Si 15v4 KT 1. 24.
 O.Kh. nom. ag.: *paltcīmphākā* Or 9609. *27v5 KT 1. 236 tr. *chedaka-*.
 L.Kh. ppp.: *pa'tcautta-* Si 127r3 KT 1. 58.
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *patcauttē* JS 29v2 (129).
 Et. < **pari-sčambaya-*, v. **naltcīmph-* p. 49.

pašš- 'to let go, release' V b act. tr. A ppp. *paššāta-*
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *paššātā* Z 12. 116; 22. 203; *paššāve* Z 2. 179.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paššāndā* Z 16. 50; 24. 390.

1 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *paššātaimā* Z 3. 71; L.Kh., *paššāve* P 2741.
 76 KT 2. 90.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *paššāte* Z 2. 6+.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *paššāndā* Z 5. 6+ < **paššātāndā*.
 O.Kh. inf.: *paššete* Z 22. 106.
 Et. < **apa-šyā-*, v. H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 76. See *mišš-* p. 56.
 Cf. B. Sogd. *psp-* 'rejeret' P 5. 72; *pspy-* 'verwirft' Dhuta 94.

pašauj- 'to wash' V e tr.
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pašojāñā* Si 156r2 KT 1. 102 tr. *bīal*.
 Et. ? The vowel hardly permits comparison with Chr. Sogd. *pšynč-*,
pšyt- 'vergießen'.

paškūj- 'to strike' H. W. B. V e act. tr. A/B
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paškūjāndā* H 142 NS 58. 50r2 KT 5. 88.
 L.Kh.: *paškūjā* P 2834. 56 KBT 47.
 Et. ? **(s)kauk-*, cf. *uskuj-* p. 17.

paškaus- 'to swell' IV a intr. ppp. *paškauta-*
 L.Kh. -āmātā abstract: *paškosa* Si 122r2 KT 1. 50; *paškausa* Si
 121v3 KT 1. 48 tr. *ādhmāna*.
 L.Kh. ppp. *paškauta* Vajr. 42b3 KT 3. 29 (= *paškauva* P 4099. 270
 KBT 126).
 Et. ? Formally, cf. *vau's-*; *vo'ta-* p. 125.

pašt- 'to arise, set out' II b act. intr. A ppp. *paštāta-*
 +inf. of purpose: *ggārāte* SS 77v5 KT 5. 339.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *paštātā* N 50. 21.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paštāndi* Z 22. 325; *paštāndā* Z 24. 484; SS
 77v5 KT 5. 339; *paštāndā* Z 17. 15.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *paštātā* Z 2. 78; 5. 37.
 3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *paštāta* Z 23. 135.
 Et. < **pati-hišta-* H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. ii. 1, 1951, 33.

***paštarr-** 'to strew' III b ppp. *paštarrda-*
 L.Kh. ppp.: *paštarda* Ch 00267. 36 KBT 147; P 3513. 79v3 KBT
 63.
 Et. < **pati-+star-*, v. *baštarr-*, *starr-*. Cf. Bal. *pastark* 'saddle' <
**pati-staraka-* Morg., *AO*, xx. 290.

paštāñ- 'to satisfy; promote' V e mid. tr. A/B
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *paštāñāre* Kha 1. 13 147r2 KBT 7.
 L.Kh. nom. ag.: *paštāñāka* Or 8212. 162. 93 KT 2. 6.
 Et. Caus. < *pašt-* q.v.

*paṣṭu- 'to promise' ppp. paṣṭuta-

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: paṣṭute Z 23. 37.

Et. < *pati-stav-, cf. Parth. ppp. pḍystwā 'promettre' < *pati-stav- (Ghilain, p. 77). See stav- p. 134.

pasad- 'to seem good' V a act. intr. C ppp. pasasta-

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: pasaitta P 2896. 49 KT 3. 36 = pṣaittā P 2895. 1 KT 3. 40 = pṣaittā P 2025. 7 KT 3. 45 (so read H. W. B., *Unvala Vol.*, 3).

O.Kh. ppp. pasastā Z 19. 87; Kha 1. 309b2. 202v6 KT 5. 172.

Et. < *pa-sadaya-, v. sad-. Cf. Parth. psynd- 'apprécier'; NP pasandīdan (Ghilain, p. 55); B. Sogd. pṣynt- 'approuver' Vj < *pati-sand- (I. G., *Mithra*, p. 179).

pasamaṇḍ- 'to rub' LW tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: pasamaṇḍā Si 103v4 KT 1. 40 tr. mñe-ba.

Et. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxvi. 1, 1963, 76-77 from Pkt maḍḍ- < Skt mard-.

*pasal- 'to besmear' tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: pasalyāñā Si 103v3 KT 1. 40 tr. bsku-ba.

L.Kh.- āmatā abstract: pasalyāma Si 1511 KT 1. 22 tr. bsku-ba.

Et. See āsal- p. 12.

*pasuṣ- 'to become soundless' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: pasuṣḍi Jp 73v4 KT 1. 159; pasauṣḍe' Si 121v3 KT 1. 48.

Et. < *pa-sauṣ-, cf. Oss. D. sosäg 'silent'; sos kânun 'to make hoarse' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxvi. 1, 1963, 88. Cf. also Oss. I. fāsūs 'hoarse' (H. W. B.).

pasūj- 'to light' (lamp) V e tr. A ppp. *pasuta-

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: pasūje P 4099. 158 KBT 120.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: pasvāde JS 3113 (137).

Et. < *apa-saučaya- < *apa-sauk-, cf. Man. Sogd. pswč-, pswyt- 'to purify, clean' (I. G., *GMS*, § 591, p. 92).

pasūjs- 'to burn' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *pasuta-

3 sg. pres. mid.: O.Kh., pasūste Z 4. 95; 9. 16; 24. 417; L.Kh., pasūste JS 6r2 (21); pasūste JS 3114 (137). *pasūysde expected, as pointed out by E. Leumann, *Festgabe Jacobi*, 1926, 79. Cf. vataysde, hatīysde.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: pasūjsāre Z 24. 501.

L.Kh. ppp. pasva P 3513. 62r2 KT 1. 243 tr. ādīpta-.

Et. < *apa-saučā- < *apa-sauk-, v. pasūj-. The 3 sg. may have been influenced by the inch. *pasūste 3 sg. pres. mid. (-ūs-, cf. *vasus*-), although the inch. was probably act. (cf. *pasūste* P 2026. 58 KT 3. 50, L.Kh. for *pasūstā (cf. *vasūstā*)). The simplex sūjs- q.v. is act., so that we can explain *pasūste* by a proportional analogy thus: sūstā : sūste = istā : iste (v. *is*- p. 14).

*pastramj- 'to repress' V e ppp. pastrīya-

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: pastrīyāmdā Si 1v5 KT 1. 2.

Et. < *pa-stranjāya- < *pa-strang- H. W. B., *Taqizadeh Vol.*, 1962, 36. IE *strenk/g- Pok. 1036.

pastrīs- 'to become stiff; revolt' IV a intr. ppp. pastrīya-

L.Kh. -āmatā abstract: pastrīsāme Si 131v1 KT 1. 64 tr. reñs-pa.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: pastrīya P 2783. 202 (41) KT 3. 74; id. P 2958. 91 KBT 42 = pastrīya P 2798. 207 KBT 44 'they revolted' (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 592).

Et. Inch. < *pa-strang-, v. *pastramj-.

*paspar- 'to trample on' ppp. paspuḍa-

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: paspuḍāmdā JS 7v2-3 (28).

Et. < *pa-spar-, cf. Arm. LW patspar- (*HAG*, p. 226); Man. Sogd. pšpr- 'to fix, compose, level' (I. G., *GMS*, § 370, p. 56; § 1100, p. 167). See āspar- p. 13.

pahāj- 'to flee' H. W. B. V e act. intr. A/B ppp. pahīya-

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: pahājīdā Or 11252. 4b3 KT 2. 16.

ppp. pahīya-, v. pahīs-.

Et. < *apa-hāčaya-, iter. < *apa-hak-, v. pahīs-.

*pahālīj- 'to stop, obstruct' V e tr. ppp. *prhīya-

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: pahāijārā Ch 1. 0021b, a² 26 KBT 150.

L.Kh. ppp. ipīhi Ch 1. 0021b, b 48 KBT 154 (with privative a-).

Et. < *apa-brak-, cf. prahālīj-. See also inch. *prhīs- p. 86.

*pahālījāñ- 'to stop, obstruct' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: pahejāñe Si 122v3 KT 1. 50 tr. hgags-par hgyur-ba.

Et. Secondary caus. to *pahālīj-.

pahiys- 'to disappear' I b mid. intr. B ppp. pahāṣṭa-

3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: pahaiysde P 4099. 317 KBT 129; Ch 00268. 222 KBT 69.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pahīysāre* Z 24. 457.
O.Kh. ppp. *pahāṣṭa-* Z 6. 10+.
Et. < **apa-haiza-*, see *vahīys-* p. 122.

pahīś- 'to remove' V e tr. A ppp. *pahāṣṭa-*
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pahīśāte* Z 6. 26.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pahāṣṭā* Z 2. 93.
Et. Caus. < *pahīys-*.

pahīs- 'to flee' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *pahīya-*
3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pahaiṣṭā* P 2781. 154 (86) KT 3. 72; P 2741.
13-14 KT 2. 88.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pahaiṣṭā* P 4099. 309 KBT 128; *pahaiṣṭā*
P 2782. 6 KT 3. 58.
L.Kh. ppp. *pahaiya-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 4, 1939, 859-60; *BSOAS*,
x. 3, 1941, 592.
3 sg. pf. intr. m.: O.Kh. **pahīyā* > L.Kh. *pahai* P 2783. 216 (55)
KT 3. 75.
3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *pahīya* Z 20. 33; 24. 421; *pahaiga* Z 2. 142;
L.Kh., *pahaiya* P 2783. 246 (85) KT 3. 76.
Et. < **apa-haxsa-*, inch. < **apa-hak-*; v. *pahāj-*. Cf. Parth. *hxs-*,
hxs'd 'suivre' (Ghilain, p. 81), inch. < **hak-* 'follow'. Hardly to
thamj- with Dresden, p. 481 s.v. *bihi*, as *pathamj-*, *pathis-* p. 68
occur and differ in meaning.

paher- 'to steep, soak' V e tr.
L.Kh. pt. nec.: *paherāñā* Si 149v3 KT 1. 94 tr. *sbañ*.
Et. **har-* here is perhaps IE **ser-* 'strömen' (Pok. 909), O.Ind. *sāratī*
'flows', *sāras-* 'lake'.

pahvā'n- 'to dry up' V e tr.
L.Kh. nom. ag.: *pahvai'nākā* P 2787. 73-74 KT 2. 104.
L.Kh. *pahvāñārī* P 3513. 69v2 KT 1. 246 (form?) tr. *saṃśuṣyate*.
Et. See *hvā'n-*.

1. ***pār-** 'to pay' H. W. B., KT 4. 56-57. ppp. *pāḍa-*
pāra- 'debt' Hed. 4. 3 KT 4. 23.
ppp. *pāḍa-* Kha 1. 176a. b3 KT 5. 153.
Et. See H. W. B., loc. cit. Sogd. *Anc. Lett.* ii. 30 p'r; i. 9; iii. 35 p'rh
'debt' (W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, xii. 3-4, 1948, 607, n. 2); Paštō
pōr 'debt' (*EVP* 58); Av. **pāra-* m. 'guilt' (I. G., *Mithra*, p. 245),
par- (pass.) 'owe' (I. G., *Mithra*, p. 247).

2. **pār-** 'to nourish' H. W. B., KT 4. 57-58; *TPS*, 1960, 82. tr.
ppp. *pāḍa-*
Nom. ag.: *pārāka* H 147 MBD 23a11 KT 5. 66.
1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pāḍemā* Z 5. 51.
1 sg. pf. tr. f., L.Kh.: *pāḍā* P 2834. 53 KBT 47.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *pāḍe* P 2801. 68 KT 3. 68.
Et. See H. W. B., loc. cit. B. Sogd. p'r- *Dhuta* 266.

pārajs- 'to be supported' I b mid. intr. B
O.Kh. pt. nec.: *pārajsāñā-* Z 2. 125.
L.Kh. nom. ag. + -i 'you are': *pārajsāki* *Avdh* 14r4 KT 3. 7.
3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *pāraysdā* *Vajr.* 16a2 KT 3. 23.
Nouns: < *patā* > *rajsye jsa* Or 9609. 24v1 KT 1. 235 tr. *saṃāsritam*;
pārajsye jsa Si 5v3 KT 1. 8 tr. *āstrayād* (H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1942, 23).
Et. ? IE **leg-* (Pok. 658) '(sich) legen'.

pāraṃj- 'to diminish' V e tr. A ppp. *pārīya-*
3 sg. pres.: *pāraṃjite* H 142 NS 29 etc. 611v3 KT 5. 92.
L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pāraṃjāñā* Si 144v2 KT 1. 86 tr. *dbri-ñiñ*.
L.Kh. inf.: *pārīye* P 2834. 16 KBT 45+.
Et. See **āraṃj-*, p. 10.

pāraṃjs- 'to diminish' I b tr.
L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pāraṃjsāñā* Si 133r5 KT 1. 68 tr. *phri-ste*.
Et. See *pāraṃj-*.

pārah- 'to be established' intr. ppp. *patārotta-*
3 pl. subj. mid., L.Kh.: *pārahaude* P 3513. 79r3 KBT 63 'may they
establish themselves' H. W. B., *Brown Vol.*, 1962. 19.
2 pl. opt., L.Kh.: *pārihīryau* Kha 1. 221. 31 KT 3. 130.
O.Kh. ppp. *patārotta-* Or 9609. 24r3, 4 KT 1. 235 tr. *saṃśrita-*.
L.Kh. ppp. *pārautta-* Si 4v4 KT 1. 8 tr. *sthita-*; *pārautta-* *Vajr.*
10b4 KT 3. 22 tr. *pratiṣṭhita-*.
3 sg. pf. tr. m. (tr.), L.Kh.: *pārautte* Ch c. 001. 860 KBT 135.
Noun: *pārahā-* Si 3r1 KT 1. 4 tr. *gāi*.
Et. Stem-analysis uncertain, but evidently connected with Av. *rap-*
'Unterstützung gewähren, finden' (*AIW* 1508); O.Ind. *rāpati*
'helps, holds to'.

***pārīmph-** 'to establish' V e act. tr. A/B
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pārīphida* P 2787. 81 KT 2. 104; *pārīphidā* Ch
ii. 004 3r1 KBT 145.

1 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *pārīphī* P 3513. 65r3 KT 1. 244 tr. *sthāpayiṣye*.
Et. < **pati-ramb-aya-*, cf. O.Ind. *rambh-* 'support' (IE **rem-bh-* Pok. 864).

pāris- 'to diminish' IV a act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pārīstā* P 3513. 17v2, 18r3 KBT 55.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pārīṣṇā* P 2788. 6 KT 2. 109.
L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *pārīṣṇe* Si 714 KT 1. 10 tr. *dbri-ba*.
Et. Inch. < *pāraṃjs-* p. 81.

pājsaṣ- 'to look at' I b mid. tr. B ppp. *pājsaṣṭa-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pājsaṣṭe* Z 23. 161.
O.Kh. pt. nec.: *pājsaṣṭā'ne* Or 9609. 36r4 KT 1. 236 tr. *prekṣitavya-*.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *pājsaṣṭāndā* H 142 NS 88+89 8v4 KT 5. 81.
Et. < **pati-čaṣa-*, v. *tcāṣ-* p. 40. For **kaṣ-*, see *kāt-* p. 22.

pātāy- 'to speak' V e act. intr. A ppp. *pātāsta-*

+I-A (comitative), R. E. E., BSOAS, xxviii. 1, 1965, 32, § IV. 10 (d).
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pātāyātā* H 142 NS 61. 47r3 KT 5. 29.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pātāyāndā* Z 2. 13; SS 85v2, 4 KT 5. 343.
O.Kh. pt. nec.: *pātāyāṇa-* Or 9609. 36r5 KT 1. 236 tr. *ālāpayitavya-*.
O.Kh. ppp. *pātāsta-* Z 5. 101.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pātāste* Z 5. 103; 24. 221, 495.
3 pl. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pātāstāndī* Z 2. 160.
O.Kh. inf.: *pātāste* Z 12. 13.
L.Kh. *pyāy-*, *pyāsta-*:
2 sg. imper.: *pyāya* Avdh 10v5 KT 3. 4.
2 pl. imper.: *pyāyarā* P 2790. 84 KT 2. 113.
3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *pyāsta* P 2801. 37 KT 3. 66.
3 pl. pf. tr.: *pyāstāmda* P 2787. 176 KT 2. 108.
Et. ? < **pati-ādaya-*, cf. Av. *ad-* 'speak' (H. W. B.).

pātāl- 'to prosper' I d act. tr./mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *pātālsta-*

2 pl. imper.: *pātāl'tta* H 144 NS 30 etc. v1 KT 5. 95 (so read, as correctly N 128. 44).
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pātālyāre* Z 23. 94; H 142 NS 45r2, 6, 7 KT 5. 93; *pyālyāre* H 144 NSB 19 v7 KT 5. 92.
O.Kh. ppp.: *pātālsta-* H 144 NSB 19 v7 KT 5. 92.
L.Kh. noun *pyālyā-*: *pyālyā* P 3513. 72v1 KT 1. 248 tr. *sampatti*; *pyālye jsa* Vajr. 12b4 KT 3. 22 tr. *osampadā*.
Et. < **pati-arda-*, cf. O.Ind. *rdhāti* 'prosper, succeeds'; Av. *arəd-* 'gedeihen lassen' (AIW 193).

pātem- 'to confound' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *pātaunda-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pātemīndī* Z 9. 3.
O.Kh. ppp. *pātaunda-* Z 5. 6+. L.Kh. ppp. *pyauda-* P 3513. 68r4 KT 1. 246.
Et. < **pati-tāmaya-*, cf. O.Ind. *tāmyati*, *tamayati*. Note Sogd. *pt'*'m Sogdica, p. 47.

pārāñ- 'to scatter' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pārāñātā* N 50. 23.
Iter. < **pārān-* q.v.

pārān- 'to sow' I b act. tr. B ppp. *pārānda-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pārēndā* E 1. 7. 19v4 KT 5. 389 tr. *vuptā*.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pārānīndā* Adh. S. p. 99, l. 8.
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *pārāndāmdā* P 3513. 74v1, 2-3 KT 1. 249.
Et. < **parā-kan-*, H. W. B., TPS, 1956, 105. Cf. B. Sogd. *pr'kn-* 'sāen' (BBB, p. 72 ad 570); Parth. *pr'gnd* (Ghilain, p. 55); NP *parāgandan*. On OP *kan-* 'throw', see Benv., TPS 1945, 71.

pāṣkal- 'to analyse' I b act. tr. A/B ppp. *pāṣkālsta-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pāṣkalīndā* Z 14. 36.
L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pāṣkalyāṇā* Si 142v1 KT 1. 82 tr. *bsal-nas*.
O.Kh. ppp.: *pāṣkālsta-* Z 2. 108, 109+.
Noun, L.Kh.: *pāṣkala-* Si 1 bis v4 KT 1. 4+ tr. *lehu* 'section'.
Et. < **pati-skard-*, cf. B. Sogd. *ptškrδ* P 21 II 2 (?); *wyškryδ-* 'to pierce' P 3. 199 (W. B. Henning, BSOAS, xi. 4, 1946, 728).

pāhad- 'to strike' tr. ppp. *pāhastā-*

2 pl. imper., O.Kh.: *pāhatta* Z 24. 414.
3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *pihei* D III. 1 8v3 KT 5. 70.
O.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *pāhāmata* Z 7. 22.
O.Kh. ppp. *pāhastā-* Z 24. 411, 416; *pihastā-* Z 24. 319.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *pyahaste* JS 14r2 (58).
Et. < **pati-xad-*, v. *khad-* p. 25.

pāp- 'to prepare' (food, drink) LW mid. tr. A/B

1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pāpe* Z 2. 52.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pāpāre* Z 2. 50.
Et. < Pkt **payapp-* < BHS *prakalp-* H. W. B., *Annali*, 1959, 134.

pām- 'to bring' H. W. B., BSOS, ix. 3, 1938, 535; ix. 4, 1939, 860.
? LW tr.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *pāmā* P 5538b87 KT 3. 124 tr. *māyaya* (? *vinaya*).

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pīmāṇā Si* 141r5 *KT* 1. 80 tr. *hṛtvā*.

Et. ? Probably not < **pati-yamaya*- unless through Pkt: see *ājum*- p. 8.

1. **pīr-** 'to write, paint' mid. (O.Kh.); act. (L.Kh.) tr. B ppp. *pīda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pīde* Z 9. 19.

3 sg. subj. mid., O.Kh.: *pīrāte* H 147 NS 109 41r5 *KT* 5. 73.

O.Kh. nom. ag.: *pīrāka-* Z 7. 29; 9. 19; 23. 37.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pīride* *ApS* 13a1 *KT* 5. 246 tr. *likhiṣyanti* *likhāpaviṣyanti*.

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *pīde* Z 5. 8; 22. 226; 23. 15; L.Kh., id. *ṣS* 39r2 (169).

O.Kh. inf.: *pīde* Z 11 app.; 14 app.; 19 app.

Et. Cf. Oss. I. *pīryn*, *pyrd* 'to scratch, comb' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxi. 3, 1958, 539.

2. **pīr-** 'to be filled' S. Konow, *NTS*, vii. 1934, 53. V c intr. (= pass.) B

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pīde* Z 4. 43.

Et. < **par-ya-*, cf. O.Ind. *pūryāte* 'is filled'. Av. has *par-* 'füllen' (*AIW* 850) and possibly pass. *pairya-* in V. 19. 27 (v. K. Geldner, *Studien*, p. 5; I. G., *Mithra*, p. 247).

3. **pīr-** 'to believe' H. W. B. ap. R. E. E., *AM*, N.S. xii. 2, 1966, 153. act. intr. A/B

2 sg. subj., O.Kh.: *pīre* Z 24. 245.

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *pīra* Z 13. 67.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pīrindā* Z 15. 28.

3 pl. subj., L.Kh.: *pīrādi* Ch 0048. 26 *KB* 72.

pīrāttāti- 'belief': *pīrāttetu yande* H 147 NS 110 42v3 *KT* 5. 74 tr. *dad-ciñ*; *pīrāttā hā yanāti* (so read) *Vajr.* 24b2 *KT* 3. 25.

Et. Cf. B. Sogd. *pyr-* 'croire' P.

purr- 'to overcome' III b act. tr. B ppp. *purrda-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *purrimā* Z 4. 6.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *purdā* Z 24. 400.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *purrindā* Z 24. 51.

2 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *purdai* Stein E 1. 7 145r5 *KT* 5. 77 tr. *gṛom-pa*; L.Kh., *purrda* *ṣS* 16v3 (70).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *purrā* Z 13. 65; *purde* Z 14. 9; *purrde* Z 24. 242.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *purrāmdā* P 2783. 247 (86) *KT* 3. 76.

Et. < **prna-* < **par-* 'to fight', IE 3. **per-* (Pok. 818), cf. Av. *parānā*, *parān-* < *par-* (*AIW* 868 s.v. *parat-*), Arm. LW *goupar-*.

See H. W. B., *KT* 4. 57.

puror- 'to take away' I b act. tr. B ppp. *purauḍa-*

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pūreḍa* *ṣP* 52r5 *KT* 1. 143; 65r1 *KT* 1. 153; *pūreḍe* *ṣS* 11v4 (47).

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *purorindī* Z 22. 321.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *purorāka* *Si* 14r3-4 *KT* 1. 20 tr. *sel-to*.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *purauḍe* Z 20. 32; *puroḍe* Z 20. 47.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *purauḍāndā* Z 22. 238; *purauḍāndī* Z 22. 308.

Et. < **parā-bara-* (so Dresden, p. 479 s.v. *piraur-*), cf. Av. *para.bara-* 'wegtragen' (*AIW* 940); OP *parābara-*.

puls- 'to ask' IV a act. tr. B ppp. *braṣṭa-*

+2 acc., R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 26, § II. 5.

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pulsimā* Z 2. 53.

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pulstā* Z 3. 75+.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pulsindī* (+-i) H 142 NS 58 50r2 *KT* 5. 88.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *braṣṭe* Z 22. 312.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *braṣṭāndī* Z 13. 18; *braṣṭāndā* *Suv.* K. 63r1 *KT* 5. 114 tr. *paripṛcchitah*.

L.Kh. inf.: *brriṣṭi* Kha 1. 221. 16 *KT* 3. 129.

For L.Kh. spellings of *puls-*, see Dresden, p. 480 s.v. *pva'se*. 2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *pva'se* *ṣS* 28v4 (126).

Et. < **pṛsa-* inch. < **fras-*, cf. Av. *parasa-*, *parṣta-*; Parth. *purs-*, *purs'd* (Ghilain, p. 79); MPE *purs-*, *pursyd* (*Verbum*, p. 196); NP *pursidan*.

puva'd- 'to fear' V a act. intr. C ppp. *puva'sta-*

+G-D (dat.), R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 29, § III. 8.

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *puvai'ttā* Z 2. 101+.

2 pl. imper., O.Kh.: *puva'tta* Z 24. 474.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *puvai'ndī* Z 11. 10+.

2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *pvesti* *ṣS* 5v3 (18)+.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *puva'stā* Z 11. 42.

O.Kh. ppp. once *puva'lsta-* Z 14. 75 with intrusive -l-.

Et. < **apa-śadaya-*. Cf. *apa.hiḍaṭ* Yt 19. 56 'wich aus'. For -ṣ-, cf. ZP *āṣiṇṇān*, Kh. *āṣiṇṇyā-* 'pond' < **ā-ṣiñcā-* (Leumann, 'E', p. 397 s.v.).

pūy- 'to look' ? A ppp. *pūyāta-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *pūya* *Avdh* 18v4 *KT* 3. 10.

3 sg., pres. or pf. m., O.Kh.: *pūyāte* Z 22. 249.

3 sg. pf. tr. f., O.Kh.: *pūyātātā* Z 21. 14.

Et. See *dai-* p. 47. (H. W. B.). For *pū-*, see p. 237.

*pūśś- 'to read' V c act. tr. A/B ppp. *pūšta-*

- 1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *pūśū* P 5538b 29, 30 KT 3. 122 tr. *śaikṣapayamī*.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pūśīda* Or 8212. 162. 18, 19 KT 2. 2.
 L.Kh. nom. ag.: *pūśākā* Si 1v4-5 KT 1. 2.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *pūštāndā* Z 22. 224 (H. W. B.); Z 15. 21.
 L.Kh. inf.: *pūštai* P 5538b 29, 31 KT 3. 122 tr. *śaikṣapaya*.
 Et. H. W. B., TPS, 1956, 118-19; *Taqizadeh Vol.*, 1962, 36, <
 **pati-fras-ya-*, cf. OP *patiprśa-*, B. Sogd. *ptš-*, Parth. *pdwrs-*
 (Ghilain, p. 79), MPe *phyprws-*, *phybws-* (*Verbum*, p. 196).

pūhā't 'to bind' (?) I b act. tr. B

- 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pūhei'tā* Z 22. 168.
 Et. Meaning and hence et. of this ἀπ. λεγ. uncertain. H. W. B.
 conjectures **hai-š-* 'bind', cf. Av. *hā(y)-* etc. For the form cf.
kei'tā 3 sg. pres. < *kāt'* - p. 22.

*prhīs- 'to be stopped, blocked' IV a intr.

- L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *pihisāme* Si 122v4 KT 1. 50 tr. *hgags-pa*.
 Et. Inch. < **apa-θrak-*, v. **pahālī-* p. 79. For the form, cf. inch.
 **nṛhīs-* < **nihīs-*, v. *nṛhīs-* p. 60.

pai- 'to protect' V b act. tr. D ppp. *pāta-*

- 1 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pāmā* Suv. K. 30r6 KT 5. 108 tr. *paripālanam*.
 **pāya-* > **pāya-*, cf. Av. *paya-*; **payāmā* > **pāyāmā* > **pyāmā*
 (cf. *dāyāmā*, *dāyāmā* < **dayāmā* < *dai-* p. 47) > *pāmā*.
 2 pl. imper., O.Kh.: *paiya* Z 22. 277; Suv. K. 29r5 KT 5. 107; L.Kh.,
paiya Domoko A 4. 9 KT 2. 63; H 147 MBD 23b. 24 (3) KT 5. 63.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paindā* Z 16. 5.
 2 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *pānda* Z 22. 237 < **pātānda*.
 Et. < **pā-ya-*, cf. Av. *pāya-*, *paya-*; MPe *p'y-* (*Verbum*, p. 203);
 Parth. *p'y-* (Ghilain, p. 86); Man. Sogd. *p'y-*, Sogd. *p't-* (I. G.,
GMS, § 565, p. 89).

peh- 'to obtain' (?) V b tr. A

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pehāte* Z 12. 80.
 Et. < **pa-āfyā-*, cf. *byeh-* H. W. B. against TPS, 1961, 138.

pyan- 'to cover' I b act. tr. A/B ppp. *pyanda-*

- 2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *pyanarā* P 2801. 64 KT 3. 68.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pyanīda* JP 54r1 KT 1. 145.
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pyanāñq* Si 153r5 KT 1. 100 tr. *pūrañāt*; tr. *gañ-bar*
blugs.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh. (+ -i 'her'): *pyamāmdā* P 2801. 65 KT 3. 68.

Et. < **pati-kan-*, cf. NP *āgandan* 'to fill, stuff' H. W. B., BSOAS,
 x. 3, 1941, 578.

pyays- 'to seal' (?) H. W. B., AM, N.S. xi. 1, 1964, 14. I b act. tr.
 B ppp. *pyašta-*

- 3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pyasdā* Or 9268. 109 KT 2. 14.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pyaysidā* Or 9268. 2b9 KT 2. 14.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *pyašti* Or 9268. 1a1 KT 2. 13.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *pyaštāmdā* P 2790. 23 KT 2. 111; ibid. 76 KT
 2. 113; MT 0429. 1a-2 KT 5. 196.
 Et. < **pati-kaz-*, cf. Arm. LW *kazm* 'order' H. W. B., AM, N.S. 1,
 1949, 45. For **kaz-*, see also p. 22 s.v. *kaśś-*.

pyūmj- 'to deny' III d act. tr. A

- 1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *pyūmjūm* Avdh 6v2 KT 3. 2; 17r3 KT 3. 9.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pyūmjāte* Z 12. 127.
 Et. < **pati-vang-*, cf. Bal. *gwānjag* 'to call'; NP *bāng* 'voice' H. W. B.,
 BSOS, ix. 1, 1937, 76-77. Possibly **va-n-čaya-* < **vak-* 'to speak'.
 Cf. *byūmj-* p. 105, *vamj-* p. 117.

pyūš- 'to hear' I b mid. tr. B ppp. *pyūšta-*

- 3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pyūšde* Z 14. 73+.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pyūvā're* Z 1. 52+; *pyūvā'ri* Z 22. 326;
pyūvā're Z 2. 76+; *pyūvā're* Z 13. 121; *pyūvā're* Z 14. 76; *pyūvā're*
 Z 14. 38; *pvā're* Z 5. 12; *pyūvā're* Z 5. 101 (metathesis).
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pyūšte* Z 2. 123+.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *pyūštāndā* Z 5. 15; 13. 111+; *pyūštāmdā* Z 2. 61.
 O.Kh. inf.: *pyūšte* Z 14. 97; 24. 487.
 Et. < **pati-gauša-*, cf. B. Sogd. *ptywš-*, *ptywšt-*; Yaghn. *dūyūš-*,
dūyūšta (Andreev, p. 249). Western Ir. has **ni-gauša-*: MPe *nywš-*
 (*Verbum*, p. 185); Parth. *ngwš-* (Ghilain, p. 66); NP *niyōšidan*.

*prakṣiv- 'to reject' V a act. tr. A/B ppp. *prakṣautta-*

- 3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *prākṣīvi* Vajr. 28b4 KT 3. 26 tr. *pratīkṣipet*.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *prākṣīvidi* P 3513. 41r4 KBT 61.
 1 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *prākṣauttai ime* P 3513. 64v1 KT 1. 244 tr.
pratīkṣiptah.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *prakṣauttāndā* N 158. 34.
 Et. < **parā-xšaub-*, v. 1. *kšāv-* p. 25.

pracar- 'to proceed to' LW intr.

- 3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *pracariyā* Suv. K. 32r7 KT 5. 110.
 Et. Skt *pracarati*.

prracav- 'to transmigrate' LW A

3 sg. pres.: *prracavāte* H 144 NS 30 etc. r2 KT 5. 95.
Et. Skt *pracyavate*. See *cav-* p. 33.

praysal- 'to have faith, believe' LW act. intr. D

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *praysaiyā* H 147 NS 110. 42v2 KT 5. 74 =
praysaitu SS 35v3 KT 5. 337.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *prayseindi* Z 2. 75.
Noun *praysāta-* Z 2. 76+ < BHS *prasāda-* tr. *dad-pa* Mvy 6822+.
Et. BHS *prasādayati* taken as denom. < *prasāda-* in above sense. Skt
prasādayati 'purifies'; BHS, according to F. Edgerton, 'grants the
favour of'.

pravartt- 'to turn, make revolve (wheel); effect' LW act. tr. A
ppp. *pravarttāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pravarttāte* Z 22. 216.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pravarttindā* Z 1. 187+.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pravarttāte* Z 14. 10, 25.
3 sg. pf. tr. f., O.Kh.: *pravarttātātā* Z 4. 103.
Et. BHS *pravartayati*.

***pravāy-** 'to lead over, convert' V e ppp. *pravāsta-*

L.Kh. ppp. *prravāsta* P 2787. 133 KT 2. 106.
L.Kh. inf.: *prravāste* MT b ii 0066a1 KT 5. 387.
Et. < **parā-vādaya-* < **parā-vad-* H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. 1, 1949, 43.
See *bāy-* p. 94, *ttuvāy-* p. 39.

praval- 'to enter ascetic life' LW act. intr. D ppp. *pravaiya-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pravaiyā* Z 22. 206.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *prravaindi* Z 22. 205+.
3 sg. pf. tr. m. (tr.), O.Kh.: *pravaiye* Z 5. 110.
pravaita Z 22. 323 ppp. or 3 pl. pf. intr. m. (intr.).
Et. Pkt *pavvaya* (Sheth) < *pravraj-*; Pāli *pavajati*; NWPkt *Dhp* 146
[*pravaya*]di = *pravrajanti*.

prahāl- 'to open' V e tr. A ppp. *prhīya-*

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *prahālja* Z 22. 192; L.Kh., *prrahāja* P 5538b 78
KT 3. 124 tr. *ūdūgaṭaya* (Skt *udghāṭaya*) H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix,
3, 1938, 535.
3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *prahāje* Si 14r1-2 KT 1. 20 tr. *hbye-bar byed-la*.
O.Kh. ppp.: *prhīya-* Z 5. 87; 22. 100, 263; *prhīta-* Z 22. 263.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *prrihiye* StH 36 KT 2. 74.
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *prrihiyāmdā* P 2741. 101 KT 2. 91.
Et. < **parā-θrak-*, see *hamthris-* p. 140. See also p. 239.

prahīs- 'to open' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *prhīya-*

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *prrahīsta* P 2786. 205 KT 2. 99 = id. Or
8212. 186 a43 KT 2. 11.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *prrahīsida* JP 78r1 KT 1. 163; *prrehīsīdā* Si
152v4 KT 1. 98.
O.Kh.: ppp. *prhīya-*, v. *prahāl-*.
Et. Inch. < **parā-θrak-*, v. *prahāl-*.

prahauy- 'to put on (clothing)' tr. ppp. *prahaušta-*

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *prahauyāña* Or 9609. 5r6 KT 1. 234 tr. *prāvṛtya*;
prohauyāña Or 9609. 36v2-3 KT 1. 236 tr. *prāvaritavyāni*.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *prahaušte* Z 2. 63; *prahošte* D III. 1 8r2 KT
5. 69 tr. *gzar-nas*.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *prahauštāndā* Or 9609. *27r7 KT 1. 236.
Cf. noun: *prahauna-* Z 2. 63+ 'clothing'.
Et. Uncertain. Note that the ppp. apparently has its form from an
s-extension. H. W. B. suggests connexion with OP *xaudā-* 'cap'
rather than with Kh. *thauna-* 'cloth' (on which, see H. W. B., *TPS*,
1945, 26-27).

prih- 'to conceal' tr. ppp. *pārsta-*

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *prihā* Z 24. 387.
O.Kh. ppp. *pārsta* Z 24. 514.
3 sg. pf. tr. f., L.Kh.: *pirstā* P 2834. 50 KBT 46.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh. (+-i 'her'): *pārstāndi* Z 19. 43.
L.Kh. inf.: *pirstā* Or 11344. 9b4 KT 2. 36; *ibid.* 12b3 KT 2. 37.
Et. ? Formally resembles *hambrih-*, *hambirsta-*, but the sense is against
derivation from < **pa-raiθ-*.

prev- 'to obtain' V e tr. A ppp. *proda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *prrevāte* Kha 1. 13 139v5 KBT 3 tr. *hthob-bo*.
2 sg. subj., O.Kh.: *prrevā* Kha 1. 13 148r2 KBT 7 tr. *thob-par*
gyur-cig.
O.Kh. ppp. *proda-* in *prodaphärrā* SS 33r3 KT 5. 335 tr. *rgyun-tu*
zugs-pa (= *srota-āpanna-* Mvy 5132).
Et. < **parā-āpaya-*, see *byev-*, *byeh-*. Probably not < **pari-āpaya-*,
although cf. Parth. *pry'b-*, *pryft* 'atteindre, obtenir' (Ghilain, p. 60);
Man. Sogd. *pryp-* 'to lead, take' < **pari-āpaya-* (W. B. Henning
ap. I. G., *GMS*, § 205, p. 32).

pvā'ñ- 'to frighten' V e tr. A-

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pvā'ñāte* Z 4. 114.
Et. Caus. < *puva'd-* p. 85.

pvīys- 'to cover' H. W. B., *Taqizadeh Volume*, 1962, 35. ppp. *pvīsta-* *pvīys-* in noun *pvīysakā* *Si* 149v1 *KT* 1. 94 where *pvīysakā* *bañāñā* tr. *phur-te. pvīysakā* 'a cover'.

L.Kh. ppp. *pvīsta-* *Si* 136v3 *KT* 1. 72 tr. *g-yogs-pa*.

In O.Kh. *pūlsta-* (*Z* 3. 12; 21. 32; 24. 387) means 'covered'.

Et. *pvīys-* and *pvīsta-* were considered to be extensions of **pav-* 'cover' by H. W. B., loc. cit. He now prefers **vai-z-* and **vai-d-*. L.Kh. *pvi'sta-* (*P* 2782. 2 *KT* 3. 58; *P* 2906. 27 *KT* 3. 98; *P* 3513. 79r2 *KB* 63; *Si* 1v3 *KT* 1. 2), with subscript hook, may be a contamination of **pvīsta-* with **pū'sta-*, the expected L.Kh. form of *pūlsta-*. See R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxix. 3, 1966, 615-16; *AM*, n.s. xii, 2, 1966, 165.

pvīś- 'to cover' *V e* tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pvīśā'ñā* *Si* 146r5 *KT* 1. 90 tr. *g-yogs-pa*.

Et. Caus. < *pvīys-* q.v.

pver- 'to remove' H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 134. *V e* tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pverāñā* *Si* 127r2 *KT* 1. 58 tr. *bsal-bar*.

L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *pverāma* *Si* 2v5 *KT* 1. 4 tr. *bsal-ba*.

Et. < **apa-vāraya-* < **apa-var-*. See *var-* p. 119.

phast- 'to flutter' mid. intr. *A/B*

3 pl. pres. mid.: O.Kh., *phastāre* *Z* 3. 81; *phastāri* *Z* 5. 38; L.Kh., *phastāre* Ch 00266. 22 *KT* 3. 35 = *phastārra* *P* 2956. 17 *KT* 3. 37 = *phasttāraq* *P* 2022. 46 *KT* 3. 44; *phastāra* Ch 00266. 26 *KT* 3. 35 = id. *P* 2956. 21 *KT* 3. 37 = *phastārā* *P* 2025. 38-39 *KT* 3. 46.

Et. ?? < **fam-d-t-* H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 121.

phaśt- 'to make flutter' *V e* tr.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *phaśtiya* *Z* 13. 113.

Et. Caus. < *phast-*.

phir- 'to be disturbed' *V c* intr.

L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *phirāme* *P* 2790. 45 *KT* 2. 112.

3 sg. pres. or pf. intr. L.Kh.: *phaiḍi* *P* 2790. 8 *KT* 2. 111; *phaiḍā* ibid. 11.

Forms ap. H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 12.

Et. < **frya-*, v. *āphār-* p. 8.

***phīśś-** 'to escape' *V e* act. intr. *A* ppp. **phīśśāta-*

+*I-A* (abl.): *phīśe avāyau jsa* *P* 3513. 74r2 *KT* 1. 249 tr. *jahate apāyān*.

1 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *phīśme* *P* 3513. 70v4 *KT* 1. 247 tr. *vivarjayeyam*.

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *phīśe* *P* 3513. 74r2 *KT* 1. 249 tr. *jahate*.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *phīśide* *P* 3513. 72v4 *KT* 1. 248 tr. *vyativrttāh*.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *phīśāñā* *Si* 103r1 *KT* 1. 38 tr. *vivarjayet*; tr. *span-bar byaho* (quoted H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 133).

1 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *phīśem* *P* 3513. 67v1 *KT* 1. 245 tr. *varjeyam* (parallel with *hahrriyai*) < **phīśśātaimā*.

Et. ? Iter. < inch. **phīs-*, v. *usphīs* p. 19.

phūm- 'to blow' H. W. B., *Unvala Vol.*, 1965, 3. act. intr. *A/B*

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *phūmidā* *P* 2025. 9 *KT* 3. 45 = *phūmidā* *P* 2895. 4 *KT* 3. 40 = *phūmidā* Ch 00266. 3 *KT* 3. 34.

Et. Probably onomatopoeic.

***pherr-** 'to speak' act. *A/B* ppp. *pherda-* (?)

3 sg. pres. or 3 sg. pf. m., L.Kh.: *pherde* *P* 2781. 74 (6) *KT* 3. 68. See H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 580.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *phairidā* *P* 2022. 22-23 *KT* 3. 43 (v. H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 15).

Cf. noun *pharā-* 'speech' tr. *ruta-* *P* 3513. 48r2, 3 (Asm. 23).

Et. *pherde* seems to indicate a stem **pherr-* (cf. *pur-*, *purda-*), ? < **fārnya-* (? denom. < **far-na-*). **far-* is perhaps < **bar-*, cf. B. Sogd. *prβ'yr-* 'raconter' *Vj* < **pari-bāraya-*. Note also Kh. *haura-* 'talk', see H. W. B., *Annali*, 1959, 129.

pheh- 'to cough' *V e* tr.

L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *phehāme* *Si* 1 bis v5 *KT* 1. 4 tr. *lud-pa*.

L.Kh. noun: *phāhā* *Si* 2r2 *KT* 1. 4 tr. *lud-pa*.

Et. Iter. < **faθ-* < **paθ-* H. W. B., *TPS*, 1961, 137-8. Possibly < **hvāfaya-* < **hvaf-*, cf. Oss. D. *xufun* 'to cough' (I. G.). Note Kh. *phārra-* < **hvarna-*, Av. *xʷarənah-*, OP *farnah-*, for *ph-* < **hv-*.

baj- 'to be broken' *V c* act. intr. (= pass.) *A*

3 sg. pres.: *bajāte* *Z* 24. 47; *bajātā* *Suv. K.* 64r5 *KT* 5. 115 tr. *vinakṣyati*; L.Kh., *bajaiti Vajr.* 21a1 *KT* 3. 24; 41a3 *KT* 3. 28.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *baji* *Z* 13. 78; *bajā* *Z* 23. 110; *bajiyā* *Z* 11. 27.

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *bajindā* *Suv. K.* 64v6 *KT* 5. 115 tr. *vinakṣyanti*; L.Kh. *bajaidā* Hed. 22. 4. 3 *KT* 4. 35.

Et. < **baj-ya-*, cf. O.Ind. *bhajyāte* 'is broken'. For the form, cf. *daj-* p. 43. LW < O.Ind. on account of caus. *bajev-* (cf. ?) according to Leumann, 'E', p. 469 s.v. Cf. BHS *bhajjati* 'is broken'. Always spelled *b-* not *bh-*, and **bag-* 'break' is not so rare in Ir. as would

appear from, e.g., Mayrh. s.v. *bhanākti*. Cf. Parth. *bxš'dnyft* 'schism', MPe *bxtygh* (W. B. Henning, *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 81); Man. Sogd. *βxtbwy* 'Zwiespalt herbeiführend'; *βxtwnyy* 'Zwiespalt, Schisma' (*BBB*, p. 123).

bajev- 'to break' V e act. tr. A ppp. *bajautta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bajevātā* *Suv.* K. 63v7 *KT* 5. 115.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bajevindā* *Z* 24. 395, 403.

O.Kh. inf.: *bajevā* *Suv.* K. 32r7 *KT* 5. 110.

O.Kh. ppp. *bajautta-* H 147 NS 109 41v5 *KT* 5. 74.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *bajottāndā* *Z* 15. 9.

Et. Caus. < *baj-*.

baješš- 'to make a noise' ? VI b mid. intr. A/B ppp. **baješšāta-*

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *baješšāre* *Z* 13. 112; *bagyeššāre* *Z* 20. 4; *baješārā* *Z* 3. 57; *baješāre* *Z* 5. 100.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *biješyāmdā* P 2801. 55 *KT* 3. 67; P 2781. 136 (68) *KT* 3. 71.

Et. Denom. < *bajāšša-* *Z* 3. 101+ Leumann, 'E', p. 469 s.v. Origin unknown.

bañ- 'to bind' V a act. tr. A ppp. *basta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bañāte* *Z* 11. 36, 50; *bañāte* *Z* 13. 28; 24. 444.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bañāndi* *Z* 22. 324.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh. *baste* *Z* 5. 31+.

3 pl. pf. tr.: O.Kh. *bastāndi* *Z* 23. 21 = L.Kh. *ba'stāda* P 4099. 124 *KBT* 119.

L.Kh. inf.: *bañti* P 2787. 85 *KT* 2. 104.

Et. < **bandaya-* < **band-*, cf. Av. *bandaya-*, *basta-*; O.Ind. *bandhayati*. For **band-*, cf. MPe *bn-*, *bst* (*Verbum*, p. 171); Parth. *bn-*, *bst* (Ghilain, p. 54); Man. Sogd. *βynd-*, *βyst-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 601, p. 94).

baḍ- 'to move; writhe' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *baḍte* *Z* 20. 57; 24. 504.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *baḍāri* *Z* 24. 503.

Et. < **varta-*, cf. O.Ind. *vartate*; MPe *wd-*, *wšt* 'sich wenden' (*Verbum*, p. 170); Parth. *wd-*, *wšt* 'se tourner' (Ghilain, p. 53).

1. bad- 'to be bound' V c act. intr. (= pass.) C ppp. *basta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *baittā* *Z* 5. 55, 57; 12. 94; Kha 1. 205 35v2 *KT* 5. 161 tr. *bcins-par*.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *baindā* *Z* 3. 107; 22. 273.

O.Kh.: ppp. *basta-* *Z* 4. 67+.

Et. < **bad-ya-*, cf. O.Ind. *badhyāte* 'is bound' S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 55. See *bañ-* p. 92.

2. bad- 'to produce' tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *byāñā* *Si* 122r4 *KT* 1. 50+ tr. *skyed-de*.

Et. < **vad-* 'to lead'; v. *āvad-* p. 11, *bāy-* p. 94.

ban- 'to cry out' I b mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *banāre* *Z* 24. 516.

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *banīya* P 2025. 173 *KBT* 17 = *buniya* Ch 00266. 111 *KBT* 25.

Cf. also noun *band-*: *banānu* *Suv.* K. 33r2 *KT* 5. 111 tr. *bhañḍana-*.

Et. Cf. O.Ind. *bhānati* 'speaks, sounds'.

bam- 'to vomit' V a tr. A ppp. **banda-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *bame* *Si* 105v4 *KT* 1. 42.

L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *bamāme* *Si* 10r3 *KT* 1. 14 tr. *lud-pa* (cough up).

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *bamāñe* P 2893. 244 *KT* 3. 92.

3 sg. pf. intr. f., L.Kh.: *banḍa* *JS* 18r2 (77) 'gushed' (Dresden).

Et. Av. *vam-* 'ausspeien' (*AIW* 1356); O.Ind. *vamiti*, *vamayati*.

bamāñ- 'to make vomit' V e tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *bamāñāñā* *Si* 135r2 *KT* 1. 70 tr. *skyug-tu gzug-pa*.

Et. Caus. < *bam-*.

bays- 'to go (quickly)' I b mid. intr. A/B ppp. *bašta-*

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *baysāre* *Z* 4. 46+.

1 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *baštū* P 2027. 26 *KT* 2. 80.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *bašta* Dumaqu 0019. 89v2 *KT* 5. 263 tr. *pradhāvitvā*.

Et. < **vaza-* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 123 s.v.; H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1953, 99-100. Cf. Av. *vaza-*, *vašta-* 'fahren' tr. intr. (*AIW* 1386).

O.Ind. *vdhati* tr. intr. Parth. *wz-* 'souffler' (Ghilain, p. 52).

bar- 'to carry' (act.); 'to ride' (mid.) I b act. tr.; mid. intr. B ppp. *buḍa-*

+loc., R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 33, § V, 1 (h).

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bidi* *Z* 11. 58; *bida* *Z* 18. 15; 24. 452.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *barindā* *Z* 2. 86+.

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *baḍe* *Z* 2. 95; 13. 26; 22. 150; 24. 120, 249; *baḍḍe* *Z* 13. 149.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *barāre* *Z* 5. 33; 13. 25; 22. 202; 24. 403.

Indistinguishable in the pf.:

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *buḍe* P 2783. 192 (31) *KT* 3. 73; *buḍa* ibid. 225 (64) *KT* 3. 75 'carried'.

1 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *būḍāṇḍūṇ* Ch 00269. 45 *KT* 2. 44 'carried'.

3 pl. pf. tr.: O.Kh., *buḍāṇḍi* Z 5. 35 'rode'; *buḍāṇḍā* Z 23. 138, 141, 164 'rode'; L.Kh., *buḍāṇḍā* JS 7r2 (25) 'carried'; *buḍāḍā* JS 13v4 (57) 'carried'; *buḍāṇḍe* JS 36v1 (159) 'carried'.

L.Kh. inf.: *buḍā* Or 11252. 17a3 *KT* 2. 22 'to carry'.

Et. Av. *bara-* act. 'carry'; mid. 'ride' (see I. G., *Mithra*, p. 177).

**bar-* 'carry', cf. MPe *br-*, *bwrđ* (*Verbum*, p. 175); Parth. *br-*, *bwrđ* (Ghilain, p. 58); Man. Sogd. *br-*, *brt-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 592, p. 92).

baś- 'to be suitable' V b act. intr. B

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *baśā* Ch 0048. 8 *KT* 2. 41 'it fits' H. W. B., *KT* 4. 165. *baśā* is L.Kh. for **baśā*.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *baśi'di* Hed. 62a *KT* 4. 48 'are sufficient for' rather than 'they provide enough for' (H. W. B., *KT* 4. 164).

Et. < **dbaz-ya-*. H. W. B., *KT* 4. 165 cf. Oss. D. *bāzzun* I. *bāzzyn* 'to fit, suit, be useful'. On O.Ir. **dbanz-*, Av. *dabaz-*, see Benv., *Oss.*, pp. 21-22.

baštarr- 'to bestrew' III b tr. ppp. *baštarrda-*

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *baštarrānā* Or 9609. 54v5 *KT* 1. 238.

O.Kh. ppp. *baštarrda* Z 22. 136.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *baštarrde* Or 9609. 68v1 *KT* 1. 241 tr. *avakīrṇāṇ* . . . *krtvā*.

Et. For *ba-*, see p. 239. See *starr-* p. 134.

bāthamj- 'to pluck out' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *bāthamje* JS 5v2 (18).

Et. See Dresden, p. 481 s.v. For *bā-*, see p. 239. See also *thamj-* p. 42.

bāy- 'to lead' V e act. tr. A ppp. *bāsta-*

+acc. pers. and loc. goal of motion, see R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 32, § V. 1.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bāyāte* Z 13. 7 (bis); *bāyātā* Or 9609. 36v6 *KT* 1. 237.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bāyindā* SS 80v4 *KT* 5. 341.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *bāste* Z 5. 4.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *bāstāṇḍā* P 2741. 17 *KT* 2. 88+; P 2781. 71 (3) *KT* 3. 68.

L.Kh. inf.: *bāste* P 5538a 24 *KT* 2. 126.

Et. < **vādaya-* < **vad-*, cf. Av. *vad-*, *vādaya-* 'lead' S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 123 s.v. Cf. also Parth. *w'y-*, *w'st* 'conduire' (Ghilain, p. 71).

bāysdai- 'to look at, observe' I b act. tr. D ppp. **bāysdāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bāysdaiyā* Z 3. 149; L.Kh., *bāysdaitā* P 2786. 109 *KT* 2. 97.

2 pl. pres., O.Kh.: *bāysdaiya* Z 23. 8.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bāysdāindā* Z 3. 17.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *bāysdye* P 2790. 2 *KT* 2. 110.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *bāysdyāṇḍā* P 2790. 15, 21 *KT* 2. 111.

Et. See *dai-* p. 47. On *bāys-*, see p. 240.

bār- 'to rain' VI a act. intr. B ppp. *bāḍa-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *beḍā* Z 22. 121, 125; 24. 203.

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *bārindā* N 69. 10; *Suv.* K. 33v6 *KT* 5. 111+; L.Kh., *bārīde* P 3513. 72v3 *KT* 1. 248 tr. *pravarṣayantu*.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *bāḍāṇḍā* P 2782. 27-28 *KT* 3. 59.

Et. Denom. < *bāra-* 'rain' Z 14. 70+. Av. *vār-*, pres. *vāra-*; MPe *w'r-*, *w'ryst* (*Verbum*, p. 177); Parth. *w'r-* (Ghilain, p. 60); Man. B. Sogd. *w'r-*; NP *bār-*.

bichān- 'to neigh' act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bichānindī* Z 24. 413.

Cf. *rachanaī* P 2781. 158 (90) *KT* 3. 72 'neighing'.

Et. ? Leuman, 'E', p. 473 s.v. < **vi-khan-* ? or cf. Lat. *hinnire*.

bijs- 'to pour over; smear' I c act. tr. B ppp. *bīya-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *bijsānā* Si 139r3 *KT* 1. 76+ tr. *blugs-pa* (pour).

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bistā* Z 22. 110.

O.Kh. ppp. *bīya-* Z 20. 31; 24. 416.

Et. < **vija-* < **vaig-* H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1953, 99, cf. Arm. LW *vižel* 'to flow'.

bijsā- 'to depart' I a intr.

1 pl. pres., L.Kh.: *bijsāma[na]ne* P 2790. 90 *KT* 2. 113; *bijsāmane* ibid. 95-96 *KT* 2. 113.

Et. < **vi-jā-*, v. *jsā-* p. 37.

bitam- 'to doubt, be perplexed' intr. ppp. *bitanda-*

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *bitamu* Z 2. 131.

O.Kh. ppp. *bitanda* Z 4. 84+.

Et. See *pātem-* p. 83.

bitar- 'to develop' (ἄπ. λει.) I b mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *bitarāre* Z 24. 457.

Et. < **vi-tar-*, cf. B. Sogd. *wytr-* 'to go on, pass, pass away' (I. G., GMS, § 630, p. 99).

bitcañ- 'to break up' III d tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *bitcañāñā* P 2893. 252 KT 3. 93.

Et. See *hatcañ-*. Cf. also H.W.B., BSOAS, xxix. 3, 1966, 522.

bitcūśś- 'to cover, adorn' V e tr. ppp. *bitcūśśāta-*

2 sg. pres. or opt., O.Kh.: *bitcūśśā* H. vii. 150. 13v2 KT 5. 82 tr. *samalamkarīsyasi*.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *bitcūśśātāndā* Z 21. 13.

Et. ? < **abi-scausaya-* < **abi-skaus-*, cf. IE **skeu-* (Pok. 951) in O.Ind. *skunāti* 'covers' extended to *(s)*keuk-* (Pok. 953) in O.Ind. *kośa-* m. 'container', Av. *kusra-* 'sich wölbend'.

bid- 'to pierce' I c act. tr. B ppp. *bista-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *bitte* Z 2. 138; L.Kh., *bitte* Si 130r5 KT 1. 62 tr. *chod-pa*.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bindi* Z 24. 408.

O.Kh. ppp. *bista* Z 24. 411+.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *bi'stānde* JS 7v3 (28).

Et. < **bida-* < **baid-*, cf. O.Ind. *bhinātti* 'splits' S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 124 s.v. In Ir., cf. Av. *astōbid-*; Waz. Paštō *wāranai* 'tusk' < **baidra-* (? EVP 89); Waxī *zūbiūt-* 'to burst' (tr.) < **uz-baid-* (IIFL, ii. 556) etc.

binam- 'to split apart' V a intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *binamāte* Z 22. 128.

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *binamīye* P 2927. 44 KT 3. 104 = *bināmāve* P 2936. 4 KT 3. 108 (3 sg. subj.).

Et. < **vi-namaya-*, cf. Av. *vī.nāma-* V. 2. 10 'sich auseinander tun'. See also *hanam-*.

bināj- 'to steep, soak' tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *binājāñā* Si 106r1 KT 1. 42+ tr. *sbañs-pa*.

Et. ? Secondary formation due to *ysānāj-* q.v. or < IE *(s)*nā-*.

binās- 'to be hungry, starving' I d act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bināštā* H 144 NS 55 44r6 KT 5. 76 tr. *bkres-šin*.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bināsīndi* Z 4. 45.

Et. < **vi-nāsa-* < **vi-nas-*, cf. Av. *vī.nānāsā* Y. 32. 15; MPe *wn'h-*, *wn'st* 'schädigen' (*Verbum*, p. 191).

binem- 'to split' V e tr.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *binema* Avdh 5r2 KT 3. 1; 15v3 KT 3. 8.

Et. < **vi-nāmaya-* caus. < **vi-nam-*, see *binam-*.

biyāśś- 'to open' V b act. tr. B ppp. *byāšta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bāyāštā* Z 18. 10.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *biyāśśā* Z 13. 113.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *byāśāñā* Si 146r5 KT 1. 88 tr. *gdañs-te*.

L.Kh. ppp. *byāšta-* with privative *a-*: *abyāšti* P 2957. 123-4 KBT 37.

Et. ? < **kāśya-* < **kās-*, s-extension to **kā-*, v. *khā-* p. 26. Not caus. to inch. as type B inflection and the ppp. show.

***biysajs-** 'to take hold of' I b act. tr. B

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *biysaste* Si 134r2 KT 1. 68+ tr. *hdebs-pa*; *biysaste* Ch 00268. 171-2 KBT 67 = *biysaste* Ch 00277. 7v2-3 KBT 70; *biysasdi* Ch 0048. 59 KBT 74.

Et. < **zag/k-*, v. *biysamj-*.

biysamj- 'to take hold of' III d mid. tr. A/B ppp. *biysīya-*

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *biysamjāre* ApS 11b1 KT 5. 246 = *beysajāre* S 2471. 183 KBT 97 tr. *upanāmāyanti*; *biysamjāre* P 2893. 171 KT 3. 89; *biysamjāre* Ch 00327. 10 KT 2. 52.

L.Kh. *biysajida* S 5212b 1 KT 2. 130 appears to be 3 pl. pres. act., cf. **biysajs-*.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *baysamjāñā* Vajr. 7a1 KT 3. 21 tr. *pragrahītavyam*.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *biysīye* P 2801. 58 KT 3. 67.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *biysīyāmdā* Or 11252. 11b2 KT 2. 20; *biysīyāmdā* P 5538a 15 KT 2. 126.

Et. Cf. Sanglēcī *zenz-*, *zenj-/zuγd* 'seize' Morg., IIFL, ii. 425; H. W. B., AM, N.S. ii. 1, 1951, 39. < **abi-zanč/j-aya-* < **abi-zak/g-*, v. **biysajs-*.

biysāñ- 'to waken' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *biysāñāte* Z 4. 102.

O.Kh. nom. ag.: *biysāñāka-* Z 4. 93.

Et. Caus. < *biysāñ-*.

biysān- 'to wake up' III b act. intr. B ppp. *biysānda-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *biysendā* Z 4. 114+.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *biysānīndi* Z 4. 71.

O.Kh. ppp. *biysānda-* Z 4. 120; *biysāmda-* Z 4. 119.

2 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *biysāndī* Stein E 1. 7. 14514 *KT* 5. 77.
biysānāme jsa . . . *biysāmda* P 3513. 46r3 (Asm. 14) tr. *bodhi vibudhya*.
 Et. < **vi-zan-*, cf. *paysān-* p. 71, *haysān-*. Semantically, cf. Av. *fra*.
baod- 'aufwachen' (V. 18. 49).

biysīs- 'to take hold of' IV a act. tr. B

3 sg. pres. act.: O.Kh.: *biysīstā* H 142 NS 45v6 *KT* 5. 93; H 144 NS
 32 etc. 17r7 *KT* 5. 93; L.Kh., id. *Si* 136v2 *KT* 1. 72.
 3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *biysīṣye* P 5538a 56 *KT* 2. 128.
 Et. Inch. < **abi-zag/k-*, v. *biysamj-* p. 97.

birays- 'to extend, spread' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *birāṣta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *biraysde* Z 22. 195, 305; *bāraysde* Z 17. 15.
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *biraysāre* *Si* 3r4 *KT* 1. 6.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *birāṣtā* Z 2. 3.
 3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *birāṣta* Z 24. 270.
 Et. < **vi-raz-*. See *birāṣ-*. For **raz-*, cf. Av. *raz-* 'richten'.

birāṣ- 'to spread, proclaim' V e act. tr. A ppp. *birāṣta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bārāṣtā* *Suv.* K. 67v6 *KT* 5. 118; H 142 NS 87
 171v1 *KT* 5. 81.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *birāṣī'di* *Vajr.* 29a4 *KT* 3. 26; 39a4 *KT* 3. 28.
 3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *bārāṣiyā* Or 9609. 55v6 *KT* 1. 240 tr.
saṃprakāṣayisyati.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *birāṣte* Z 23. 122.
 Et. Caus. < **vi-raz-*, v. *birays-* Cf. Parth. *wyr'z-* 'parfaire, arranger'
 (Ghilain, p. 70).

bārāh- 'to soar up' V d intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bārāhātā* Kha 1. 13. 142v1 *KBT* 5.
 3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *brāhā* Z 22. 115.
 Et. < **vi-rāfya-* < **rap-* 'to move', cf. MPe *rw-*, *rpt* 'gehen'
 (*Verbum*, p. 172).

birāt- 'to split' ? I b act. tr.; mid. intr. B ppp. *birāṣta-*

3 sg. pres. mid. intr., L.Kh.: *berāḍā* *Si* 138v1 *KT* 1. 76 tr. *rdol-ba*.
 3 pl. pres. act. tr., O.Kh.: *birātīndi* Z 22. 330.
 3 sg. subj. act. (tr. ?), O.Kh.: *birāta* Z 13. 79.
 O.Kh. ppp. *birāṣta-* Z 13. 71; 20. 35, 37.
 Et. < **vi-raiṣ-*, cf. O.Ind. *virīṣta-*. O.Ind. *reṣat* cl. 1. Av. *raēṣ-*
 'Schaden tun, nehmen' (*AIW* 1485). < **abi/vi-riṣ-* H. W. B., *AM*,
 n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 13. **raiṣ-* also in B. Sogd. *ptr'yšky* 'en déchirant'
 P 2. 458 < **pati-raiṣ-* Benven., *TSP*, p. 175; Man. Sogd. *zryṣ-*
 'verletzen' (*BBB*, p. 56 ad 492).

birriys- 'to shake' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *birriysāta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *bārriysde* H 143a NSB 10+25 v3 *KT* 5. 84.
 3 sg. pf. intr. f., L.Kh.: *birriysya* P 2781. 158-9 (90-91) *KT* 3. 72.
bārriysāta Kha 1. 13 144r2 *KBT* 5 tr. *g-yos-so* (shook) is misquoted as
bārriysātā by H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 588 and *BSOAS*,
 xxiii. 1, 1960, 16. *bārriysātā*, 3 sg. pf. intr. m., is, however, expected.
 Possibly the 3 sg. pf. intr. f. has been used to agree with the logical
 subject *śāndā* (cf. *birriysya śāndā* P 2781 above) instead of the
 grammatical subject *śahasrya-lovadāti*.
 Et. See 2. *rrriys-* p. 116.

bārūñ- 'to shine' VI b mid. (O.Kh.); act. (L.Kh.) intr. A ppp.
bārūñāta-

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bārūñāte* Or 9609. *27v4 *KT* 1. 236 tr. *ābhāsitaḥ*;
brūñāte Z 2. 84+.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *bārūñāre* Bal. 0152 a4 *KT* 3. 131; *brūñāre*
 Z 3. 53+; act., L.Kh.: *brūñāde* P 2958. 23 *KBT* 40.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *bārūñātāndā* Kha 1. 187a1 az *KT* 5. 156.
 Et. < **abi-rauxšn(a)ya-* Dresden, p. 483 s.v. *brūñ-*. Denom. < *brūna-*
 Khot. (IO) 1a4 *KT* 5. 346 < **abi-rauxšna-* cf. Av. adj. *raoxšna-*.
 Cf. also Av. *aiwi.raočaya-*. Parth. denom. *wrwšn-* 's'illuminer'
 (Ghilain, p. 91; v. W. B. Henning, *BSOS*, x. 2, 1940, 509). Cf.
 also Chr. Sogd. *wyrw[x]š-* 'to shine' (I. G., *GMS*, § 216, p. 34);
 B. Sogd. *wyrwš* 'briller' P 22. 20.

***bisimj-** 'to make a noise' V e or VI act. intr. A/B ppp. **bisimjāta-*

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *bisaijīdā* P 2891. 32 *KT* 3. 80.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *bisaije* *JS* 15r4 (64).
 Et. Cf. RV *śinj-* H. W. B. ap. Dresden, p. 481 s.v. *bisaij-*.

bihan- 'to smile' I b ? mid. (O.Kh.); act. (L.Kh.) intr. B ppp.
bihamtta-

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *bihante* Z 5. 26 (? *bihatte* 3 sg. pf. tr. m.).
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *byahanīda* P 2956. 20 *KT* 3. 37 = id. Ch
 00266. 24 *KT* 3. 35 = *byihānīdā* P 2025. 36-37 *KT* 3. 47.
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *bihamttai* SS 27r1 *KT* 5. 333 tr. *hjum-pa*
mjad-pa.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *bihamtte* SS 20v5 *KT* 5. 330; *bihamtte* E 6.
 46 (Leumann *bihante*).
 Et. < **vi-xand-*, v. *khan-* p. 25.

bihar- 'to dwell' LW mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *biharāre* Kha 1. 13 134v1 *KBT* 1.
 Et. BHS *viharati* 'dwells'.

***bihis-** 'to increase' IV a intr.

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *bihisadā-jūna* JS 15r2 (63).

Et. Inch. to *bihījs-*.

bihījs- 'to increase' R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxix. 3, 1966, 616-17; *JRAS* 1967. I b mid. intr. B ppp. *bihīya-*

3 sg. pres. mid.: O.Kh., *bihīysde* Z 22. 113; L.Kh., *bihīysda* Ch 00266. 318 KBT 109.

2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *bihīvi* JS 18v2 (79).

O.Kh. ppp. *bihīta-* 'intense' Kha i. 187a 1b3 KT 5. 156; adv. *bihīyu* 'very' Z 4. 87+.

Et. Uncertain. **haik/g-*.

***bihīys-** 'to rise' H. W. B. intr. ppp. *bihīšta-*

3 pl. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *bihīšta* Ch 00266. 341 KBT 110.

Et. < **abi-haiz-*, v. *vahīys-* p. 122.

bihīś- 'to raise' V e tr.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *bihīśu* Avdh 20v4 KT 3. 11.

Et. Caus. to **bihīys-*.

biṭh- 'to writhe; twist' V b tr. or intr. A

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *biṭhāñā* Si 121v4 KT 1. 50 tr. *dril-ba*.

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *biṭhā* P 2958. 53 KBT 41 = id. P 2798. 171 KBT 43.

Et. < **varṭya-* < **var-* H. W. B., *TPS*, 1960, 87. See *baḍ-* p. 92.

1. **bīr-** 'to saw' W. B. Henning, *Togan Volume*, 436. VI tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bīrāte* Z 2. 142; 5. 106.

Et. W. B. Henning, loc. cit., cf. Chor. *wyryk* 'saw'; *wyryd'h* 'he sawed it'; B. Sogd. *wyr'kh* 'a saw'. See also H. W. B., *Annali*, 1959, 121.

2. **bīr-** 'to be broken' V c act. intr. (= pass.) A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *bīrimda* JP 85v5 KT 1. 169 tr. *bhagni*.

L.Kh. pres. pt.: *bīraca* P 4099 113-14 KBT 118.

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *beramda* Si 131v4 KT 1. 64 tr. *hgas-pa* (quoted H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 120).

Et. < **brya-* < **bar-*. IE **bher-* Pok. 133, Av. *tiži.bāra-*. *bīr-* is probably a L.Kh. spelling for **bār-*, cf. *mār-* etc.

3. **bīr-** 'to throw, sow' V b tr. B ppp. *bīḍa-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bīḍā* Z 11. 36.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *bīḍe* Z 22. 294.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *bīḍāndi* Z 2. 23.

Et. < **bar-ya-*, cf. Lith. *berū*, Lett. *beru* 'strew' O. Hansen, *BSOS*, viii. 2-3, 1936, 580.

bud- 'to perceive, know' I c mid. tr. B ppp. *busta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *butte* Z 2. 3++.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *buvāre* Z 2. 121+; *bvāre* Z 2. 122+.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *bustā* Z 2. 1+.

2 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *bustī* Z 2. 53+.

Et. Av. *baod-* 'sentire', ppp. *obusta-*.

buysal- 'to extinguish' I d act. tr.; mid. intr. (= pass.) D ppp. *buysuta-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *buysaimā* Z 20. 23, 24.

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *buyso* Z 5. 50 < **vi-zāva*.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *buysaiyā* Z 13. 132 (bis), 158; *buysaitā* Z 4. 95; L.Kh., *buysvaiye* JS 19v4 (84).

1 sg. subj. mid., L.Kh.: *buysvāne* Hed. 23. 14 (25) KT 4. 36.

3 sg. subj. mid., L.Kh.: *buysvāve* P 3513. 62v2 KT 1. 243.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *bu'ysvai* JS 29v4 (130).

O.Kh. ppp. *buysuta-* Z 7. 21; 23. 98.

Et. < **vi-zav-*, cf. Man. Sogd. *wyz'w* 'extinction', Parth. *wzwd* (Ghilain, p. 66) W. B. Henning ap. I. G., *GMS*, § 216, p. 34 (v. Dresden, p. 482 s.v. *buysva-*). Cf. also Śughni *wizēw-*, *wizūd* 'extinguish' (tr.) (Morg., *NTS*, 1, 1928, 75) H. W. B.

***burūv-** 'to destroy' V e tr. A

1 pl. pres., L.Kh.: *būrvām* P 2781. 138 (70) KT 3. 71.

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *burrvai* P 4099. 411 KBT 134 (cf. *pajsinde* Z 5. 86) < **burūvāte*.

Et. < **vi-raup-* cf. NP *rūb-*, *ruftan* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 586. Parth. *pdrwb-* 'mettre en déroute' < **pāti-raup-* (Ghilain, p. 65); B. Sogd. *rwṣ-* 'cueillir' VJ.

burūvāñ- 'to destroy' V e tr.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *burūvāñi* Z 2. 110 (not pt. nec. as H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 586).

Et. Iter. < **burūv-*.

burṣ- 'to break up' I c tr. intr. B ppp. *burṣta-*

Probably act. tr./mid. intr. (= pass.), v. *birāt'* p. 98.

3 sg. pres. tr., L.Kh.: *buṣḍā* Vajr. 2b2 KT 3. 20; *baṣḍi* JP 55r2 KT 1. 147.

- 3 sg. pres. intr., L.Kh.: *buršdā* JS 19v1 (83).
 O.Kh. ppp. *buršta*- Z 13. 136, 138; 20. 46; Kha ii. 29 Ab5 KBT 10.
 3 pl. pf. tr. m. (tr.), *buštāndā* P 2781. 153 (85) KT 3. 72 (H. W. B., BSOAS, x. 3, 1941, 587).
 3 pl. pf. intr. m. (intr.), L.Kh.: *buršte* P 2781. 159 (91) KT 3. 72.
 Et. < **vi-ruxša*- < **vi-rauxš*-, see p. 240. **rauxš*- is s-extension < **raug*- in O.Ind. *rujāti* 'breaks' and probably Av. *fra-uruxti*-.

bulj- 'to honour' V a act. tr. A ppp. *buljāta*-

- 1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *buljīmā* Z 12. 52.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *buljāte* Z 12. 41.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *buljātāndā* Or 9609. *27v3-4 KT 1. 236.
 Cf. *buljsā* Z 14. 73+; *bu'jsām* P 3513 66r1 KT 1. 245 tr. *guṇa*-.
 Et. < **brjaya*- < **barg*-, cf. Av. *barag*-, *barajaya*- Leumann, 'E', p. 477 s.v. Cf. also B. Sogd. *βrys*- 'féliciter' Vj.

buva'd- 'to mount; ride' V a act. tr. C ppp. *buva'sta*-

- 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bvai'ttā* Z 14. 92; *bvaittā* Z 22. 150.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m. (tr.), O.Kh.: *buva'stā* Z 23. 139; *bva'stā* N 76. 44 tr. *abhiruhyā*.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m. (intr.), L.Kh.: *bvestā* P 2801. 25 KT 3. 66; *bvā'stā* P 2783. 191 (30) KT 3. 73.
 O.Kh. ppp. once *bva'lsta*- with intrusive -l-: *bva'lstānu* Surv. K. 29v2 KT 5. 107, tr. *abhirūḍhānām*.
 Et. < **abi-šadaya*-. Cf. Av. *aiwišasta* Y. 11. 2 (of rider).

buvan- 'to be harmed, ruined' I b act. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *buvaata*-

- 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *buvīndi* Z 22. 310; 24. 386; *buvīndā* Z 22. 315; 24. 389; *butīndā* Z 24. 454; *bvīndā* Z 12. 47.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *buvanīndā* Z 24. 391; Surv. K. 66v2 KT 5. 117; *bvanīndi* Z 22. 331.
 O.Kh. inf. *bvanā* Surv. K. 66r2 KT 5. 117.
 1 sg. pf. tr. m. (tr.), O.Kh.: *bvatemā* Z 1. 189.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *bvatāndi* Z 22. 310; *buvatāndi* Z 22. 328.
 Et. < **vi-kan*- (v. *Primer*, p. 117 s.v. *buvāna*-), cf. Av. *vikānaya*-, Parth. *wyg'n*-, MPe *gwg'n*- 'détruire' (Ghilain, p. 71).

buvāñ- 'to destroy' V e act. tr. A/B

- 3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *buvāñīyā* Z 12. 47.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bvāñīndā* N 68. 38.
 Et. < **vi-kānaya*-, cf. Av. *vikānaya*-. Caus. < *buvan*- q.v.

bušš- 'to be fragrant' VI b mid. intr. A/B

- 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *buššāre* Z 3. 37+.
 Et. Denom. < *bušā* Z 3. 35+ 'perfume'; or < **bauš*-, see p. 332.

būd- 'to be fragrant' I b mid. intr. B

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *būtte* Z 3. 57, 85 (bis); 20. 3.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *buvāre* Z 3. 35; *bvāre* Z 3. 118.
 Et. < **baud*-, cf. MPe *bwyy*- 'duften' (*Verbum*, p. 184); B. Sogd. *βwδ*- 'parfumer' P 7. 115.

būšš- 'to give, distribute' tr. ppp. *būta*-

- O.Kh. modal forms: 1 sg. opt., *būššā* Z 2. 127; 1 sg. inj., *būššu* Z 2. 129; 2 sg. imper., *būšša* Z 2. 100; 3 sg. opt., *būšā* Kha 1. 13 146v2, 3 KBT 6 tr. *sbyin-pa*.
 O.Kh. ppp. *būta* Z 14. 11.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *būte* Z 13. 84.
 1 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *buvāmdūm* P 2031. 16, 17 KT 2. 84.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *buvāmdē* JS 27r2 (118).
 Et. < **baxš*-, **baxta*- H. W. B., *Annali*, 1959, 135; *TPS*, 1959, 71.
 Cf. Av. *baxš*- 'Anteil haben, geben'; MPe *baxš*- 'teilen' (*Verbum*, p. 174); Parth. *baxš*-, *bxt* 'distribuer' (Ghilain, p. 59); Man. Sogd. *βxš*-, *βyt*- 'to give' (I. G., *GMS*, § 551, p. 87).

būšv- 'to place' tr.

- L.Kh. pt. nec.: *būšvāṇa* P 2893. 98 KT 3. 86 'to be placed' H. W. B., BSOAS, xxiii. 1, 1960, 36-37.
 Et. < **abi/vi-šav*-, cf. Av. *šav*-, Oss. D. *ānsonun* 'to thrust' H. W. B., loc. cit. Probably a L.Kh. spelling for **bušv*-, see p. 241.

bai- v. 1. *bad*-.

beñ- 'to split, tear' tr.

- L.Kh. pt. nec.: *bēñāñā* Si 104r1 KT 1. 40 tr. *dral-ba*; tr. *pātanā*;
bēñāñā Si 141r5 KT 1. 80 tr. *dral-te*.
 Et. < **vi-šan*-. ? cf. Paštō *šanēdāl* 'to shake' (*EVP* 75). I. G. gives me Baškardi *šen*- 'to separate, tear asunder'.

ber- 'to rain' VI b mid. intr. A ppp. *bāḍa*-

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *berāte* Z 14. 70; 24. 475.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *berāre* Z 3. 122+.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *bāḍāndā* Z 2. 108; 24. 225; *bāḍāndi* Z 3. 150.
 Et. < **vārāya*-, cf. Av. *vārāya*- Leumann, 'E', p. 478 s.v. See *bār*- p. 95.

berāñ- 'to rain' V e intr. A ppp. *berāñāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *berāñāte* Z 5. 49; *berāñāte* Z 22. 151, 186.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *berāñātāndā* Or 9609. 68v5, 7 KT 1. 241 (7 tr. *pravarṣayanti*).

Et. Iter. < *ber-* p. 103. Cf. ZP *vārāñidan* GIP, i. 305.

***bel'śś-** 'to make turn (wheel)' V e tr.

2 pl. subj., L.Kh.: *baisāva* Or 8212. 162. 70 KT 2. 5.

Et. < **vart-s-aya-* H. W. B., JRAS, 1954, 32. Cf. *ggei'śś-* p. 31.

by- v. *bad-*.

byajs- 'to dissolve' I b act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *byāsde* Si 131v5 KT 1. 64 tr. *hijig-pa* (L.Kh. for **byāštā*).

Et. < **vi-tača-* < **vi-tak-*, cf. MPe *wdč-* 'schmelzen' (*Verbum*, p. 169); Parth. *wdč-* 'fondre' (Ghilain, p. 50); B. Sogd. *wytwyt-* ppp. < **wytč-* 'to flow' (I. G., GMS, § 113, p. 15).

***byays-** 'to equip' ppp. *byāšta-*

L.Kh. ppp. *byāšta-* P 5538a 71 (bis) KT 2. 129 (v. H. W. B., AM, N.S. xi. 1, 1964, 25).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *byāšte* StH 48 KT 2. 75.

Et. < **abi-kaz-* H. W. B., AM, N.S. ii. 1, 1951, 30. Cf. *pyays-*, *pyāšta-* p. 87. On **kaz-*, see *kaśś-* p. 21. *bātašta* occurs in fragment H 143 NS 54r6 KT 5. 40.

byav- 'to be hot' I b mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *byavāre* Si 156r1 KT 1. 102 tr. *brče-ba*.

Et. < **vi-tap-*, cf. Parth. *wyt'b-* 'briller' (Ghilain, p. 72); B. Sogd. *wyt'p-* 'rayonner' P 14. 33.

byals- 'to overcome' V e

byalsu H vii. 150 13v1 KT 5. 82 appears to tr. Nobel's **atikrāntāni*; see *byāls-*.

O.Kh. ppp. *byalsta-* 'overcome' Suv. K. 29v5 KT 5. 107.

Et. ? < **vi-darz-aya-*. On **darz-*, see *dals-* p. 44. See also *byāls-*.

byāj- 'to dissolve' V e tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *byājāñā* Si 109v2 KT 1. 48 tr. *bzu-ste*.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *byāja* P 2025. 229 KBT 19 'remove' = *byājā* Ch 00266. 151 KBT 27 = *byāji* P 2957. 96 KBT 36.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *byājara* Ch 1. 0021b. b43 KBT 154 'remove'.

Et. Caus. < *byajs-* q.v. Cf. Parth. *wd'č-* 'fondre' (Ghilain, p. 67).

byāñ- 'to cover' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *byāñāte* Z 17. 4.

Et. < **abi-kan-*, cf. *pyan-* p. 86. Possible also is derivation < **vi-tan-* 'spread over'.

byāls- 'to stride' ? VI b mid. intr. A (B L.Kh.) ppp. *byāšta-*

1 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *byāše* Ch 1. 0021b. b46 KBT 154.

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *byālsāte* Or 9609. 36v7 KT 1. 237; L.Kh., *byāśda* P 2781. 73 (5) KT 3. 68; *byāśde* P 2026. 8 KT 3. 48 (parallel with *jsāve*); *byēsti* Ch 0048. 24-5 KBT 72.

3 sg. subj. mid., O.Kh.: *pve byālsāte* Or 9609. 36v5 KT 1. 237 tr. *padāny atikramiṣyati*. See *byāls-*.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *byāśā'ra* P 3513. 80v1 KBT 64.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pve byāštai* N 171. 12.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pve byāšte* Z 24. 220; *byāšte* Z 24. 226.

Et. ? Denom. < *byālysa-* Z 2. 83 'step, pace' (itself < **vi-darz-* 'hold apart' ? v. *byāls-*). The ppp. seems to belong to **byās-* 'open' (v. *biyāśś-* p. 97), with which there seems to have been some confusion. The L.Kh. 3 sg. *byāśde* probably likewise represents **byāštā* < **byās-*.

byūmj- 'to abuse' III d tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *byūjāte* Z 11. 54.

O.Kh. -āmātā abstract: *byūmjāmate jsa* SS 13r6 KT 5. 329 tr. *piśuna-vacanāt*.

O.Kh. noun *byūmjga-* 'abuse' Z 24. 449.

Et. < **vi-va-n-čaya-*, v. *pyūmj-* p. 87.

byūv- 'to burn' I b mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *byūvā're* Z 4. 59.

Et. < **vi-auš-*, cf. O.Ind. *ósati* 'burns' S. Konow, NTS, vii. 1934, 46, n. 1. **auš-* in Ir. also in Arm. LW *atrušan* Benv., JA, 1964, 1, 57.

byūs- 'to dawn' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *byūšta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *byūštā* Z 4. 111; 22. 197; 24. 329.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *byūštā* Z 2. 62.

3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *byūšta* Z 23. 51; 24. 195.

Et. < **vi-vas-*, cf. Av. *vi-usa-* Leumann, 'E', p. 479 s.v. Cf. also Man. Sogd. *wyws* 'Morgen' (BBB, p. 138); Chr. Sogd. *wyws-* 'to dawn' (I. G., GMS, § 217, p. 34).

byūh- 'to change; translate' V b act. tr.; mid. intr. A ppp. *byūtta-*

1 sg. pres. act. tr., O.Kh.: *byūhimā* Z 23. 132.

3 sg. pres. intr., O.Kh.: *byūhāte* H 142 NS 29 etc. 611r1 KT 5. 91.

3 sg. opt. mid. intr., O.Kh.: *byūhiya* Z 13. 74.

3 pl. pres. mid. intr., O.Kh.: *byūhāre* H 147 NS 115r4 KT 5. 56 tr. *parivartayanti*.

O.Kh. inf. *byūhā* Z 23. 2.

1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *byūttaimā* Z 1. 189; 23. 372.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *byūttā* Z 5. 22.

3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *byūtta* Z 13. 73.

L.Kh. inf.: *byūtti* JS 2r4 (5).

Et. < **vi-yaufya-* < **vi-yaup-*, cf. Chr. Sogd. *pčywf* ST i, 16. 7 tr. *μετεμορφώθη* I. G. (letter). Not < **vi-vad-* as Dresden, p. 482 s.v. *byūtta-*, as *-sta* ppp. would then be necessary.

byev- 'to obtain' V e act. tr. A ppp. *byauda-*

+inf. ('succeed in') Z 22. 284 (+dite).

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *byevātā* H 142 NS 76. 19r5 KT 5. 103.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *byevindā* FM 25, 1 a2; b5 KT 3. 125.

1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *byodemā* Z 22. 284.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *byaudai* Z 5. 42.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *byodāndi* Z 22. 222; *byaudāndā* Z 2. 143.

The ppp. is once in O.Kh. spelled *byonda-* Z 2. 231.

L.Kh. ppp. *bida-* < *byauda-*:

1 sg. pf. tr. m.: *bide* P 3510. 10. 10 KBT 53 = id. P 3513. 78r1 KBT 63 'I have conceived' H. W. B., *Brown Vol.*, 1962, 19.

3 pl. pf. tr.: *bīdāmdā* P 5538a 29-30 KT 2. 127 'received' H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 18; *bīdauda* P 2027. 17 KT 2. 80 'they got' H. W. B. *BSOAS*, xviii. 1, 1956, 34; *bīdāmdā* P 2781. 93 (25) KT 3. 69; P 2783. 218 (57) KT 3. 75.

(*bīda-* for **bīnda-* ppp. < **bīn-* < **abi-gun-*, cf. Av. *gūnaoiti* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 576; xviii. 1, 1956, 34. But see *byau-*.)

Et. < **abi-āpaya-*, cf. Av. *avi apaya* Yt 16. 2; MPe 'y'b-, 'y'pt 'erlangen' (*Verbum*, p. 176); NP *yāftan*; Orm. *waw-*, *wōk* 'to obtain, find' < **abi-āp-* (*IIFL*, i. 412). Ppp. *byauda-* < **abi-āfta-*.

byeh- 'to obtain' V b act. tr. A ppp. *byauda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *byehātā* Z 12. 61+; *byehāte* Z 14. 77+.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *byehindā* Z 4. 104; *SS* 13r3 KT 5. 329; L.Kh., *byehinde* Si 1 bis v2 KT 1. 3; *byaihidā* P 2787. 121 KT 2. 105; *byaihida* ibid. 181 KT 2. 108.

O.Kh. ppp. *byauda-*, see *byev-*.

Et. < **abi-āfya-* < **abi-āp-*, v. *byev-*.

byau- 'to be found; to be' I a mid. intr. (= pass.) B

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *byaude* Z 3. 25+; *byode* Z 3. 18+.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *byaure* Z 2. 130+; *byore* Z 5. 69+.

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *byaide* JS 38r1 (165); *byaide* P 4099. 179 KBT 121 = *byaude* Z 5. 55; *bide* P 4099. 392 KBT 133 = *byode* Z 9. 16.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *byaura* P 4099. 178 KBT 121 = *byaure* Z 5. 54.

Et. < **abi-āftai*, **abi-āfrai* S. Konow, *Primer*, § 70, p. 46. See *byev-*. I a as *byaude* not **byaute*.

brašš- 'to fall' V b intr. B ppp. *braššāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *braštā* Z 24. 455.

3 sg. pf. m., O.Kh.: *braššāte* Z 23. 103.

Et. < **bras-ya-*, cf. O.Ind. *bhrāṃsate*, *bhraśyate* 'falls'; Oss. I. *ālvāsyn* (Benv., Oss., pp. 35-37).

brrijs- 'to roast' tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *brrijsāñā* Si 132v2 KT 1. 66 tr. *brrijs-pa*.

Et. < **braig-*, cf. Bal. *brējag* 'bake, roast' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxvi. 1, 1963, 90.

brūšc- 'to afflict' VI b tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *brūščāte* Z 23. 26.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *brrištā* P 2957. 100 KBT 36 (= ? errors, *byūšta* Ch 00266. 155 KBT 27 = *byūšta* P 2025. 234 KBT 19).

Et. Denom. < *brūška-* Z 20. 14 'painful'. *b-* not preverb, cf. *ous-brute'māte* 'massage' H 142 NS 29 etc. 611v7 KT 5. 92 tr. *udvartana* (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 38); < **frauš-*, cf. Bal. *pruṣag* 'to break' H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 13.

brem- 'to weep' V e act. intr. A ppp. **braunda-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bremāmā* Z 24. 235; L.Kh., *brremū* P 2834. 21 KBT 45.

2 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bremā* Z 24. 235.

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *brraimai* P 2834. 19 KBT 45.

O.Kh. inf.: *bremā* Z 5. 26.

1 sg. pf. tr. m. (intr.), O.Kh.: *braudaimā* H 142 NS 48 etc. 11 KT 5. 71.

Et. < **brāmaya-* iter. < **bram-*, cf. Parth. *brm-* 'pleurer' (Ghilain, p. 56), v. H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 73.

bhāv- 'to meditate on' LW tr. A ppp. **bhāvāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bhāvāte* Z 4. 16; 11. 16; 13. 67, 123.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *bhāvayai* JS 28r3 (123).
Et. BHS *bhāvayati* 'meditates on'.

makṣ- 'to rub, besmear' LW tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *makṣā'ñā* Si 135v1 KT 1. 70+ tr. *bsku-ñi*.
L.Kh. -āmātā abstract: *makṣā'ma* Si 129r3 KT 1. 60+ tr. *lus bsku-ba*.
Et. Pkt form of Skt *mraṣ-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxi. 3, 1958, 522. Cf.
BHS *makṣita-* (F. Edgerton, *Dict.*); NWPkt *Dhp makṣu* (27) =
Pāli *makkho*.

mañ- 'to consider as' V b mid. tr. A ppp. *mañāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *mañāte* Z 5. 53; 6. 21.
3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *mañāre* Vajr. 38a2 KT 3. 28; id. P 4099. 177
KBT 121 (= *mañāte* Z 5. 53).
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *mañātāndā* Kha 1. 13. 143r5 KBT 5 tr. *hdu-śes-so*.
Et. < **man-ya-*, cf. Av. *'man-*, *mainya-*, O.Ind. *mānyate* 'thinks'. Cf.
B. Sogd. *myn-* 'denken' ST ii; Sogd. *myn-* *Anc. Lett.* ii. 5; iii. 4, 5.

mad- 'to be intoxicated' V a act. intr. C ppp. *māsta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *maitti* H 144 NS 32 etc. 14 KT 5. 93.
O.Kh.: ppp. *māsta-* Z 12. 64+.
L.Kh. *māstā* P 3513. 63r4 KT 1. 243 tr. *°mattena* (quoted H. W. B.,
BSOS, viii. 1, 1935, 129).
Et. Av. *mad-*, *maḍaya-* 'sich berauschen' (*AIW* 1113); MPe *mst*
'trunken' (*MirMan*, ii); Man. Sogd. *mstkr̥ry* 'berauschend', B.
Sogd. *mstkr̥r̥k* (*BBB*, p. 74 ad 591).

man- 'to harm' III b act. tr. B

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *mīndā* Z 12. 43; *mīndi* Z 24. 497.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *manīndā* Z 24. 410; *manīndi* Z 22. 324.
Et. < **mṛna-*, cf. O.Ind. *mṛṇāti* 'crushes' Leumann, 'E', p. 482 s.v.
See also *ggumerāñ-* p. 30. A base **man-* would be more satisfactory
for phonology, v. *vahan-* p. 122. See on *yan-* p. 112.

maṃth- 'to agitate' V a tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *maṃthāte* Z 2. 16.
3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *maṃthā* Z 2. 112.
Et. < O.Ir. **manθ-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 77. On **manθ-* in
Ir., see also Benv., *Oss.*, pp. 87-88; *IIJ*, vii, 1964, 307-9. B. Sogd.
mnd- *Dhuta* 27, 29.

marṣ- 'to forgive' LW tr.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *marṣya'rā* JS 3v2 (9) 'forgive'.
Et. BHS *marṣayati*, v. Dresden, p. 483 s.v.

1. **māñ-** 'to remain' V e act. intr. A ppp. *mānda-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *māñimā* Z 24. 255.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *māñātā* Or 9609. 54v5 KT 1. 239 tr. *sthāsyati* =
māñe Kha 0012r4 KT 1. 255.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *muñidā* Si 140v5 KT 1. 80.
O.Kh. ppp. *mānda-* Z 5. 94.
2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *muñdai* JS 9r2 (34)+; *mudai* JS 17r1 (72).
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *mūmdāmdā* P 2741. 60 KT 2. 89.
Et. < **mānaya-* iter. < **man-*, cf. Av. *²man-*, *mānaya-* 'remain';
MPe *m'n-* *m'nd* (*Verbum*, p. 189); Parth. *m'n-* (*Ghilain*, p. 71);
Man. B. Chr. Sogd. *myn-* (*BBB*, p. 97 ad b91).

2. **māñ-** 'to resemble' VI b act. intr. A ppp. **mānda-*

+ G-D (gen.), occasionally + acc., R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965,
27 § III. 1 (b) (ii).
1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *māñimā* Z 2. 138.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *māñāte* Z 5. 11+.
Frequent is pres. pt., O.Kh. *māñanda-* Z 2. 4+, cf. NP *mānandah*,
B. Sogd. *m'n'ntk* 'semblance' SCE 12, Man. Sogd. *myndk* (I. G.,
GMS, § 641, p. 100).
2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *muñdai* JS 20v3 (88).
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *mūmdāmdā* P 2781. 102 (34) KT 3. 69; id. *ibid.*
105 (37) KT 3. 70.
Et. < **mān(a)ya-* denom. < **māna-* = O.Ind. *māna-*. Cf. MPe
m'n- and v. W. B. Henning, *Verbum*, p. 177.

***mich-** 'to miscarry' ? LW act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *maichide* JP 47r5 KT 1. 139.
L.Kh. pres. pt.: *maichām* JP 47r5 KT 1. 139.
Et. ? cf. NWPkt *micha²*; Pāli *micchā²* 'false', cf. Kh. *māchādṛṣṭā*
Z 24. 451. If Iranian, < **mič-ya-* < **maik-*. Av. *maēk-* 'hervor-
quellen', Bal. *mičag* 'saugen' hardly suit.

michāñ- 'to cause to miscarry' ? LW mid. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *michāñāri* JP 91v4 KT 1. 175.
Et. Caus. < **mich-* q.v.

mār- 'to die' V c mid. intr. B ppp. *muḍa-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *mīḍe* Z 4. 116+; L.Kh., *mīḍe* JS 6r4 (22)+.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *mārāre* Z 3. 62+; L.Kh., *mīrāre* JS 14v2
(60)+.
O.Kh. ppp. *muḍa-* Z 24. 509+.
2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *muḍi* JS 15v3 (66).

3 pl. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *muḍa Si* 1 bis 11 *KT* 1. 2.

Et. < **mrya-* < **mar-*, cf. Av. 'mar-, *marata-*, *mīryeite*; O.Ind. *mriyāte*, *mṛtā-*. MPE *myr-*, *mword* (*Verbum*, p. 206); Parth. *myr-*, *mword* (Ghilain, p. 90); NP *mīr-*, *murdan*; Man. Sogd. *myr-*, *mwort* (I. G., *GMS*, § 593, p. 92).

murr- 'to rub; crush' III b tr. ppp. *murrda-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *murāña Si* 106r4 *KT* 1. 44 tr. *brjis-pa* (crush); *murāñā Si* 134v3 *KT* 1. 70 tr. *mñes-te* (rub).

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *murdai* *JS* 27v4 (121).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *murrde* P 2801. 45 *KT* 3. 67.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *murrdāmdā* P 2781. 95 (27) *KT* 3. 69.

Et. < **mryna-* < **mar-*, v. *ggumerāñ-*. O.Ind. *mṛnāti* 'crushes', with *d*-extension *mṛdnāti* 'rubs', Av. *marəd-*.

mūys- 'to be foolish' intr.

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *mūysamḍai Avdh* 6v3 *KT* 3. 2; 17r4 *KT* 3. 9 'foolish'.

Et. < O.Ir. **maux-*, cf. O.Ind. *mūdhā-* H. W. B., *TPS*, 1960, 78.

mūr- 'to teem' VI a act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *mūrīndi* Z 20. 41; L.Kh., *mūrīmdā* P 2783. 244 (83) *KT* 3. 76.

Et. Denom. < **mūra-*, cf. O.Ind. *mūrā-* 'swift' (v. Mayrh. ii. 664). For the possibility of **mav-/myav-*, see H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xx. 1, 1957, 58-59. Av. *myav-*, O.Ind. *mīvati* but IE **meu-* (Pok. 743). *mvīr-* could be a L.Kh. spelling of *mūr-* (cf. *jvīh-* for *jūh-* p. 36), but L.Kh. seems to have *mūr-* 'teem' beside *mvīr-* 'move'. For Ir. **mav-*, cf. also Parth. *pmv-* (W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, x. 2, 1940, 509). With preverb, the ppp. *vamūḍa-* occurs in Z 24. 116.

mvīr- 'to move' VI b intr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *mvīre Si* 144v4 *KT* 1. 86; *mvīra* P 4099. 92 *KB* 117 (parallel with *khuāysda*); *mvīrau* P 4099. 31 *KB* 114 (< *mvīre u*; parallel with *khuāysda*).

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *mvīramḍā Si* 150r3-4 *KT* 1. 94 (parallel with *khuāysamḍā*).

Et. < **mūr(a)ya-* denom. < **mūra-*, v. *mūr-*.

yan- 'to make, do' III b act. or mid. tr. B ppp. *yāḍa-*, *yuḍa-*

In L.Kh. *yan-* is found but also *yīn-* > *īn-*. Similarly in the ppp., *yāḍa-* > *īḍa-*.

Act. 3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *yīndā* Z 2. 6++; *tīndā* Z 2. 17+; *gīndi* Kha

1. 13 146r3 *KB* 6; *gīndā* *Suv.* K. 66r2 *KT* 5. 117; *īndā* Z 5. 16; L.Kh., *īndā Si* 138r2 *KT* 1. 76; *īdi* P 3513. 39r4 *KB* 61 (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xiii. 4, 1951, 936).

3 pl. pres.: O.Kh., *yanīndā* Z 2. 66++; *tanīndi* Z 23. 95; *tanīndā* Z 23. 140, 163; L.Kh., *yanīde JS* 31v4-32r1 (139); *yīnīde* P 3513. 72v3 *KT* 1. 248 tr. *grhñantu*; *īndā Si* 122r3 *KT* 1. 50.

Mid. 3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *yānde* Z 2. 65++; *tānde* H 144 NS 83 a 2 *KT* 5. 52; L.Kh., *yānde JS* 38r4 (167). Note that with *ya-* > *ī-* in L.Kh., *īndā* etc. can be act. or mid.

3 pl. pres.: O.Kh., *yanāre* Z 20. 13+; L.Kh., *yenāre JS* 39r2 (169); *īnārai* P 2787. 119 *KT* 2. 105.

That *g-* is older (< **k-* in enclisis) is shown by *guḍu gīndi* H vii. 150. 1 v8 *KT* 5. 99 with subscript *yu-*, *yī* indicating later pronunciation.

O.Kh. inf.: *yanā* Z 3. 67; 20. 18.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *yuḍai* Z 5. 41.

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *yāḍe* Z 12. 1+; L.Kh., *īḍe* P 2025. 203 *KB* 18 (= *īnīyi* P 2957. 82 *KB* 35 3 sg. opt.); *īḍai* P 2787. 133 *KT* 2. 106.

3 pl. pf. tr.: O.Kh., *yīḍāndi* Z 2. 25+; L.Kh., *yuḍāmdā JS* 7v1 (27). O.Kh. inf.: *yāḍe* Z 8. 49.

On *yan-* + loc. idiomatic 'put into', see R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 33, § V. 1 (i).

It will be convenient to include here the result of a study of all the examples in Z of the use of *yan-*+ppp. On this use, see H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 586; *AM*, n.s. 1, 1949, 40; I. G., *GMS*, § 881, p. 131 (v. W. B. Henning, *Hdb.*, p. 91). On the construction in Ir. as a whole, see Benv., *BSL*, 1, 1954, 56-57. See also *hām-*. This construction is used to express 'potentiality' ('one cannot') or the 'consummation of an action' ('he had spoken').

1. *yan-* act. (±*yuḍu*)+ppp. in *-u*+object (all numbers, genders): Examples: *balysā ttū hvatu yāḍe sūtru* Z 2. 243 'the Buddha had spoken this *sūtra*'; *cī aysura purrdū yāḍānda* Z 23. 105 'when you defeated the *asuras*'; *ne balysu . . . jsīḍu yanīndā* Z 2. 107 'they cannot deceive the Buddha'; *ye . . . ttuṣṣāttetu ne yuḍu yīndā nājsaṣṭu* Z 6. 8 'one cannot demonstrate *sūnyatā*'.

Note: ppp. in *-ā*: Z 8. 40; 13. 22 only; *-o*: Z 23. 42, 366, 367 only.

2. *yan-* act.+ppp. in *-u* from intr. verbs:

Example: *hana vaṣṣāṇḍā . . . u muta pātāstu yāḍānda* Z 5. 101 'the blind saw . . . and the dumb could speak'. Other verbs: *eṣṭātu* Z 23. 27; *neī hvastu* Z 11. 3; 24. 469; *māndu* Z 5. 94 (remain).

3. *yan-* mid.+ppp. in *-u*+object:

Z 12. 132 only: *ku ne ne yuḍu yānde samu* 'if he simply cannot do them (= *ṛddhis*)'.

Et. *yāḍa-* < **kṛta-*, cf. Av. *kṛata-*, O.Ind. *kṛtā-*; MPE *kyrd* (*Verbum*, p. 202), Parth. *kyrd* (Ghilain, p. 57), Man. B. Sogd. *'k(r)t-*, Chr. Sogd. *qṭ-*. Kh. *yan-* presents a difficulty. No certain example of **-yn-* > *-an-* is found in Kh., where the normal treatment would be > *-arr-* (*ttarra-* 'grass', cf. O.Ind. *tṛṇa-* but *kārra-* 'deaf', cf. Av. *kāṛma-*; in verbs, cf. *starr-* < **stṛnā-*, and with **-a-* > *-u-* after labial, *pur-* p. 84).

ysan- 'to give birth' I b act. tr. B ppp. *ysāta-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ysānīmā* Z 4. 50.
3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ysida* P 4099. 191 KBT 122.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ysānide* Or 11252. 1 141 KT 3. 15.
L.Kh. inf.: *ysānā* P 2834. 40 KBT 46.
3 pl. pf. tr. (f.), O.Kh.: *ysāndā* Z 5. 101 < **ysātāndā*.
Et. Av. *'zan-* 'gebären', ppp. *zāta-*; O.Ind. *jānati*, *jātā-*; B. Sogd. *zn-* 'enfanter' Vj.

ysah- 'to cease' V a act. intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ysahāte* Z 24. 423.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ysahida* P 4099. 91, 93 KBT 117.
Et. 'vergehen, cf. Av. *zah-*' Leumann, 'E', p. 489 s.v. Caus. *yseh-* q.v.

ysān- 'to shine' H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. xi. 1, 1964, 16-17. mid. intr. B ppp. *ysānda-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ysānde* Z 2. 80, 172; 22. 99; 23. 148;
ysāndi Z 2. 85.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ysānāre* Z 22. 108.
2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *ysāmdī* JS 23VI (101).
Et. ?

ysār- 'to sing' I d mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *ysārārā* P 2895. 10 KT 3. 40 (= *rāysāra* P 2956. 34 KT 3. 38).
Et. Cf. Oss. D. *zārūn* 'to sing' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 31.
**zār-* is attested in Oss. D. *āzālun*, I. *āzālyn* 'to echo' H. W. B., loc. cit.

ysān- 'to take by force' III b act. tr. A/B ppp. *ysāta-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ysānīndi* Z 22. 321; *ysānīndā* Z 23. 128.
O.Kh. ppp. *ysāta-*, L.Kh. ppp. *ysya-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 575.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *ysye* P 2801. 29 KT 3. 66.
3 pl. pf. tr.: O.Kh., *ysātāndi* Z 22. 308; *ysātāndā* Z 18. 14; 24. 464;
L.Kh., *ysyāmdā* P 2741. 99 KT 2. 91.

Et. < **zinā-*, cf. Av. *zinā-* Y. 11. 5 'take by force' (v. T. Burrow, *JAOs*, 1959, 258); Man. Sogd. *zyn-*, *zyt-* 'to ruin'; Bal. *zin-*, *zit* 'to take' (Elfenbein, p. 82).

ysānāj- 'to bathe' V e act. tr. A/B

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *ysānājā* Z 3. 102.
O.Kh. inf.: *ysānājā* Z 24. 220.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ysīnājide* P 3513. 66v4 KT 1. 245 tr. *snāpayantu*.
Et. Apparently < **snā-č/j-aya-* < **snā-k/g-*. See *bināj-* p. 96;
ysānāh-, *haysn-*. Cf. also Av. *snādaya-*.

ysānāh- 'to bathe' V b tr. or intr. A ppp. *ysānautta-*

3 sg. pres. intr., L.Kh.: *ysīnāhe* JS 6VI-2 (23).
O.Kh. pt. nec.: *ysānāhānu* Or 9609. 53v5 KT 1. 238 tr. *susnātavyam* (Nobel p. 116 l. 4).
L.Kh. pt. nec.: *ysīnāhānā* Si 135VI-2 KT 1. 70 tr. *khruš bya-ba*.
O.Kh. ppp. in *hysānauttāna* Or 9609. 4v3 KT 1. 233 (so read).
Et. *ysānāh-* < **snāfyā-* as ppp. implies labial stem. Cf. ZP *šn'p-*, NP *šināvidan* (v. *Sogdica*, p. 34). See also *haysn-*.

***ysīr-** 'to become old' V c mid. intr. A/B ppp. *ysāda-*

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *ysīrāre* P 4099. 14 KBT 114 (= O.Kh. **ysīrāre*).
O.Kh. ppp. *ysāda-* Z 4. 116+.
Et. < **zryā-*, **zar-ta-*, cf. O.Ind. *jāratī*, *jīryati* 'grows old'; Av. *zaratā* 'old', Paštō *zōr* (*EVP*, p. 103), Orm. *zāl* (*IIFL*, i. 413).

ysun- 'to pour; strain' III b tr. ppp. **ysuta-*

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *ysunāmdai* Si 103r5 KT 1. 38 tr. *hʃag-pa*.
L.Kh. pt. nec.: *ysunāñā* Si 124v5 KT 1. 54 tr. *bčags-pa* (to strain).
L.Kh. -āmatā abstract: *ysunāmate* Kha 1. 13. 146v1 KBT 6 tr. *zag-pa*.
L.Kh. ppp. *ysva* JP 88r3 KT 1. 171 'strained'.
Et. < **zu-nā-* < **zav-*, v. *buysai*-p. 101. Av. *zao-θra-* 'Trankopfer'; O.Ind. *juhōti* 'pours'.

ysūš- 'to value; approve' I b mid. tr. B ppp. *ysūšta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ysūšde* Z 12. 44.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ysvā're* Z 23. 4.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *ysūšte* Z 24. 253.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *ysūštāndi* Z 23. 45.
Et. < **zauš-*, cf. Av. *zaoš-*, *zušta-* 'Geschmack finden an'; OP *dauš-*.

ysai- 'to be born' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) D ppp. *ysāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ysaiye* Z 4. 115+; *ysaite* Z 2. 212.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ysiyāre* Z 13. 59; *ysāyāri* Z 22. 130; *ysyāre* Z 3. 62; 13. 59; 24. 398.

1 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *ysātāmā* Z 14. 59.

2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *ysātī* JS 18v2 (79).

3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *ysāta* Z 2. 57.

Et. < **zāya-* with secondary shortening to **zaya-* as in Av. *zan-*, *zaya-* beside O.Ind. *jāyate*; MPe *z'y-*, *z'd* (*Verbum*, p. 203); Parth. *z'y-*, *z'd* (Ghilain, p. 87); NP *zāyad*.

yseh- 'to give up' V e tr.

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *ysehāna* Suv. K. 66r3 KT 5. 117 'aufzugeben' (S. Konow, SPAW, 1935, 462).

Et. Caus. < *ysah-* p. 112.

ysauy- 'to disappear, cease' tr. or intr. ppp. *ysautta-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *ysauyānā* Si 100r2 KT 1. 34, 'to be poured out' ?

3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *ysautta* Z 24. 206; *ysotta* Z 3. 142.

L.Kh. *ysautte* Si 153r3 KT 1. 100 tr. *hfag-pa* (v. H. W. B., BSOS, viii. 1, 1935, 141) appears to be 3 sg. pres. mid. (? < **zaubatai*).

Et. ? **zau-b-*, v. *ysun-* p. 113.

ysyāñ- 'to cause to be born' V e mid. tr. A

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *ysyāñate* Suv. K. 34r7 KT 5. 112 tr. *sañjanayet*; L.Kh., *ysyāñe* Si 18v2 KT 1. 28+ tr. *skye-bar byed-do*; *ysyāñi* JP 88r5 KT 1. 171.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *ysyāñāri* JP 91v4 KT 1. 175.

Et. Caus. < *ysai-* q.v.

rakṣ- 'to protect' LW act. tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *rakṣātā* Z 12. 69.

1 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *rakṣāmā* FM 25, 1 a5 KT 3. 125.

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *rakṣāñi* Z 11. 60.

Et. Skt *rakṣati*, *rakṣayati* 'protects'.

ram- 'to enjoy oneself' LW ? act. intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ramāte* Z 22. 172, 211; *ramātā* Z 22. 199.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ramāndi* Z 3. 58; 20. 11; *ramāndā* Z 3. 96; 11. 15; 22. 223.

Et. Ir. **ram-* in *narām-* etc. has different sense and O.Kh. *r-* (not *rr-*) indicates a LW. O.Ind. *ramate* 'rests; enjoys' may have influenced Ir. **rram-*. MPe has *r'm-* 'sich freuen' in *r'myśn* 'Freude' (*Verbum*,

p. 190) whereas Parth. *'hr'm'd* is 'monter' (Ghilain, p. 73); v. *ttrām-* pp. 40-41.

***rran-** 'to scrape' tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *ranqāñā* P 2893. 258 KT 3. 93.

L.Kh. noun: *ranūska-* P 2893. 76 KT 3. 85+ 'scrapings'.

Et. < O.Ir. **rand-* H. W. B., BSOAS, xx, 1957, 53. Cf. O.Ind. *rādāti* 'bites'; *rāndhra-* 'hole, split'; NP *randīdan* 'to scrape'; Waxī *zarend-* 'to scrape' < **uz-rand-* (IIFL, ii. 556).

rrāys- 'to cry out' (of birds) act. (O.Kh.); mid. (L.Kh.) intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *rrāysīndi* Z 2. 46; 20. 30.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *rrāysārā* P 2025. 53 KT 3. 47 = *rāysāra* P 2956. 34 KT 3. 38 = *rrāysada* Ch 00266. 35-36 KT 3. 35.

Et. ? < **rā-z-*, IE **lā-* Pok. 650. O.Ind. *rāyati* 'barks', cf. Oss. D. *rāyun* 'to bark', Paštō *rayəl* 'to bray' (EVP, p. 65) Mayrh. s.v. Cf. also B. Sogd. *r'y-* 'pleurer' VJ; Av. *raya-* (< **rāya-*) in *gāthrō.rayant-* (W. B. Henning ap. I. G., GMS, § 565, n. 1, p. 89).

rrāś- VI b 'to rule' denom. < *rrāśa-* Z 5. 42+ 'dominion'. V e 'to make straight' < **rāśaya-*, cf. Av. *raz-*, *rāśaya-* 'richten'. VI b intr. A (O.Kh.); V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *rrāšta-*

3 sg. pres. intr., O.Kh.: *rrāśāte* Z 14. 67 'he rules'.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *rrāśīm'dā* P 2782. 8 KT 3. 58; *rāśi'da* Or 8212. 162. 90 KT 2. 6 'make straight'.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *rrāśq'ñā* Si 144v3 KT 1. 86 tr. *sran-zin* (straighten).

O.Kh. ppp. *rrāšta-* adj. 'right' Z 2. 7++.

Et. See above. Cf. also Parth. *r'z-*, *r'št* 'se diriger' (Ghilain, p. 69).

rrīj- 'to leave behind, excel' V e mid. tr. A ppp. *rrīya-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *rrījite* Z 2. 77; 22. 165+ 'leaves behind, excels'.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *rrījāre* Z 18. 43 KT 5. 355.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *rrīye* Z 24. 223+.

Et. < **raičaya-* < **raik-*, cf. Av. *raēk-*, *raēčaya-* 'linquere' (AIW 1479).

rrīnth- 'to flutter' ? VI b act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *rrīnthindā* Z 24. 415; *rrīnthindā* Z 5. 34.

Et. ? denom. < **rrantha-* 'disturbance' in L.Kh. *ramthā* JS 34r4 (150). ?? IE **reth-* Pok. 866.

1. ***rrīys-** 'to lick' H. W. B., JRAS, 1954, 30, n. 1. I b act. tr. B ppp. *rrāšta-*

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *rīštā* P 2022. 18 KT 3. 43 (L.Kh. -št- for -śd-; or IV a ?).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *rräšte* Z 5. 44.

Et. < **raiz-*, v. H. W. B., loc. cit. Av. *raēz-*; NP *lēš-*, *lištan*; B. Sogd. *rys-* Vj 970; Yaghn. *lēš-*, *lēsta* (Andreev, p. 282; Klimčitskij 1937, 22).

2. *rrīys-* 'to tremble' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *riysde* P 2783. 237 (76), 238 (77) KT 3. 76.

O.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *rrīysam̐dai* N 75. 26 tr. *pravēpamāno*.

O.Kh. noun; *rrīysai nāte* Z 2. 57 'trembling seized him' H. W. B., BSOS, ix. 1, 1937, 74.

Et. < **raiz-*, cf. Oss. D. *rezun* I. *rizyn* 'to tremble'; O.Ind. *rējate* 'trembles' H. W. B., BSOAS, xxiii. 1, 1960, 16. Already Leumann, N 79. 26, cf. O.Ind. *rējate*.

1. *rrus-* 'to shine' IV a act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *rrustā* Z 3. 35+.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *rrusindā* Z 3. 37, 48.

Et. Inch. < **rauk-*, cf. Av. *raok-* 'shine'; MPe *rwč-* (*Verbum*, p. 182); Parth. *rwčyn-* (caus.) 'éclairer' (Ghilain, p. 63).

2. **rrus-* 'to burst, break' IV a act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *raustā* Si 132r3 KT 1. 66 tr. *rdol-ciñ*.

Et. Inch. < **raug-*, cf. O.Ind. *rujāti* 'breaks' and probably Av. *fra-uruxti-*.

rrūd- 'to grow' I b act. intr. B ppp. *rrusta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *rrvittā* Z 15. 4; 22. 117, 125 (bis), 126.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *rrvīndā* Z 18. 25.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *rrustā* Z 4. 61.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *rrusta* Z 24. 220, 226.

Et. < **raud-*, cf. Av. *²raod-* 'wachsen', pres. I b *raoda-*; O.Ind. *ródhati*; MPe *rwōy-*, *rust* (*Verbum*, p. 183); Parth. *rwōd-* (Ghilain, p. 65); NP *rōy-*, *rustan*; B. Sogd. *rwōd-* (I. G., GMS, § 586, p. 92); Man. Sogd. ppp. *rwst* (BBB, p. 74 ad 580).

rrūy- 'to lose' V e act. tr. A ppp. *rrusta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *rrūyāte* Z 2. 29; 11. 59; 12. 49.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *rrūyindā* Z 12. 40.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *rrustai* JS 18v4 (80); 35v4 (156).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *rruste* Z 5. 4; 23. 111; L.Kh., *rruste* JS 16r1 (67).

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *rrustāmdā* P 2787. 163 KT 2. 107.

Et. < **raudaya-* < **raud-*, cf. Av. *³raod-* 'abhalten', pres. V e *raodaya-*. **raud-* in Ir. also in Parth. *²rws-* 'repousser, écartier' < **ā-raud-* (Ghilain, p. 81).

rrūh- 'to attack' (ἀπ. λεγ.) V b mid. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *rrūhārā* Z 24. 409.

Et. < **raufya-* < **raup-*, see *burūw-* p. 101. **raup-* in *ārūh-* p. 11 is intr. and belongs with Kh. *ārūva* 'refuge', Man. Sogd. *pt̐rwōp* 'castle', O.Ind. *ropaya-* 'raise' (v. H. W. B., *Liebethal Vol.*, 1957, 1-2). Ir. **raup-* appears, however, to be tr. and intr. 'move', cf. B. Sogd. *pr̐wōp-* 'sweep' *Dhy* 1, 68, Bal. *rop-*, *rupt* 'to sweep up' (Elfenbein, p. 67).

rrv- 'to remove' tr.

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *rrvāñi* Z 7. 33.

Et. < **raup-* H. W. B. See **burūw-* p. 101.

vajsās- 'to perceive, see' I b mid. tr. B ppp. *vajsišta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *vajsišde* Z 2. 113; 4. 15, 48; 19. 19; 22. 200; 24. 433, 490; *vajsišde* Z 4. 79, 97 (bis); 6. 49; 14. 89; *vajsišdā* Z 22. 170; *vajišde* Z 5. 108; 10. 31; 14. 62; *vajāšde* Z 23. 48; L.Kh., *vijišde* Si 8v2 KT 1. 12; *vījsaišde* Si 7v4 KT 1. 12.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *vajsiṭā're* Z 22. 306; *vajṣā're* Z 4. 46; 5. 75; 9. 7.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *vajsište* Z 2. 62; *vajište* Z 23. 16; 24. 119; *vajāšte* Z 2. 158.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *vajsištāndā* Z 5. 101.

Et. < **ava-čaša-*. See *nīsaš-* p. 53.

vañj- 'to dispute' III d

L.Kh. -āmatā abstract: *vañjāmayyau* Ch c. 001. 879 KBT 136 tr. *rcōd-pa*.

Et. < **va-n-čaya-*, v. *pyūñj* p. 87.

vatajs- 'to flow down' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *vataysde* Z 17. 12.

Et. < **ava-tača-* < **ava-tak-*. See *itajs-* p. 38.

**vatcañ-* 'to cripple' III d ppp. *vatcasta-*

O.Kh. ppp. *vatcasta* Z 24. 249 'crippled'.

Et. < **ava-sčandaya-*, see *hatcañ-*.

vatciš- 'to besprinkle' I b mid. tr. B ppp. *vatcāšta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *vatcišde* Z 22. 140.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *vatcāšte* Or 9609. 68v1 KT 1. 241 tr. *°sikte*.

O.Kh. ppp. also in *huvatcāšta* Suv. 35 v 4 KT 5. 113 tr. *susiktam*.

Et. < **ava-sčaša-*. ? s-extension of IE **skeh-* Pok. 922-3 H. W. B.

vatsu- 'to go down' I d intr. D

3 sg. inj., O.Kh.: *vatseiya* N 50. 30.

Et. < **ava-čyav-*, v. *nalsu-* p. 49.

***vadim-** 'to make' V e ppp. **vadanda-*

L.Kh. ppp. *vadida* JS 10r2 (39); *vadimā* P 2801. 35 KT 3. 66;
vadida Si 144v5 KT 1. 86 tr. *byas-pa* (v. H. W. B., BSOAS, x,
3, 1941, 576).

Et. < **ava-dam-aya-*, v. *padim-*, *padanda-* p. 69.

van- 'to honour' I b act. tr. A/B

1 sg. pres. act.: O.Kh., *vanimā* Kha 1. 160 3v3 KT 1. 253 tr.
namasyāmah; L.Kh. *vanimā* P 3513 68v1 KT 1. 246 tr. *vandāmi*.

Et. < **vand-*, cf. Av. *vand-* 'loben'; MPe *w(y)nd-* (*Verbum*, p. 171);
Parth. *wynd-* (Ghilain, p. 55). O.Ind. *vandate*.

vanās- 'to quiver, shake' H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. ii. 1, 1951, 42. I d act.
intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *vanāštā* (so read) Si 134r3 KT 1. 68 tr.
mer-mer-po.

L.Kh. -*āmātā* abstract: *vanāsāma* Si 122v4-5 KT 1. 50 tr. *mer-po*.

L.Kh. pres. pt.: *vanāsacau* StH 71 KT 2. 76.

Et. < **ava-nas-*, v. *binās-* p. 96.

vanau- 'to become inactive' I d mid. intr. B ppp. *vanuta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh. (+ -i): *vanautai* Z 4. 72.

3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *vanuta* Z 4. 75; *vanutai* Z 7. 25 (+ -i).

Et. < **ava-nāva-*. H. W. B. cf. IE 2. **ney-* Pok. 767, *neōw*; O.Ind.
nāvate 'moves' (?); Parth. *nw-* 'se mouvoir' (Ghilain, p. 67); Man.
Sogd. *n'w-* 'shake' (BBB, p. 55 ad 490).

vanvāñ- 'to make inactive' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *vanvāñe* Si 19r3 KT 1. 30.

vaphašt- 'to make tremble' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *vaphaštāte* Z 18. 6.

Et. Caus. < **vaphast-*, v. *phast-*, *phašt-* p. 90.

vabār- 'to rain down' I d act. intr. B ppp. *vabāda-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vabēdā* Z 17. 10; 24. 399.

3 sg. pf. tr. m. (intr.), O.Kh.: *vabāde* Z 23. 155, 158.

Et. Pres. I d with preverb **ava-* formed secondarily to denom. *bār-*
p. 95.

***vamays-** 'to handle violently' (?) tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *vameysāñā* Si 135v1 KT 1. 70 tr. *dril-ba*.

Et. < **ava-+*maz-* 'to handle violently' H. W. B., BSOAS, xxi.
3, 1958, 522-. Kh. ppp. in *garma-māštai* P 2925. 40 KT 3. 101 (for
-ā-, cf. *mad-*, *māsta-* p. 108). Orm. *maz-*, *maštak* 'break'; Paštō
māt < **mašta-* (H. W. B.). Parth. 'mšt' 'détruire' < **ā-mard-*
according to Ghilain, p. 99 could be < **ā-maz-*. Kh. *vameys-*
may, however, be simply for **vamalys-*, cf. *nimalys-* p. 54.

vamas- 'to experience' IV a act. tr. B ppp. **vamasāta-*

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *vamasīme* P 3513. 58r1 (Asm. 69).

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *vamaštā* Vajr. 15a1-2 KT 3. 23.

O.Kh.: -*āmātā* abstract: *vamasāmata* SS 3513 KT 5. 336.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *vamasyāñdi* P 3513. 40v1 KBT 61.

Et. Inch. < **ava-man-* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 192 s.v. Cf.
Parth. *pāms-* 'comprendre' inch. < **pāti-man-* (Ghilain, p. 80).

vamurr- 'to vanquish, crush' III b tr. ppp. *vamurrda-*

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *vamurāke* JS 32v2 (142).

L.Kh. ppp. *vamurdā* P 3513. 52v1 (Asm. 43), tr. *parimardayamānaḥ*.

Et. < **ava-+murr-* p. 110.

vaysān- 'to recognize' (ἀπ. λεγ.) III b tr.

2 pl. opt., O.Kh.: *vaysāñiro* Z 5. 38.

Et. < **ava-zan-*, v. *paysān-* p. 71. Morg. cf. Yidgha *v'zān-* 'know'
IIFL, ii. 260).

var- 'to tear away' tr.

2 sg. subj., L.Kh.: *varā* P 2783. 193 (32), 196 (35) KT 3. 74.

3 pl. opt., L.Kh.: *varāira* P 2783. 207 (46) KT 3. 74.

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *varadā* JS 15r3 (63); *viramāda* JS 29r4 (128).

Et. These L.Kh. forms were assigned to *varrad-* by H. W. B.,
BSOAS, x. 3, 1941, 591, but as they seem to mean 'tear away'
rather than 'scratch', it is better to take them more simply < **var-*
< IE **uel-* (Pok. 1144-5), cf. Lat. *uellō* 'tear away'.

varrad- 'to scratch' I b act. tr. B ppp. *varrasta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *varrittā* Z 2. 137.

O.Kh. ppp. *varrasta-* Z 20. 37.

Et. < **ava-rada-*, cf. O.Ind. *rādati* 'bites, gnaws', v. **rran-* p. 115.

varās- 'to experience' V e mid. tr. A ppp. *varašta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *varāsāte* Z 9. 18.

- 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *varāśāri* Z 4. 32; *varāśāre* Z 2. 152; 4. 30, 87; 22. 98, 251; Or 9609 56v4 *KT* 1. 240 tr. *anubhaviṣyanti*.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *varaṣṭe* P 2928. 8 *KT* 3. 105.
 L.Kh. inf.: *varaṣṭe* P 2787. 94 *KT* 2. 104.
 Et. < **ava-rāxaya-* < **ava-rax-*, v. *rrāś-* p. 115.

vartt- 'to practise' LW act. tr. A

- 1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *varttīmā* Z 24. 492.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *varttāte* Z 24. 191.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *varttūndā* P 2781. 145 (77) *KT* 3. 71.
 Et. O.Ind. *vartayati* 'enters on a course of conduct'.

valj- 'to go astray; be deceived' (?) (ἀπ. λει.) act. intr. A/B

- 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *valjīndū* Z 4. 66 (-ī u).
 Et. ?? < **varčya-* < **vark-*, cf. Av. *varək-* 'ziehen', pres. 2 *varəča-*.

vavaj- 'to be reborn' LW act. intr. A/B

- 3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *vavajīndā* *Suv.* K. 65v6 *KT* 5. 116 tr. *upapadyante*; L.Kh., *vavajīdā* P 3513. 32r3 *KB* 59.
 Et. NWPkt *Dhp* 211, 212 *vavajadi* = Pāli *upapajjati*. BHS *upapadyati*.

vavat- 'to fall down' I b act. intr. A/B

- 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vavatīndā* Z 19. 81; *vapatīndā* *Suv.* K. 64v1 *KT* 5. 115 (due to simplex if genuine, but *bijuva* precedes on previous folio).
 Et. < **ava-pat-*, cf. Av. *avapastōiš*; MPe 'wbyst (*Verbum*, p. 170); B. Sogd. 'wpt-, 'wp'st 'tomber' *Vj*.

vaś- 'to shun, avoid' V b mid. tr. A/B

- 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *vaśāre* Z 13. 56.
 Et. < **ava-zāya-*, cf. Av. *ava.zā(y)-* S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 53.

vaśiv- 'to experience' LW act. tr. A

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *vaśivāte* H 147 NS 111 43v5 *KT* 5. 75 tr. *myōn-no*; H 147 NS 112v4 *KT* 5. 77 tr. *myōn-bar hgyur*.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vaśivīndā* E 1. 7 19r4 *KT* 5. 388.
 Et. Pkt form of Skt *upajīvati*. S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 193 s.v.

vaṣṭ- pres. 'to remain, be'; pf. also 'to approach' II b act. intr. A ppp. *vistāta-*

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *vaṣṭāte* Z 24. 387, 485; *vaṣṭātā* Z 24. 389; *Suv.* K. 65v3 *KT* 5. 116 tr. °*saṃsthūtah*.

- 3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *vaṣṭīndā* SS 13r6 *KT* 5. 329; L.Kh., *vaṣṭīde* P 3513. 56v2 (Asm. 63) tr. *bhaveyyu*; *viṣṭīde* P 3513 46v1 (Asm. 15).
 2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *vāstātī* Ch 00271. 14 *KT* 2. 49.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *vistātā* Z 2. 55, 90+.
 3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *vistāta* Z 5. 47+.
 Et. < **ava-hiṣta-*, **ava-stāta-*, cf. Av. *ava.hiṣta-*, *ava.stāta-*; B. Sogd. 'wšt- 'to stand, step' (I. G., *GMS*, § 557, p. 88); B. Sogd. 'wst't(y) (I. G., *GMS*, § 554, p. 88).

vaṣṣrīs- 'to burst' IV a act. intr. B

- 3 sg. pres. act. intr., L.Kh.: *vaṣṣrīṣṭā* JS 19v1 (83); *vaṣṣrīṣṭa* JP 54 r4 *KT* 1. 145.
 Et. Inch. < **ava-sparg-*. See *guṣṣrīs-* p. 30.

vasus- 'to become pure' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *vasuta-*

- 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vasuṣṭā* Z 3. 68+; *vasuṣṭi* Z 4. 57+.
 3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *vasuṣṭīndā* N 69. 8; L.Kh., *vasasidā* Si 152v4 *KT* 1. 98.
 O.Kh. ppp. *vasuta-* Z 4. 57+; *vasva-* Z 11. 34; 24. 652 (L.Kh. form).
 Et. Inch. < **ava-sauk-*, cf. B. Sogd. 'wsuys- 'se purifier', 'wsuwt- 'pur' P; Tq *vasuta-* (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xiii. 3, 1950, 658).

vasūj- 'to purify' V e act. tr. A ppp. *vasuta-*

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *vasūjāte* H 147 NS 109. 41r1, 3 *KT* 5. 73 tr. *dañ-bar byed-pa*.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *vasūjīdā* Si 18r5 *KT* 1. 28.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *vasve* H 147 NS 112v3 *KT* 5. 76.
 Et. < **ava-saučaya-* < **ava-sauk-*, v. *vasus-*. Cf. Av. *saok-*, *saočaya-*; O.Ind. *śocāyati*.

***vaspar-** 'to trample on' ppp. *vaspuḍa-*

- 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *vaspuḍai* JS 33r3 (145).
 Et. < **ava-spar-*, v. *āspar-* p. 13.

vahaj- 'to accompany' V e tr. ppp. **vahīya-*

- L.Kh. pt. nec.: *vahajāñā* Si 106r1-2 *KT* 1. 42 tr. *dbul-lo*.
 L.Kh. ppp.: *vahī* JS 29r2 (127) 'escorted'.
 Et. < **ava-hag-*, cf. O.Ind. *sājati* 'clings to' H. W. B. ap. Dresden, p. 485 s.v. *vahī*.

***vahad-** 'to smite' ppp. *vahasta-*

- O.Kh. ppp. *vahasta-* Z 24. 416, 510, 515 'smitten'.
 Et. < **ava-xad-*, v. *khad-* p. 25.

vahan- 'to disappear' I b act. intr. B ppp. *vahanda-*
 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vahindi* Z 5. 27; *vahindä* Z 23. 28; 24. 48, 423.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vahanindi* Z 22. 314.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *vahamdä* P 2801. 58 KT 3. 67.
 3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *vahanda* Z 5. 99.
 Et. < **ava-hy-na-*, with **har-* cf. B. Sogd. *yr-*, O.Ind. *sar-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, vii. 2, 1934, 413; ap. Dresden, p. 485 s.v. *vahamda-*; KT 4. 76; agreed by S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 25. But this does not account very satisfactorily for the caus. *vahāñ-*, and it seems unwise to accept as a general rule a development seen only in *yan-* (v. p. 112). ? < **ava-fan-* H. W. B. See *našphan-* p. 52.

vahāñ- 'to make disappear' V e tr.
 2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *vahāña* N 168. 34.
 Et. Caus. < *vahan-*.

vahiys- 'to descend' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *vahāšta-*
 3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *vahiysde* Z 23. 125+; L.Kh., *vahaiysde* JS 24r3 (105).
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *vahaiysäre* P 2893. 136 KT 3. 88.
 2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *vahaišti* JS 15v2 (65).
 3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *vahāštä* Z 2. 86+.
 Et. < **ava-haiz-*, cf. Man. Sogd. **wxz-*, Chr. Man. **wyz-*, Chr. ppp. **wxšt* 'to descend'; MPe **wxyz-*, **wxyst-* 'to descend' (*Verbum*, p. 178); H. W. B., *BSOS*, vii. 2, 1934, 413; *TPS*, 1945, 32-33. On **haiz-* in Ir., see I. G., *BSOAS*, xiv. 3, 1952, 488-93.

vahiś- 'to make descend' V e tr.
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *vahaiśāñq* Si 100v2 KT 1. 34.
 Et. < **ava-haizaya-* caus. < **ava-haiz-*, v. *vahiys-*.

vāj- 'to hold' V e mid. tr. A/B ppp. *vāta-*
 2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *vāju* Z 5. 30.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *vājäre* Kha 0013 c6 b4 KT 5. 125; *draiśšu vājäre* D III. 1 8r1 KT 5. 69 = *draiśšu vājäre* SS 13r5 KT 5. 329 tr. *hjin-par hgyur*.
 O.Kh. ppp. *vāta-* Z 6. 20; 9. 15.
 3 sg. pf. tr. f., O.Kh.: *vātä* Z 24. 216 < **vātātä*.
 Et. < **vājaya-* iter. < **vag-*, cf. OP *avajam*, Bal. *gwařag* 'to pull out' H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1951, 194.

vāñ- 'to scatter' V e tr. A ppp. *vāta-*
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *vāñite* Z 24. 520.

The ppp. should be **vāñita-*, **vāñda-* or **vāta-* (cf. *ysan-*, *ysāta-*), so that the ppp. is probably to be found in *hvātu* Z 24. 520, see H. W. B., ap. R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 25 (read *hvātu vāñite*; misprint).
 Et. Iter. < **van-*, see *uysvāñ-* p. 16.

vāys- 'to perfume' LW ppp. *vāysāta-*
vāysāte Z 17. 25 (form ?).
 L.Kh. ppp. *vāysa-* < **vāysya-* in: *vāyse* JS 32r2 (140) 'permeated' (?).
 Et. Pāli *vāseti* 'to perfume'; *vāsita-* 'scented'.

vāś- 'to recite' v. H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. ii. 1, 1951, 27. LW act. tr. A ppp. **vāśāta-*
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *vāśāte* Z 15. 11.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vāśindä* H 142 NS 82r3 KT 5. 105.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *vāśām'dä* P 2783. 201 (40) KT 3. 74 < **vāśātāndä* (H. W. B., ap. J. P. Asmussen, *X^uāstvāñift*, 1965, 152) or < **vāśātāndä*.
 Et. O.Ind. *vācayati*. Niya **vafidesi* 376. 3 T. Burrow, *Khar. Docs.*, § 17, pp. 6-7.

vikalp- 'to imagine falsely' LW act. tr. A/B
 1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vikalpimi* H 147 NS 106 17v5 KT 5. 90.
vikalpāte Z 4. 22; *vikalpetu* Z 4. 23 are probably both nouns, cf. BHS *vikalpita-* n. 'false discrimination'.
 Et. BHS *vikalpayati*.

vibram- 'to be excited' LW act. intr. A/B ppp. *vibramāta-*
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vibramindä* Z 5. 26.
 3 pl. pf. tr. (intr.), O.Kh.: *vibramātāndä* Z 5. 28.
 Et. Skt *vibhramayati* 'confuse, perplex' (tr.).

vimath- 'to tear off' ? LW tr.
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *vimathāñq* Si 100v2 KT 1. 34; *vimathāña* P 2893. 38 KT 3. 84.
 Et. Skt *vimathati* 'tears off'. Cf. *manth-* p. 108.

virāh- 'to displease' LW act. A/B ppp. **virāhāta-*
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *virāhindä* Z 22. 323.
 L.Kh. ppp. *virāhya* *Vajr.* 30b2 KT 3. 26 tr. *virāgitāh*.
 Et. BHS *virāgayati* 'displeases'; Pāli *virāgeti*, *virādheti*.

višt- 'to place, establish' V b act. tr. A ppp. *vistāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *vištātā* *Suv. K.* 66v7 *KT* 5. 117 tr. *sihāpyate*; id. H 142 NSB 412 *KT* 5. 78.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *vīstāda* *Si* 152v5 *KT* 1. 100.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *vāstāte* *Z* 2. 100+; *vistātā* *Z* 2. 136.

1 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *vistāmdūm* *P* 2790. 116 *KT* 2. 114 < **vistātāndā mā*.

3 pl. pf. tr.: *vistāmdī* Khot. (IO) 02a4 *KT* 5. 303. *vistāmdā* *P* 2783. 236 (75) *KT* 3. 75 is translated as intr. (v. *vašt-* p. 120) by H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 571, but the sense is not clear to me.

Et. < **ava-stāya-* < **ava-stā-*, v. *vašt-* p. 120. Cf. Av. *avastaya-*, OP *avāstāyam*; Parth. 'wyst-, 'wyst'd 'mettre, placer' (Ghilain, p. 90).

vāhañ- 'to be depressed' LW intr.

O.Kh. pres. pt.: *vāhañamce* *Z* 5. 92 'depressed'.

Et. Skt *vihanyate* 'is distressed' Leumann, 'E', p. 501 s.v.

vihīl- 'to injure' LW act. tr. A/B ppp. *vihīlāta-*

1 pl. pres., L.Kh.: *vihīlā* *P* 2787. 11 *KT* 2. 101.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *vihīlāde* Ch c. 001. 869 *KBT* 136.

O.Kh. ppp. in *avihīlāta* Iledong 04 b3 *KT* 3. 133 tr. *anutpīdītā*.

Et. BHS *viheṭhayati* 'injures' Leumann, 'E', p. 501 s.v. *vihīlā-*.

vīv- 'to shine' intr.

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *vīvīya* *P* 3513. 60v3 *KT* 1. 242 tr. *virocate*.

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *vīvamāda* *P* 3513. 68v4 *KT* 1. 246 tr. *suvirājita*;
vīvadā *P* 2787. 69 *KT* 2. 103; *vīvace* *P* 2896. 42 *KT* 3. 95.

Et. Always -ī- but only L.Kh., hence, possibly for **viv-* as expected < **vi-bā-* (them., cf. pres. pt.). But perhaps *vīv-* < **vi-bi-bā-* (them.), although no reduplicated present is found in O.Ind. or Av. (unless we accept Av. *bavaiti* < **ba-bati* as suggested by P. Thieme, *BSOAS*, xxiii. 2, 1960, 267). Av. *vyāvanti-* was taken by Bartholomae < **vi-bā-* (*AIW* 1479 s.v.), but acc. to Mayrh. (s.v. *bhāti*) it is rather < **vi-ā-bā-*. RV has *vibhāvan-*, *vibhāti* etc. Note also Oss. D. *ivayun*, I. *ivain* 'to pale' < **vi-bā-* (W. Miller, *Die Sprache der Osseten*, 64).

***vūy-** 'to survey' tr. ppp. *vūyāta-*

O.Kh. ppp.: *vūyātā uysdātā* Or 9609. *27v2 *KT* 1. 236 tr. *avalokitah* (v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 4, 1942, 910).

Et. < **ava-day-* H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1954, 29. = *ūy-* p. 19.

vūs- 'to fast' LW act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vūsindā* Kha 0013c1 15 *KT* 5. 122.

Et. < Pkt < BHS *upavasati* H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 2, 1965, 116.

NWPkt (*u*)*va-* < *upa-*, see Brough, § 35, pp. 87-88.

vau's- 'to swoon' ? IV a intr. ppp. *vo'ta-*

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *vau'samдай* *JS* 6r2 (20).

O.Kh. ppp. *vo'ta-* *Z* 7. 26.

For meaning, cf. L.Kh. noun *vausai* *Si* 8v1 *KT* 1. 12 tr. *mūrcchā*

H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 140.

Et. ?? Inch. < **vi-šauk-*, cf. IE **seuk-* 'turn' Pok. 914 H. W. B. See also on *vyach-*.

vyach- 'to vanish, cease' V c act. tr. or intr. A ppp. **vyachāta-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *vyache* Ch 00266. 147 *KBT* 27 = id. *P* 2957. 92 *KBT* 35 = id. *P* 2025. 224 *KBT* 19.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *vyachimda* *JS* 2v1 (5); *vyachide* *JS* 39r1 (169).

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *vyachyai* Ch c. 001 863 *KBT* 136.

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *vyachī* *JS* 3r4 (9).

1 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *vyichime* *JS* 39v4.

vyach- is used to translate Skt *adhimuc-*, Tib. *mos-pa*, in *Vajr.*:

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *vyachī* *Vajr.* 34a3, 4 *KT* 3. 27 tr. *adhimucyate* 'is intent on'.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *vyachāñā* *Vajr.* 40b1 *KT* 3. 28 tr. *adhimoktavayāḥ*.

The tr. use may be secondary, 'be loosed' > 'be loosed upon' (*adhi-muc-*) i.e. 'be intent on' (H. W. B.).

Et. The et. as inch. < **ava-kaf-* 'fall down' as H. W. B. ap. Dresden, p. 486 s.v. *vyach-* is presumably a suggestion for the entry *vau's-* immediately above, but it does not account for the subscript hook in *vau's-* nor for the ppp. H. W. B. draws attention to *āchaa-* 'illness' *Z* 5. 18++; *byāchāta-* 'afflicted' Khot. (IO) 2r2 *KT* 5. 299, indicating a verbal base **ak-* 'to oppress', cf. Av. *aka-* 'bad' (MPe 'g, NP *āk Sogdica*, p. 30), *axti-* f. 'pain'. *vyach-* would then be < **vi-ač-ya-*.

vyāgar- 'to prophesy; explain' LW act. tr. A/B ppp. *vyātarāta-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vyāgarindā* *Z* 24. 198; *vyātarāndā* *Z* 24. 400.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *vyātarāte* Otani 5-6 a4 *KT* 5. 314; *Z* 2. 241.

O.Kh. ppp. *vyātarāta-* *Z* 13. 156; *vy<ā>garāta-* Kha 1. 13 139r3-4 *KBT* 3.

L.Kh. *vyār-*, *vār-*, *vyir-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 4, 1942, 901; *JRAS*, 1942, 23:

3 sg. opt.: *vyīra* *Vajr.* 33a3 *KT* 3. 27 tr. *vyākariṣyad*; id. *ibid.* 18b4 *KT* 3. 23.

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *vyārye* P 2782. 13 *KT* 3. 58.
 ppp. *vārya*- P 2787. 160 *KT* 2. 107.
 Et. BHS *vyākaroti*.

vyusthah- 'to stand up' LW intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *vyusthahāte* Z 22. 282.
 Et. Cf. BHS *abhyusthah*- H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1955, 14. Classical Skt
vyutthā-. On BHS *sthahati*, cf. Pāli *thahati*, see F. Edgerton
Grammar, pp. 139, 236.

śās- 'to ask for' LW tr.

+2 acc., R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 26, § II. 5.
 O.Kh. pt. nec.: *śāsāna*- Z 12. 24, 26, 27.
 Et. Pkt form of Skt *yācati* 'asks for' H. W. B. Cf. NWPkt *Dhp* 281
yayida = Pāli *yācito*. See T. Burrow, *Khar. Docs.*, § 17, p. 6.

***śir-** 'to go ill' H. W. B., *KT* 4. 167. V c intr.

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *śī'ri* Or 11344. 1225 *KT* 2. 37.
 Et. < **śvrya*- H. W. B., loc. cit., cf. Av. *zbar*- 'krumm gehen',
 O.Ind. *hvarate*; Chr. Sogd. *'zbr*- 'to cross' (W. B. Henning ap.
 I. G., *GMS*, § 158, n. 1, p. 24); Oss. D. *zurun* 'to turn' (H. W. B.,
BSOAS, xxiii. 1, 1960, 34-35).

śūh- 'to prepare, equip' act. tr. A/B ppp. *śūsta*-

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *śūhīmā* Or 9609. 54r4-5 *KT* 1. 238 tr.
prayojayāmi.
 2 pl. subj., O.Kh.: *śūhātā* Z 22. 96 (only instance of *ś-* out of quite
 a number of occurrences of this word).
 O.Kh. pt. nec.: *śūhyāna* Kha vii. 1 43r1 *KT* 5. 182; L.Kh., *śū'hyāna*
Si 122v1 *KT* 1. 50+.
 O.Kh. ppp. *śūsta*-; *huśūsta*- Z 5. 34; 23. 137.
 L.Kh. ppp. in *huśū'stā* P 3513. 74r4 *KT* 1. 249 tr. *upetaḥ*.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *śūste* Z 6. 12; 24. 276, 281.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *śū'stāmdā* P 2783. 226 (65) *KT* 3. 75.
 Et. ?? < **adj-aud*- H. W. B., See p. 244.

śaul- 'to suck' tr. A

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *śau'lānā* *Si* 142r5 *KT* 1. 82 tr. *hijib-pa*.
 3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *śau'le* P 2893. 181 *KT* 3. 90.
 Et. ? Reminds one of B. Sogd. *zβ'β*- 'goûter' P.

śver- 'to tell' ? V e tr.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *śvera* P 2783. 180 (19); 188 (27) *KT* 3. 73; 196
 (35); 197 (36) *KT* 3. 74; *śveri* P 2741. 42 *KT* 2. 89.

Et. Meaning not 'be cursed' as H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 590,
 but 'tell', < **adi-vāraya*- H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. 1, 1949, 41. For *ś-*,
 see p. 244. **var-* is IE 6. **uer-* Pok. 1162 'feierlich sagen'.

śś- 'to lie down' I c mid. intr. A ppp. *śśāta*-

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *śśāte* Z 24. 509+; L.Kh., *śe* P 2781. 71 (3) *KT*
 3. 68 (pret. as H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 579 seems impossible
 < **śśāta*-).
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *śśāre* Z 2. 44+.
 O.Kh. pres. pt.: *śśāna*- Z 5. 47+.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *śśātā* Z 13. 54.
 Et. *śśāte*, *śśāre* cannot continue directly **saitai*, **sairai* (Av. *saēte*,
sōire; O.Ind. *śēte*, *śēre*), although the pres. pt. *śśāna*- < **syāna*-
 < **sayāna*- corresponds with Av. *sayana*-, O.Ind. *śāyāna*-. The
 ppp. is clearly secondary with *-āta* added to the pres. stem *śś-*.
 Pres. I b can be excluded as **sayatai*, **sayārai* might be expected
 to be treated like **zayatai*, **zayārai*, which resulted in *ysaiye*,
ysyāre (v. *ysai*- p. 114). I have therefore decided upon I c <
**syatai*, **syārai*, even though such a pres. seems without parallel
 in Ir. The PPs and NP forms were derived from **sāya(ya)*- in
Verbum, p. 208. Oss. D. *sāyun*, I. *sāin* 'être malade' have also been
 brought into this group, see Benv., *Oss.*, p. 89.

***śśāv-** 'to curse' LW ppp. *śśāvita*-

3 pl. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *śśāvitāndi* Z 2. 23.
 Et. Pkt form of O.Ind. *śāpati* 'curses'. NWPkt **śiv-*: -i-, v. Brough,
 § 22a, p. 81; -v-, § 34, p. 87.

śāñ- 'to shake down' V e act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *śāñdi* Z 4. 62.
 Et. Meaning 'schwingen' Leumann, 'E', p. 507 s.v. *ἀπ. λεγ.* If for
**śśāñ*-, cf. B. Sogd. *šn*- 'shake', Paštō *šanēdal* (*EVP*, p. 75) etc. H.
 W. B., *BSOAS*, vii. 4, 1935, 777-8. Accepting *śāñ*-, derive <
**zr-ān-ya*- < **zar*- 'to move' H. W. B., *TPS*, 1955, 58. Better,
 following this derivation, to explain as caus. < **zr-an*-, cf. IE
**dher-/*dhr-en*- Pok. 255 etc. and v. *śsan*-.

***śad-** 'to prepare' tr. ppp. *śasta*-

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *śā'na* *JP* 45r1 *KT* 1. 137; H 143 NS 63 a2, b1 *KT*
 5. 40.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *śa'sta* P 2801. 32 *KT* 3. 66.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *śa'stāmdā* P 2783. 215 (54) *KT* 3. 75.
 Et. < O.Ir. **śad*-, cf. O.Ind. *kṣad*- H. W. B., *TPS*, 1959, 86-87. But
 the initial is voiced; < **γśad*- as H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xi. 1, 1943, 4.

ṣumār- 'to count' II b+I d act. tr. B ppp. *ṣumuḍa-*

3 sg. pres. act.: *ṣu'meḍa* Ch 00277. 2v3 KBT 70 = *ṣi'meḍi* Ch 00268. 140 KBT 66 (not inf.).

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *ṣumārā* SS 27r6 KT 5. 333.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ṣa'mārida* Ch ii. 004 1r1 KBT 143.

O.Kh. ppp. in *aṣumuḍā* Or 9609. 5r4 KT 1. 234 tr. *aṣamkhyeyam*.

Et. < **hišmāra* < **mar-*, cf. Av. *mar-* 'merken', pres. 5 *hišmar-*; MPe *šm'r-* 'zählen' (*Verbum*, p. 193); NP *ṣumārā*; Man. Sogd. *šm'r-*, B. Sogd. ppp. *šm'rt-* 'to think' (I. G., *GMS*, § 593, p. 92).

ṣer- 'to make a noise' V e act. intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ṣerate* Z 13. 111.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ṣe'rida* Ch 00266. 38 KT 3. 35.

Et. Denom. < noun or adj. **zāra-* < **zar-*, cf. Oss. D. *zārun* 'to sing' S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 30. See *ysār-*. Better < **γzāraya-* < **γzār-*, cf. B. Sogd. *zγ'yr-* 'to call' *Vj*, Man. *jyjr-* BBB, H. W. B.

***ṣkav-** 'to touch' I b act. tr. B suppletive ppp. **ṣkusta-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *ṣkū* Ch 00266. 180 KBT 28 = id. P 4089a 5 KBT 21. < **ṣkūtā* (cf. *ākṣū* = *ākṣūtā* p. 7) < **ṣkuvati* < **ṣkavati* (v. on *dyū* p. 44).

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ṣkūda* P 2928. 33 KT 3. 106.

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *ṣkūt* Ch 00266. 39 KT 3. 35 for **ṣkūvi* for **ṣkavi* or from **ṣkaviyā*.

Suppletive ppp. **ṣkusta-* in O.Kh. *aṣkusta* Z 13. 114; L.Kh., *aṣkūstai* P 4099. 414 KBT 134.

Et. **ṣkau-* with dental extension in ppp. ? IE **skeu-* Pok. 951 (cf. Leumann, N 79. 41): O.Ind. *skunāti* 'covers' etc. See also *skau-* p. 134.

ṣkīm- 'to create' III d act. tr. A ppp. *ṣkaunda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ṣkimate* Z 1. 89.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ṣkīmindā* Z 3. 107.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *ṣkonde* Z 2. 49.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *ṣkādādi* P 2957. 101 KBT 36.

Et. < **skambaya-* < **skamb-*, cf. Av. *skamb-* 'stemmen', pres. *ščimbaya-*. **skab-*, cf. O.Ind. *skabhnāti*.

ṣt- 'to stand; be' II b mid. intr. A ppp. *stāta-*; *ṣtāta-*; *ṣtuta-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *ṣtāte* H 142 NS 43 r6 KT 5. 100; Or 9609. 24r5 KT 1. 235 tr. *sthita*; *ṣte* Z 3. 102; 22. 283; L.Kh., *ṣte* P 2892. 131 KT 5. 322 (= *astā* Si 13r1 KT 1. 20).

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ṣtāre* Z 2. 14+.

3 sg. subj. mid., O.Kh.: *ṣtāte* Z 5. 114.

3 pl. subj. mid., L.Kh.: *ṣtānde* P 3513. 62r2 KT 1. 243 tr. *tiṣṭhanti* (parallel with *pvānde*); *ṣtāndā* P 3513. 81r2-3 KBT 64 (parallel with *ttrānmānde*). Not act. as Dresden, p. 487 s.v. *ṣtā-*, quoting H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. ii, 1, 1951, 43.

1 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *ṣtām* P 2741. 86 KT 2. 90.

O.Kh. pres. pt.: *ṣtāna-* Z 2. 20+.

The ppp. has three forms:

(1) *stāta-*:

O.Kh. *stāta-* Z 2. 89, specialized in the sense of 'tired'. L.Kh. *stā* e.g. *stā khajauttā* P 2801. 18 KT 3. 66 (v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 598). Cf. also *stā-* in abstract *stāmā-* 'exertion; weariness' Z 2. 15+; L.Kh. *stā* Si 131v2 KT 1. 64 tr. *nal-ba*. Cf. Oss. DI. *stād* 'tired' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xi. 1, 1943, 3; Oss. D. *stayun*, I. *stain* 'to weary' H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 24.

(2) *ṣtāta-*:

The normal ppp. in practice, e.g. 3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh., *ṣtātā* Z 22. 236; 24. 275; Kha 1. 13 141v2 KBT 4. O.Ir. **stāta-* as in Av. *stāta-*, having in Kh. been specialized in sense (1), *ṣtāta-* was formed to the pres. stem *ṣt-*; cf. Parth. *št-*, *yšt'd* 'se trouver' (Ghilain, p. 78).

(3) *ṣtuta-*:

O.Kh. only and rare: 2 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh., *ṣtuta sta* Z 22. 237; 2 pl. pf. intr. f., O.Kh., *ṣtute sta* Z 22. 241; 3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh., *ṣtuta* Z 2. 93. Possibly a different base, cf. IE **st-eu-* Pok. 1009, beside **stā-*.

Et. *ṣt-* < **hišta-* < **stā-* cf. Av. *stā-*, *hišta-*.

ṣṣaddah- 'to believe in' LW act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ṣadahiḍā* *Vajr.* 24b2 KT 3. 25.

Cf. O.Kh. *ṣṣaddā-* Z 2. 57+ (NWPkt *Dhp* 260 *ṣadha* = Pāli *saddhā*, BHS *śraddhām*); *ṣṣadda-* Z 22. 96+ adj. (once *ṣṣraddā* Z 15. 12!) (NWPkt *Dhp* 218 *ṣadhu* = Pāli *saddham* (BHS *śraddha-*)).

Et. BHS *śraddhayate*; Pāli *saddahati*.

ṣṣan- 'to protect' ? LW tr.

2 pl. opt., O.Kh.: *ṣṣanirā* H 142 NS 49v3 KT 5. 26.

Et. Either < O.Ir. **sran-* or NWPkt LW. For **sar-*/**sr-an-*, cf. IE **dher-*/**dhr-en-* Pok. 255 etc. (v. *ṣān-* p. 127). In O.Ind., cf. *śaraṇā-* 'protecting' and BHS *viśrāṇayati* (**covers* >) 'presents' H. W. B. Cf. also Paštō *ṣandəl* 'to give' (*EVP*, p. 78).

ṣṣarr- 'to exhilarate' III b tr. ppp. **ṣṣuḍa-*

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *ṣṣarri* Z 7. 24.

O.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract with private *a-*: *aṣarrāmata* Kha 1. 13. 139v1-2 KBT 3 tr. *zum-pa*.

O.Kh. ppp. **ṣṣuda-* in *āṣṣuda* Z 20. 8.

Et. < O.Ir. **fšar-* 'exhilarate', cf. RV *psāras-* H. W. B., BSOAS, xxi. 3, 1958, 543-5. This assumes **fš-* > *ṣṣ-*, a development found only in this word.

ṣṣiṣ- 'to take hold of' I c mid. tr. B ppp. *ṣṣiṣta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *ṣiṣdā* Si 136v1 KT 1. 72; 136r4 KT 1. 72 tr. *hdebs-pa*.

L.Kh. ppp.: *ṣiṣti* P 2956. 56 KT 3. 39 = *ṣaiṣta* P 2025. 77 KT 3. 48 (= *basta* P 2022. 36 KT 3. 43); *ṣiṣta-biṣa* JS 18v4 (80) 'tonguetied' (< **sriṣta-* H. W. B., AM, n.s. ii. 1, 1941, 35). With a preverb, we now have the ppp. attested in O.Kh. *nāṣṣṣta* Z 2. 225.

Et. < **sriṣa-* < **sraiṣ-*, cf. Av. *sraēṣ-* 'sich heften', pres. I c *sriṣa-*, H. W. B., BSOS, viii. 1, 1935, 136. Cf. Parth. *sryṣyṣn* 'mélange', NP *siriṣtan* 'mélanger' (Ghilain, p. 62).

ṣṣun- 'to throw' III b tr. ppp. **ṣṣuta-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *ṣunāṇq* Si 153v4 KT 1. 100 tr. *smyugs* 'to be thrown'. 1 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *ṣvaudū* P 2024. 41. KT 2.78 'we put on' < **ṣṣutāndāmā*.

Et. < **ṣu-na-* < **ṣav-*, cf. Av. *ṣav-* in *vātō.ṣūtēm* Y. 9. 32; *aiwiṣvaṣ* V. 2. 10; Oss. D. *ānsonun* 'thrust' H. W. B., BSOAS, xxiii. 1, 1960, 36-37.

saṃkhal- 'to be tainted' I b act. tr./mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *saṃkhilsta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *saṃkhilttā* Z 22. 259; *saṃkhiltte* Z 24. 227.

3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *saṃkhalyāre* P 3513. 48v2 (Asm. 25) tr. *oliptaḥ*.

O.Kh. ppp. with privative *a-* in *asaṃkhālsta-* Z 6. 22; *asaṃkhilsta-* Z 6. 39; L.Kh. ppp. *saṃkhaista* Si 9r1 KT 1. 14 tr. *bskus-te*.

3 sg. opt. tr., O.Kh.: *saṃkhalī* D III. 1 8v2 KT 5. 69. This form appears to indicate a I b pres. that is act. tr.

Et. For *saṃ-*, see p. 242. < **xard-*, cf. Yaghn. *xīrd-* 'cacāre' (Andreev, p. 359), NP *xard* 'muddy place' H. W. B.

sad- 'to appear, seem' V a act. intr. C ppp. *sasta-*

+G-D (dat.), R. E. E., BSOAS, xxviii. 1, 1965, 29, § III. 10 (b).

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *saittā* Z 1. 35++; *seittā* Z 4. 83+.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *saindā* Z 3. 116++; *seindā* Z 3. 108.

O.Kh. ppp. *sasta-* Z 2. 96+.

Et. Av. 'sand-' 'appear', *sadaya-*; OP *ṭadaya-*; O.Ind. *chadāyati*, MPe *sh-* (*Verbum*, p. 171); Parth. *sy-* (Ghilain, p. 91).

sam- 'to agree' V a act. intr. A ppp. *sonda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *samāte* Z 12. 123 'accords'.

2 pl. pres., O.Kh.: *samāta* SS 80v5 KT 5. 341.

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *samīndi* Z 6. 16 'agree with'; L.Kh., *samīde* Si 148r4 KT 1. 92 tr. *mithun-mithun-du byaho*.

O.Kh. ppp. *sonda-* Z 12. 125; *sonda-* N 175. 25.

Et. < O.Ir. **sam-*, cf. O.Ind. *śam-*; Oss. D. *somī* 'oath' < **sāmya-*; Oss. D. *somun* 'to handle' etc., H. W. B., Rocznik Orientalistyczny, xxi, 1957, 59-69.

1. **samev-* 'to make agree, compare' V e tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *sameyāñā* Si 4r1-2 KT 1. 6 tr. *sbyar-ro*.

Et. Caus. < **sam-* q.v.

2. *samev-* 'to appoint' H. W. B., BSOAS, xiii. 4, 1951, 921. LW tr. ppp. *samautta-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *sameva* Or 11252. 12b2 KT 2. 20.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *samevya* Or 11252. 12a4 KT 2. 20.

L.Kh. inf.: *samautti* Or 11252. 13a1 KT 2. 20.

Et. < Pkt **samāpaya-*, cf. Pāli *samappaya-*, Skt *samarpaya-*.

saṃbaj- 'to succeed' LW intr.

3 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *saṃbajātu* Or 9609. 54r5 KT 1. 238 tr. *saṃdhyatu*.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *sabajtyā* Or 9609. 4r1 KT 1. 233.

3 pl. imper., O.Kh.: *saṃbajāṃdu*, *saṃbajāṃdu* Or 9609. 54v3 KT 1. 238 tr. *saṃdhyantu*.

Et. Pkt, cf. Pāli *sampajjati* 'succeeds'.

sarb- 'to rise' V a act. intr. A suppletive ppp. *sata-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *sarbātā* Z 2. 43; *sarbite* Z 2. 55+; L.Kh., *sarbe* Si 103v2 KT 1. 40 tr. *byun-ste*.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *sarbīndi* Z 22. 160; *sarbīndā* Z 24. 415.

1 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *satāmā* Kha 1. 13. 142v1 KBT 5.

2 sg. pf. intr. m.: O.Kh., *satī* Z 22. 191, 261, 285; L.Kh., *satī* JS 7r3 (26); 35v3 (156).

3 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *sa* P 2782. 26 KT 3. 59 < **satā* (H. W. B., BSOAS, xiii. 4, 1951, 928).

3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *sata* *štā* Z 23. 22.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *sata* Z 24. 206.

Et. *sarb-/sata-* suppletive. **sar-b-*, cf. O.Ind. *śal-* 'leap' H. W. B. **san-/sata-* common, v. H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 77. Parth. *sn-*, *sd* 'monter' (Ghilain, p. 55); B. Sogd. *sn-* 'monter' *Vj*; Man. Sogd. *stty* 'he rose' (I. G., *GMS*, § 864, p. 128); Chr. Sogd. *sty* (§ 864A, p. 248); Yaghn. *san-*, *sāta-* 'to mount' (Andreev, p. 318); Waxī *san-*, *sat-* (*IIFL*, ii. 540).

**sals-* 'to have intercourse' H. W. B., *KT* 4. 132-3. ppp. **salsāta-*

3 pl. opt., L.Kh.: *sešīryau* Ch 00266. 2 *KT* 3. 34; P 2025. 9 *KT* 3. 45 ('will feel love' H. W. B., *Unvala Vol.*, 1965, 3) = *saišīryau* P 2895. 3 *KT* 3. 40.

3 sg. pf. m., L.Kh.: *sa'se* Ch 00269. 66 *KT* 2. 45.

Et. ? cf. Yidgha *šešo* (*IIFL*, ii. 252) H. W. B., loc. cit. The spellings found, *seš-*, *se's-*, *saiš-*, *saiš-*, *sa's-*, are best reconciled in an O.Kh.

**sals-*. This would be < **sarzaya-*. **sar-z-* is perhaps IE **ker-ǵ(h)-*, cf. Av. *sar-* 'vereinigen', Paštō *sara* 'with'.

sahy- 'to endure' LW act. tr. A ppp. **sahyāta-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *sahyīmā* Z 2. 138.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *sahyātā* Z 2. 138; *sahyāte* Z 11. 45.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *sahyindā* Z 16. 27.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *sahye* P 2801. 3 *KT* 3. 65.

1 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *sahyāmdūm* P 2031. 20 *KT* 2. 84.

Et. = *usahy-* p. 17.

sāj- 'to learn' V e act. tr. A ppp. *sīya-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *sājātā* N 50. 28; L.Kh., *sāji* P 3513. 811 *KT* 3. 115; *sāje* P 3513. 84v2 *KBT* 66.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *sājīndi* Z 23. 5; *sājīndā* Z 24. 646.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *sīye* Z 13. 57+; *sīte* Kha 1. 13 137v1 *KBT* 2.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *sīyāndi* Z 12. 32+.

Et. < **sāčaya-* < **sak-*, cf. Av. **sak-* 'sich verstehen auf', *sāčaya-*; Parth. *s'č-* 'préparer, former' (Ghilain, p. 68); B. Sogd. **βs'č-*, **βs'yt-* 'to teach' < **fra-sāčaya-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 316, p. 48).

sāñ- 'to raise' V e act. tr. A ppp. *sata-*

3 sg. opt.: *sāñi* Khot. (IO) 02 a5 *KT* 5. 303.

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *sāña* Z 5. 50.

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *sāñe* *JS* 1414 (59).

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *sāñīndi* Z 22. 159.

Pt. nec.: *sāñāña* Khot. (IO) 01 a5 *KT* 5. 303.

3 pl. pf. tr.: *sāñdi* Khot. (IO) 02 a2, 3, 4 *KT* 5. 303 < **satāndi*.

Et. < **sānaya-* caus. < **san-*, v. *sarb-* p. 131. Cf. Parth. *s'n-*, *s'n'd* 'élever' (Ghilain, p. 71); *syn-* 'faire monter' (Ghilain, p. 90); Man. Sogd. *syn-* 'to raise' < **sānaya-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 543, p. 85).

sāh- 'to prepare' LW tr. A ppp. **sāhāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *sāhāte* Z 14. 19.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *sāhye* P 2957. 33 *KBT* 32 = id. P 2025. 133 *KBT* 15 = *sāhya* Ch 00266. 79-80 *KBT* 23.

Et. Skt *sādhayati*; Pāli *sādheti*. NWPkt -*dh-* > -*h-*, v. *Khar. Docs.*, § 27, p. 10; Brough, § 42, p. 94).

sāj- 'to succeed' LW act. intr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *sāje* *JS* 5v3 (18).

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *sājīndā* Z 12. 4; 22. 326.

Et. Pkt form of Skt *siddhyati*, cf. Pāli *sijhāti*.

**suhev-* 'to make happy' LW ppp. *suhautta-*

O.Kh. ppp. *suhautta-* Z 3. 28+.

Et. Cf. *dukhev-*, *dukhautta-* p. 46. *suha* frequent in NWPkt *Dhp*.

sūch- 'to call, name' H. W. B., *IJ*, ii. 2, 1958, 156-7. V b tr. A ppp. **sūchāta-*

3 sg. pres. or pf., L.Kh.: *sūche* MT c. 0013. 7 *KT* 5. 220 < **sūchāte*.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *sūchāmdā* P 2958. 24 *KBT* 40 (= *sūchāsā* P 2798. 141 *KBT* 43 (for *sūchādā* H. W. B., *KBT* 43, n. 3)) < **sūchātāndā* (or **sūchātāndā*).

Et. < **saučya-* < **sauk-*, cf. O.Ind. *śuka-* 'parrot'; Lett. *saukt* 'to call, name'; Lith. *šaukti* 'to call' H. W. B., loc. cit.

sūjs- 'to burn' I b act. intr. B ppp. *sūta-*

3 sg. pres. act.: O.Kh., *sūstā* Z 20. 12; 24. 323; L.Kh., *sūstā* Ch c. 001 738 *KBT* 90.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *sūjīndi* Z 4. 59; 22. 137.

O.Kh. ppp. *sūta-* Z 19. 87; 23. 107; *SS* 24v3 *KT* 5. 332 tr. *chig-pa*. L.Kh. ppp. (with privative *a-*): *asuva* *Si* 153v2 *KT* 1. 100 tr. *ma-chig*.

Et. < **saučā-* < **sauk-*, cf. Av. *saok-* 'in lichter Flamme brennen', pres. I b *saočā-*; O.Ind. *śocati*; MPE *swč-* (*Verbum*, p. 182); NP *sōxtan*; Parth *swč-*, *swxt* (Ghilain, p. 63); B. Sogd. *swč-*, *swyt-* 'allumer' P.

sai- v. *sad-*.

saury- 'to rub' V b tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *sauryāñā Si* 109r5 *KT* 1. 46+ tr. *bdar-te*; *siyāñā Si* 137v3 *KT* 1. 74 tr. *bdar-ba* (cf. *byaude/bide* p. 107).

Et. Cf. Man. B. Sogd. *ps'w-* 'berühren' (*BBB*, p. 72 ad 576) H. W. B.

skau- 'to touch' I d tr. B ppp. *skuta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *skote Z* 13. 23; 19. 84; *skaute Z* 22. 144; *skauye N* 127. 11 = H 144 NS 32+NSB 17r2 *KT* 5. 93 (?).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *skute Z* 24. 194.

3 sg. pf. tr. f., O.Kh.: *skutātā Z* 2. 56.

O.Kh. inf. *skute Z* 21. 26.

Et. < **skāva-* (-*āva-* > -*uva-* > *ū*; v. **škov-* p. 128) < **skav-*, v. **škov-* p. 128.

skaury- 'to touch' V b tr. ppp. *skuta-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *skaurya P* 2025. 169 *KBT* 17 = id. Ch 00266. 108 *KBT* 25 = *skauryi P* 2957. 58 *KBT* 33.

3 sg. subj., O.Kh.: *skauryāte Z* 22. 148.

O.Kh. ppp. *skuta-*, v. *skau-*.

Et. < **skau-ya-*, v. *skau-*.

starr- 'to spread' III b tr. ppp. *starrda-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *starrāñā P* 2893. 252 *KT* 3. 93.

L.Kh. ppp. *starda JS* 34v2-3 (151).

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *stardāñde JS* 31r3 (136).

Et. < **stynā-* < **star-*, cf. Av. **star-*, *starenā-*; O.Ind. *stṛṇāti*.

stav- 'to praise' ? hybrid act. tr. A/B ppp. *stavāta-*

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *stavi P* 3513. 74r2 *KT* 1. 249 tr. *stošyate*.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *staviḍā Hed*. 23. 16 *KT* 4. 36.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *stavātāñdā Or* 9609. *27v3 *KT* 1. 236 tr. *stavito*.

Et. Ir. has **stav-* as in Av. *stav-* 'preisen', ppp. **stūta-*, but the ppp. is apparently due to the influence of BHS *stavita-* (on which see F. Edgerton, *Grammar*, p. 236). O.Ind. had *stauti*, *stutā-*. Cf. also MPe **st'y-* < **stāvaya-* (*Verbum*, p. 209); Parth. **st'w-* (Ghilain, p. 77); Man. Sogd. **pstw-* 'disown' < **apa-stava-* (*BBB*, p. 101 ad e20); Waxi *stau-*, *staudi-* 'to praise' (*IIFL*, ii. 541). See **paštu-*.

stās- 'to come to a standstill; to become weary' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *stāsta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *stāsti Z* 10. 26; L.Kh., *stāsti Ch* 00268. 198 *KBT* 68.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *stāsīndā Z* 9. 25; L.Kh.: *stāsīndā P* 2782. 21 *KT* 3. 59 'fail'.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *stāstā JS* 27v2 (120) (+*-ā* 'you').
Et. Inch. < **stā-*; v. *stāta-* p. 129.

***stramj-** 'to stiffen' V e tr. A ppp. *striya-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *straji Si* 8v3 *KT* 1. 12 < **stramjātā*.

L.Kh. ppp. *striya JS* 20r2 (85).

Et. See **pastramj-* p. 79.

***stramjāñ-** 'to stiffen' V e tr.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *strajāñākā Si* 5v3 *KT* 1. 8+.

Et. Iter. < **stramj-*.

strīs- 'to become stiff' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *striya-*

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *strištā P* 2893. 92 *KT* 3. 86.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *strīšīndā Si* 134r2 *KT* 1. 68 tr. *reñs-pa*.

3 sg. pf. intr. f., L.Kh.: *striya Ch* 00266. 205 *KBT* 29 = *strīyi P* 2957. 140 *KBT* 38.

Et. Inch. < **strungj/k-*. See **pastramj-* p. 79.

strīsāñ- 'to make stiff' V e tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *strīsāñāñā Si* 137r5 *KT* 1. 74.

Et. Caus. < **strīs-*.

spal- 'to twitch' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *spa'tte Kha* vi. 4. 1 a1, 5 *KT* 3. 130; *spa'tti* ibid. a3, 4, 6; b1, 3; *spa'ttā* ibid. b6.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *spalāri Kha* vi. 4. 1 b4 *KT* 3. 130.

3 sg. subj. mid., L.Kh.: *spalāte* ibid. a3; b5.

Et. < **spard-*, cf. B. Sogd. **sp'rδt P* 3. 74 I. G. ap H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. ii. 1, 1951, 36. O.Ind. has *spārdhate* 'vies'. Cf. also Waxi **pārdūñj* 'flea' (*IIFL*, ii. 540).

spāśś- 'to see; appear' V e mid. tr. intr. A ppp. *spāšta-*

1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *spāše Z* 2. 199.

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *spāśśāte Z* 5. 47; L.Kh., *sāše P* 2025. 23 *KT* 3. 46 = id. Ch 00266. 14 *KT* 3. 34 (= *hajsi'sdai P* 2956. 9 *KT* 3. 37).

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *spāśśāre Z* 3. 6; 19. 10; *spāśśārā Z* 20. 15.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *spāśśāñā Si* 104r1 *KT* 1. 40 tr. *brtag-pa* 'examine'.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *spāšte Z* 2. 81+.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *spāštāñdā Z* 21. 17; L.Kh., *sāštāñdā P* 5538a 3 *KT* 2. 125.

O.Kh. inf. *spešta Z* 21. 18.

Et. The L.Kh. forms with *s-* for *sp-* are probably purely graphical in origin (H. W. B.). < **spāsaya-* < **spas-*, cf. O.Ind. *spāśayate* caus. Av. 'spas-', °*spašta-*, pres. V b *spasya-*; O.Ind. *pāśyati*, *spāśtā-*. In Parth. and Sogd. the meaning is 'serve': Parth. 'spas-', 'spyšt' (Ghilain, pp. 51-52); B. Sogd. 'sp'yš', Chr. Sogd. *spš-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 192, p. 30).

spai- 'to satisfy; be satisfied' V b mid. tr. intr. D ppp. *spata-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *spaiye* Z 2. 201; 20. 64; *spaiyā* Z 19. 18.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *spyārā* P 2783. 255 (94) KT 3. 76.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *spatā štā* Z 20. 66.

O.Kh. ppp. *spata-* also Z 2. 169.

Et. Leumann, 'E', p. 515 s.v., cf. O.Ind. *sphāyate*. See also H. W. B., *Annali*, 1959, 137. The ppp. *spata-* is difficult. One would expect *spata-* to be ppp. to **spam-* or **span-*. Perhaps suppletive **spā-*/**span-*. The O.Ind. ppp. was *sphīta-*. Possibly **spāta-* > *spata-* due to **spāya-* > **spaya-* (cf. *pai-* p. 86; *ysai-* p. 114).

sphan- 'to agitate' I b mid. tr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *sphande* Z 4. 72, 81; 19. 7.

Et. < **sfanda-* or **spanda-*, cf. O.Ind. *spāndate* 'is agitated' H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 118-23.

hamkhiš- 'to count' Ve tr. A ppp. *hamkhišta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh. *hamkhišate* *Suv* *27r2 KT 1. 235.

O.Kh. -*gyā* abstract: *hamkhišgyā-* Z 19. 79; 24. 241.

L.Kh. noun: *hamkhišya-* Si 411 (bis) KT 1. 6+.

O.Kh. ppp. *hamkhišta-* Z 23. 366; (with privative *a-*) *anamkhišta-* Z 13. 87+.

Et. Cf. Av. *ahaxšta-* E. Leumann, *Zur nordar. Spr.*, 31. Benv., *Oss.*, pp. 85-86 suggests °*xšta-* replaced by **xišta-* to which was formed **xiz-* (cf. S. Insler's explanation of B. Sogd. *γwyz-*, *IF*, 1962, 53, n. 3). But see on *pachšys-* p. 63.

***hamggad-** 'to result; develop' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *hamggālsta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hamggaltte* Z 4. 47; 5. 84; L.Kh., *hagetta* P 2026. 90 KT 3. 52.

O.Kh. ppp. *hamggālsta-* Z 4. 103; 5. 27.

Et. < **ham-gart-*, v. *ggad-* p. 27.

hamggalj- 'to gather, assemble' V e act. tr. A ppp. *hamgriya-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *hamga'ja* Or 11252. 21. 3 KT 2. 23.

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *haga'ja* P 4099. 137 KBT 119.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *hagai'jara* P 2787. 183 KT 2. 108.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hamggaljīndi* Z 22. 297.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hamgrite* Z 2. 78.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *hagriyāmda* P 2787. 186 KT 2. 108.

Et. < **ham-garjaya-* < **ham-garg-*, cf. Lat. *congregō*; v. IE **ger-* Pok. 382.

hamggār- 'to draw together' I d act. tr. B ppp. *hamggāda-*

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *hamggāru* Z 21. 21.

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hamggedā* Z 19. 23.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hamgārīndi* Z 19. 29; 24. 647.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *hamgārāñā* Si 156v2 KT 1. 104 tr. *drañ-bar byaho*.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *hamgāḍāmdā* P 2790. 16 KT 2. 111.

Et. < **ham-kāra-*, see *kār-* p. 22. See H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. xi. 1, 1964, 12.

hamggun- 'to cover up' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 579. III a tr. ppp. *hamggusta-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *hamgūnāñā* Si 148r2 KT 1. 92 tr. *g-yog-par byaho*.

L.Kh. ppp.: *hamgaustā* P 2906. 27 KT 3. 98 (so read, as H. W. B. loc. cit.) = *hagausta* P 2910. 31 KT 3. 99; *hamgūstā* Si 150v2 KT 1. 96 tr. *g-yogs-pa*.

Et. < **ham-gunda-*, v. *uysgun-* p. 15.

hamggūj- 'to meet' V e act. intr. A ppp. **hamgguta-*

+I-A (comitative): +*balysyau* H 144 NSB 1 2r2 KT 5. 54 (cf. R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 32, § IV. 10).

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hamggūjīmā* H 144 NSB 1 2r2 KT 5. 54.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hamgūjāte* Khot. (IO) 18. 4 b 4 KT 5. 302.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hamgūjīmdā* P 2790. 26, 28 KT 2. 111; 96-97 KT 2. 113.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *hamgvāmdā* P 2790. 38 KT 2. 111.

Et. < **ham-kauk-* H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. xi. 1, 1964, 14. See *hamggūjs-*.

hamggūjs- 'to fear'

Only in O.Kh. noun: *hamggūjsu* E 1. 7 19r4 KT 5. 388 tr. *hjigs-pa*.

There seems to be no certain verbal form in the sense of 'fear' as suggested by H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 124; *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 578. *hamgvāmdūm* Ch. 00269. 34 KT 2. 43 1 pl. pf. tr. 'we were afraid of' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xii. 3-4, 1948, 621 is more likely 'we met', as it is preceded by *cimūḍām jsa* 'with the Čimuls' (I-A as *hamggūj-* q.v.).

Et. < **ham-kauk-*, cf. O.Ind. *kocati* 'draws together'; *samkoca-* 'contraction, fear' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiv. 3, 1961, 481; *AM*, N.S. xi. 1, 1964, 14. Cf. also MPe *ngwč-*, *ngwčyd* 'sich verbeugen' < **ni-kauk-* (*Verbum*, p. 182).

hamggūš- 'to heed' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 578, 592; *AM*, N.S. xi. 1, 1964, 15. I b mid. tr. A/B ppp. *hamggūšta-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *hamgū* P 2790. 55 *KT* 2. 112.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *hamgvāre* P 2790. 65 *KT* 2. 112; *ibid.* 97 *KT* 2. 113.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hamgūšta* P 2783. 201 (40) *KT* 3. 74.

Et. < **ham-gauš-* H. W. B., loc. cit. See *pyūš-* p. 87.

***hamggeils-** 'to turn' IV a intr. ppp. **hamggeilsta-*

3 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *hamge'sta* *JS* 2911-2 (127) 'whirled'; *hamga'stā* P 2783. 228 (67) *KT* 3. 75 'reeled'; *hamgaistā* P 2783. 233 (72) *KT* 3. 75 'turned round' (v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 596).

Et. < **ham-+gget's-* p. 31.

hamgrīs- 'to assemble' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *hamgrīya-*

+loc., R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 33, § V. 1 (j).

2 pl. imper., O.Kh.: *hamgrīsta* Z 24. 465.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hamgrīsindī* Z 22. 320; 24. 651; *hamgrīsindā* Z 24. 479.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *hamgrīta* Z 2. 64; 23. 124; *hamgrīya* Z 3. 100+.

Et. Inch. < **ham-garg-*, v. *hamggalj-* p. 136.

hamgrīh- 'to raise; uphold (order)' H. W. B. V tr. ppp. *hamgrautta-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *hamgrīhāñā* Si 10213 *KT* 1. 38 tr. *dgug-cin*; *hagrīhāñā* P 2786. 215 *KT* 2. 100.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *hamgrīhyarā* P 2781. 93 (25) *KT* 3. 69.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hamgrautta* P 2801. 58 *KT* 3. 67 ('raised', not 'embraced' as H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 564).

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *hagrāuttāmdā* Khot. (IO) 74 vii r2 *KT* 5. 310; *hagrāmdā* P 2933. 6 *KT* 3. 108.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *hamgrautta* Z 5. 47 'they arose'.

Et. *hamgrautta* < **grab-* Leumann, 'E', p. 516 s.v. *hamgrīs-*; < **ham-grābīta-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 78 (rather < **ham-grāfta-*). **grīh-* might be **grabaya-*, **grabya-* or **grbya-*, cf. Av. **grab-*, *gaurvaya-*, *garōbya-*; O.Ind. *grabh-*, *grbhāya-*. Parth. *pdgyrw-* 'prendre' (Ghilain, p. 89); MPe *gyr-*, *grypt* 'greifen' (*Verbum*, p. 205); Man. Chr. B. Sogd. *γβ-* 'to know' (I. G., *GMS*, § 503, p. 76).

hamjv- 'to gnaw, chew' tr.

L.Kh. -*amatā* abstract: *hamjvāme* Si 156v3 *KT* 1. 104 tr. *mur-šin*.

Et. -j- not -js- requires **fyav-* (IE **g(i)eu-* Pok. 400). Cf. Paštō *šōwul*, NP *jāvidan*, Bal. *jāyag* 'to chew' (*EVP*, p. 106). Yaghn. *šav-* (Andreev, p. 369).

hamjsam- 'to go (together)' I mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. subj., L.Kh.: *hamjsāmānde* P 3513. 46v3 (Asm. 17).

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *hamjsāmāri* Ch 00268. 195-6 *KB* 68 = *hajsāmāre* Ch 00277. 11v3 *KB* 71.

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *hamjsāmāda-* *Vajr.* 9a3 *KT* 3. 21 tr. *samprasthita-* < **hamjsamāda-* (v. H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 120).

1 pl. pres., O.Kh.: *ha<m>jsamane* H 142 NSB 4r1 *KT* 5. 78 tr. *mchi* (? < **hamjsamāmane* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 140 s.v.).

Et. < **ham-gam-*, cf. Av. *hanjasa-*, *hanjamana-* n.; Man. Sogd. **njmn*, **nčmn* (I. G., *GMS*, § 265, p. 42).

hamjsaš- 'to be about to; intend to' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *hamjsašta-*

+inf.: *patišā* Z 2. 98; *pamete* Z 2. 83; *hamihā* Z 2. 97; *haurā* Z 13. 71.

+pres. pt.: *hamjsašda* *barāñā* *Suv.* K. 32r6 *KT* 5. 110 tr. *upasamkramitukāmo bhavet*.

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hamjsašde* Z 2. 83+.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hamjsā're* Z 20. 18; 24. 172.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hamjsašte* Z 13. 71.

3 sg. pf. tr. f., O.Kh.: *hamjsaštātā* Z 13. 76.

Et. < **ham-čaš-*; see *nijsaš-* p. 53.

hamjsul- 'to kindle' tr.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *dai hamjsulyākā* Si 515 *KT* 1. 8 tr. *drod skyed-par byed-do*.

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *hamjsulī* Si 11v3 *KT* 1. 18 (*dai hamjsulī* tr. *drod-pa skyed-la*).

Et. < **ham-+jsul-* < **kau-* 'burn' (IE **kēu-* Pok. 595) H. W. B., *Annali*, 1959, 122-3.

hamjsem- 'to gather' V e tr. ppp. *hamjsonda-*

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *hamjsemāñā* Z 23. 97.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hamjsonde* Z 24. 482.

L.Kh. ppp. *hajsaidī* *JS* 39v1 (for -ai-/au-, cf. *byau-* p. 107).

Et. < **ham-jāmaya-* < **ham-gam-*, v. *hamjsam-*.

hamtrāñ- 'to diminish, remove' V e mid. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh. (ἀπ. λει.): *hamtrāñāre* Si 1911 *KT* 1. 30 tr. *hbyi-bar byed-do*.

Et. < **ham-tar-*, cf. *ustar-* p. 18 (H. W. B.).

hamthraj- 'to oppress' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *hamthriya-*
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hamthrajjāmdā Si* 128v3 *KT* 1. 60.
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hamthriyai* *JS* 17v4 (75).
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *hamthriyāmdā P* 2741. 101 *KT* 2. 91.
 Et. < **ham-θarčaya-* < **ham-θrak-*, v. *hamthris-*. S. Konow's
hamthaltc- (*Saka Studies*, p. 140) is impossible; Dresden's *hamthaly-*,
 p. 467, is unattested.

hamthris- 'to be oppressed' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *hamthriya-*
 3 sg. pres. act.: O.Kh., *hamthristā SS* 77r2 *KT* 5. 339; L.Kh.,
hamthristā Si 9v3 *KT* 1. 14 tr. *ñam-thag-paham*.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hamthrisida P* 3513. 81v2 *KB* 64.
 O.Kh. ppp. *hamthriya Kha* 1. 108a1. 13r5 *KT* 5. 142 tr. *yoñs-su*
bzir-bar gyur-pa.
 Et. Inch. < **ham-θrak-*, cf. B. Sogd. 'ntr'-ys- inch. 'être opprimé' *Vj*
 < **ham-trnxs-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 152c, p. 22). Cf. Av. *θraxta-* *Yt*
 14. 63; Parth. *tryxs-*, *tryxtg* 'être opprimé' (Ghilain, p. 79). IE
 **trenk-* Pok. 1093.

handaj- 'to be ripened' V c intr. (= pass.) ppp. *hamdišta-*
 3 pl. subj., O.Kh.: *handajāro Kha* 1. 58a1 b4 *KT* 5. 132.
 L.Kh. ppp. *hamdišta Si* 142r5 *KT* 1. 82.
 Et. < **han-dajya-* < **ham-dag-*, v. *daj-*, *dajs-* p. 43.

handajāñ- 'to ripen' V e tr. ppp. *handajāñāta-*
 1 sg. subj., L.Kh.: *handajāñāne P* 3513. 52v3 (Asm. 44) tr.
vimocayamānah.
 1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *handajāñātemā Kha* 1. 13 142v4 *KB* 5 tr.
yoñs-su smin-par byas-so.
 Et. Caus. < *handaj-*.

hamdajs- 'to gallop' I b mid. intr. A/B
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hamdajsāre Z* 24. 424.
 Et. Meaning is not 'verbrennen' as Leumann, 'E', p. 518 s.v. (followed
 by Asmussen 'burn, ripen' p. 58 s.v. *hamdajāñ-*), but 'run away' as
 S. Konow, *Primer*, p. 129 s.v. *hamdajsa-*, < **ham-tača-*. 'they
 gallop' cf. ZP *handāk*, H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxi. 3, 1958, 532.

***hamdav-** 'to become hot' ppp. *handauda-*
 O.Kh. ppp. *handaudu Z* 22. 285.
 Et. < **ham-tap-*, cf. Av. *ham.tapta-* Leumann, 'E', p. 437 s.v.
ttauda-. Cf. also B. Sogd. 'ntph 'fièvre' *P* < **ham-tapah-* (Benv.,
TSP, p. 193); Waxī *andav* 'fever' (*IIFL*, ii. 514); Yidgha *i'dou*

'fever' (*IIFL*, ii. 188); Oss. DI *äntäf* 'hot, heat' (H. W. B., *BSOAS*,
 xxvi. 1, 1963, 83).

hamdavāñ- 'to ripen' V e tr.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *hamdavāñāka Si* 142v1 *KT* 1. 82 tr. *pācanam*.
 Et. Caus. < **hamdav-*.

handār- 'to care for' I d mid. tr. B ppp. *handāda-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *handāde Z* 12. 63, 72, 116.
 2 sg. pres. mid.: *hadāra N* 176. 31.
 2 pl. opt., L.Kh.: *hadāriryau P* 2834. 51 *KB* 46.
 3 pl. opt., L.Kh.: *hadārira P* 2834. 37 *KB* 46.
 O.Kh. ppp. *handāda-* *Z* 13. 153.
 Et. < **ham-dāra-* < **ham-dar-*, cf. MPe *hn'r-* (< **ham-dar-*) 'das
 Auge auf etw.) richten' (*Verbum*, p. 193). For **dar-* 'hold', cf. Av.
dar-, pres. I d *dāra-*; OP *dar-*; O.Ind. *dhārayati* 'holds'. MPe
d'r-, *d'st* (*Verbum*, p. 193); NP *dār-*, *dāstan*; Parth. *d'r-*, *dyrd*
 (Ghilain, p. 74); Man. B. Sogd. *δ'r-*; Chr. Sogd. *d'r-*.

hamdev- 'to ripen' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *hamdeve P* 2893. 189, 196 *KT* 3. 90.
 L.Kh. nom. ag.: *hamdevāka Si* 142v2 *KT* 1. 82; *hamdevāka Si*
 142r5 *KT* 1. 82 tr. *smin-par bya-ba*.
 Et. < **ham-tāpaya-* < **ham-tap-*, v. **hamdav-* p. 140. Cf. Av.
tāpaya-.

hamdramj- 'to keep' H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 124; *JRAS*,
 1955, 14-15. III d act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hadrajida Or* 8212. 162. 132 *KT* 2. 8.
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *hamdramjāñā Si* 126v5 *KT* 1. 58 tr. *bsrun-žin*.
 Et. < **ham-dranjaya-* < **ham-drag-*, v. *drjs-* p. 46. Cf. Av.
handraxta-; Parth. 'ndrynj-, 'ndrxt 'condamner' < **ham-drang-*
 (Ghilain, p. 51).

hamdris- 'to hold together' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *hamdrriya-*

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hamdrrištā Si* 122v1 *KT* 1. 50.
 O.Kh. ppp. *hamdrriye Z* 20. 53.
 Et. Inch. < **ham-drag-*. Cf. Parth. *drxs-* 'se maintenir, rester' inch.
 < **drang-* (Ghilain, p. 79).

hamphāj- 'to take hold of' (?) V e tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *hamphājāñā Si* 155r2 *KT* 1. 102 tr. *phur-te* 'to wrap'.
 Et. ? < **ham-bājaya-* < **ham-bag-*. Cf. O.Ind. *bhaj-*, *bhājayati*; Av.
bag- 'als Anteil zuweisen, zugehören' (H. W. B.). See *našphaj-*.

hamphīśś- 'to mix' V e tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *hamphīśāñā Si* 130r3-4 *KT* 1. 62+ tr. *sbyar-na*.

Et. Caus. < inch. **hamphīs-* (v. *usphīs-* p. 19) < **ham-bag-*, v. *hamphāj-*. Cf. also *hambisa-* 'heap' (*Z* 22. 139).

***hamphus-** 'to share in, be endowed with' IV a act. intr. A/B ppp. *hamphuta-*

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hamphūsīde P* 3513. 71v2 *KT* 1. 247 tr. *samyuyiṣu*.

O.Kh. ppp.: *hamphuta Or* 9609. 56v5 *KT* 1. 240; id. *Suv. K.* 33v5 *KT* 5. 111 tr. *°prayuktāni*.

Et. Inch. < **ham-baug-*, v. **hamphūj-*. v. 1. *hambuj-*.

***hamphūj-** 'to enfold, embrace' V e ppp. *hamphuta-*

1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hamphutemā D.* x. 10c r4 *KT* 5. 261.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hamphvai ḡS* 13r1 (53).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hamphve P* 2781. 125 (57) *KT* 3. 70 (v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 582); *P* 3513. 60r4 *KT* 1. 242.

Et. Formally **hamphūj-* (not *hamphuj-* as Dresden, p. 467 s.v.), **hamphus-* (L.Kh. spelling *hamphūs-*), *hamphuta-* like *vasūj-*, *vasus-*, *vasuta-*. **hamphūj-* < **ham-baujaya-* < **ham-baug-*, v. 2. *hambuj-* (H. W. B.).

hambañ- 'to compose' V a act. tr. A/B ppp. *hambasta-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hambañindā Z* 24. 385.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hambaste Z* 5. 3, 5; L.Kh., *hambistā Vajr.* 2a4 *KT* 3. 20.

Et. < **ham-bandaya-* < **ham-band-*, v. *bañ-* p. 92. Cf. Parth. 'mbst 'tresser' (Ghilain, p. 55); B. Sogd. 'nβ'st inf. 'atteler' *Vf* 342; 'nβ'st'k 'lié, assemblé' P.

hambad- 'to stop' V c act. intr. (= pass.) C

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hambette Si* 13r3 *KT* 1. 20 tr. *hgags-pa* (stop).

Et. < **ham-badya-* < **ham-band-*, v. *hambañ-*. See 1. *bad-* p. 92.

hambid- 'to pierce' I c tr. B

2 pl. imper., O.Kh.: *hambitta Z* 24. 414.

Et. < **ham-baid-*, v. *bid-* p. 96.

hambīth- 'to retain' V b tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *hambīthe Si* 18r5 *KT* 1. 28 tr. *sri-bar byed-ciñ*.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *hambīthāḡā Si* 5v3 *KT* 1. 8.

Et. < **ham-varṭhya-* < **ham-var-*, cf. Parth. 'mword-, 'mwošt 'rassembler' (Ghilain, pp. 53-54); MPe 'murd- 'herwenden' (*Verbum*, p. 170).

hambīr- 'to be filled' V c act. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *hambāda-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hambīdā Z* 2. 194; 6. 31; 10. 22.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hambīrindā Z* 3. 20, 25.

O.Kh. ppp. *hambāda-* *Z* 14. 69+.

Et. < **ham-parya-* < **ham-par-*, v. 2. *pīr-* p. 84. Cf. MPe *hmb'r-* etc., v. *hamber-*.

1. hambuj- 'to enjoy' H. W. B. I c act. intr. B

+I-A: *pāta'ñyau jsa Z* 10. 32.

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hambūdā Z* 10. 32.

Et. < **ham-buja-* < **ham-baug-*. Cf. Kh. *būjsana Hed.* 17. 24 *KT* 4. 32 'feasting' (H. W. B., *KT* 4. 116; *Annali*, 1959, 135). O.Ind. *bhuñktē, bhunakti* 'enjoys'.

2. hambuj- 'to bow down' I c act. intr. B ppp. **hambujśāta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hambūdā Z* 22. 194, 268.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hambujśye Ch* c. 001. 945 *KB T* 138.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *habujśyāmdā Ch* c. 001. 960 *KB T* 139.

Et. < **ham-buja-* < **ham-baug-*. O.Ir. **baug-* 'bend', cf. O.Ind. *bhujāti* 'bends'. Av. *aipiḍbaoya-* Yt 15. 45 (v. *AIW* 85) doubtful.

hambus- 'to agree, be fit' IV a act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hambustā P* 2026. 36 *KT* 3. 49; *habaustā P* 2958. 52 *KB T* 41 = *hambaušti P* 2798. 170 *KB T* 43.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hambusidā Hoernle* 143a 4 *KT* 2. 68.

For meaning, cf. L.Kh. adj. *ahambusana-* *Si* 8v4 *KT* 1. 12 tr. *mi-hphrod-pa*.

Et. Inch. < **ham-baud-* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 139 s.v. Cf. Parth. 'mbwy- 'baiser, embrasser' < **ham-baud-* (Ghilain, p. 65).

For inch., cf. Parth. *pdbws-* 'désirer' (Ghilain, p. 80).

hamber- 'to fill' V e act. tr. A ppp. *hambāda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hamberāte Z* 10. 32; 22. 110; 24. 175.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *haberindā Z* 24. 180.

O.Kh. ppp. *hambāda-* *Z* 10. 24.

Et. < **ham-pāraya-* < **ham-par-*, cf. Man. Sogd. 'mbyr- 'to fill' < **ham-pāraya-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 544, p. 85); Parth. 'mb'r- (Ghilain, p. 75); MPe *hmb'r-* (*Verbum*, p. 193); NP *ambār-*, *ambāstan*.

hambrāñ- 'to heal' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *hambrāñe Si* 143v2 *KT* 1. 84 tr. *hđrub-par hgyuro*;
hābrāñe Si 144r1 *KT* 1. 84 tr. *hcho-bar byedo*.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *hambrāñākā Si* 5v3 *KT* 1. 8 tr. *bco-bar byed-do*.

Et. Caus. < *hambrūd-*.

hambrīh- 'to share' mid. tr. A/B ppp. *hambirsta-*

+acc. and I-A (comitative): Hed. 23. 19 *KT* 4. 37.

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *hambrīhe* Hed. 23. 19 *KT* 4. 37; *habrrīhū JS* 39v1, 2 (bis).

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *hambrīhāre* Kha 1. 221. 37 *KT* 3. 130.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *hambrīhāñā Si* 133r1 *KT* 1. 66 tr. *sbyar-bar byaho*.

ppp., O.Kh.: *hambirsta Z* 23. 157; L.Kh., *hambirstā Si* 135r1 *KT* 1. 70 tr. *sbyar-ba*.

Et. < **ham-raiθ-*, v. *ārih-* p. 11. Cf. Av. *ham.raēθwaya-* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 139.

hambrūd- 'to heal' I b act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act.: O.Kh., *hambruittā Z* 22. 128; D III. 1 v4 *KT* 5. 70 tr. *hcho-bar hgyur-ro*; L.Kh., *hambrūitta JP* 76r3 *KT* 1. 161.

Et. < **ham-rauda-*, cf. Av. **raod-* 'wachsen', pres. I b *raoda-* (v. S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 139 s.v.).

hagav- 'to long'

L.Kh. -*āmātā* abstract: *hagavāma JS* 24r4 (105) 'longing'.

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *hagavaṃdai Si* 133v3 *KT* 1. 68, tr. *bskam-pa* (long).

Et. < **ham-gav-* cf. Av. *gūnaoti Yt* 10. 16 Dresden, p. 489 s.v. *hagavāma-*. But Av. means 'increases', Kh. 'longs' (v. I. G., *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, xv. 6, 1958, 263). *ha-* in both occurrences could be L.Kh. spelling for *ham-*. Cf. **gav-* 'to lack, need' in Oss. D. *yāun*, I. *gāun*; B. Sogd. *γw-* 'manquer, falloir' P; Parth. *prg'w-* 'to lack' (*MirMan* iii) (I. G.). H. W. B. gives me Oss. D. *yāun* 'to intend, desire'.

hajsem- 'to send' H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. 1, 1949, 40. V e tr. ppp. **hajsauṇda-*

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *hajsīmūm P* 2790. 104 *KT* 2. 114.

1 pl. pres., L.Kh.: *hajsīmām P* 2790. 74 *KT* 2. 113.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *hajsēmyari* Domoko A4. 5. 6 *KT* 2. 62; *ibid.* 8 *KT* 2. 63.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *hajsāmdāmdā P* 2741. 35 *KT* 2. 88; 38 *KT* 2. 89; 80 *KT* 2. 90.

L.Kh. inf.: *hajsāmdē P* 5538a 8 *KT* 2. 126+.

Et. < **fra-jāmaya-* < **fra-gam-* H. W. B., loc. cit. See *hamjsam-* p. 139.

hataljs- 'to flutter' I b mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hataljsā're Z* 3. 98; *hataljsāre Z* 15. 113.

Et. < **fra-tark-* H. W. B. Cf. O.Ind. *tarkū-* 'spindle' (IE **terk-* Pok. 1077).

hatijs- 'to shine' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hatiysde Z* 16. 33.

Et. < **fra-taija-* < **fra-taig-*, cf. O.Ind. *téjas-* n. 'splendour' H. W. B., *Annali*, 1959, 135.

hatīś- 'to give' V e act. tr./mid. intr. (= pass.) A/B ppp. *hatāṣṭa-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *haiṣimi* Kha 1. 171 3b3 *KT* 1. 257.

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *haiṣa Z* 5. 43.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hatīṣindā Z* 18. 20.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *haiṣāre* *Suv.* K 65r4 *KT* 5. 116.

The pt. nec. is spelled *hatīṣāñā* with *ai* over *ha* in H 144 NSB 19 r4 *KT* 5. 92.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hatāṣṭe Z* 2. 237; *hatāṣṭe Z* 5. 43; L.Kh., *haiṣṭa* Ch 00266. 95 *KBT* 24 (= *hūḍe P* 2957. 46 *KBT* 33 = *huḍai P* 2025. 152 *KBT* 16).

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *hatāṣṭāndū Z* 5. 31.

Et. Uncertain, see R. E. E., *AM*, n.s. xii. 2, 1966, 164-5. The comparison with Av. *fra-aēš-* made by S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 138 (followed by Asmussen, p. 60) is phonologically impossible, as the O.Kh. spelling is always *-ṣ-* (never *-ss-*), and L.Kh. regularly has *-ṣ'*. This indicates original **-z-* followed by palatalization.

hatcañ- 'to break' III d act. tr. A ppp. *hatcasta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hatcañāte Z* 6. 34.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hatcañīndi Z* 22. 198.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hatcaste Z* 24. 266; *hatcastā Z* 23. 15.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *hatcastāmdā* Ch 00269. 46-47 *KT* 2. 44 (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xii. 3-4, 1948, 621).

Et. < **fra-sčandaya-* < **fra-skand-*, cf. Av. *skand-* 'brechen', *frasčindaya-*. **fra-skand-* also in B. Sogd. *βskstw Vim.* 116 = *kalpa* < **fra-skasta-* W. B. Henning ap. I. G., *GMS*, § 365, n. 1, p. 55. *βskstw* = id. P 20. 13 (v. Benv., *TSP*, p. 233). IE **sked-* Pok. 918.

In some places *hatcasta-* seems to require a different interpretation. *hatcastā* Hed. 39b2 *KT* 4. 43 may be 3 sg. pf. tr. m. 'he gave' and

hatcastāmdā Hoernle 143a 11 *KT* 2. 68 (quoted H. W. B., *KT* 4. 150) may be 3 pl. pf. tr. 'they gave'. These will then belong to *hatcan-* in *hatcanaka* P 3513. 79v2 *KBT* 63 'gifts' H. W. B., *Brown Vol.*, 1962, 20, n. 12, < *s-kan-d- 'cover' beside *kan- (v. *pacan-* p. 62); cf. semantically, O.Ind. *chādayati* 'covers', *ācchādayati* 'gives' (cf. 'invest'), v. H. W. B., loc. cit.

hatcy- 'to be broken' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) A/B ppp. *hatcasta-*
3 sg. subj., L.Kh.: *hatcyāve* *Si* 144v3 *KT* 1. 86 tr. *chag-gam*.
3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *hatcyāre* P 2781. 147 (79) *KT* 3. 71.
L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *hatcyadā* *Si* 131v4 *KT* 1. 64 tr. *grum-ñiñ*.
O.Kh. ppp. *hatcasta-* Z 13. 138; 20. 44.
Et. < *fra-sčadya- < *fra-skand-, v. *hatcañ-* p. 145.

hats- 'to take off (clothing)' V b mid. tr. A/B
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hatsāre* Z 15. 86, 111.
Et. < *fra-čyā-, see R. E. E., *AM*, n.s. xii. 2, 1966, 157. v. *patāts-* p. 67.

hanam- 'to bend down' V a intr. A
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hanamāte* Z 2. 89.
Et. < *fra-namaya- < *fra-nam-, cf. Av. *frā.nəma-* 'fliehen vor';
MPe *prum-* 'gehen' < *fra-nam- (*Verbum*, p. 173). O.Ind. *ndmati* 'bends'.

hanaśś- 'to go astray, fail' V b act. intr. A ppp. *hanašta-*
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hanaśśūte* Z 2. 69, 198.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hanaśśidā* *JP* 95v3-4 *KT* 1. 177.
L.Kh. ppp. *hanašta* P 4099. 160 *KBT* 120.
1 sg. pf. tr. m. (intr.), O.Kh.: *hanaštāimā* Z 2. 133.
3 pl. pf. tr. (intr.), O.Kh.: *hanaštāndā* Z 24. 180.
Et. < *fra-nas-ya- < *fra-nas-, cf. Parth. *frnštg* 'détruit' < *fra-nas- (Ghilain, p. 69). See *panaśś-* p. 70.

hanāśś- 'to destroy' V e act. tr. A/B
1 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hanāśśimā* P 3513. 48r4 (Asm. 24) tr. *vimuhyet*.
1 pl. pres., O.Kh.: *hanāśśāmanai* *Suv.* K. 32v2-3 *KT* 5. 110 (? subj.).
Et. < *fra-nāśaya- < *fra-nas-, v. *hanaśś-*. O.Ind. *nāśayati* 'destroys'.

hanem- 'to bend down' V e tr. A ppp. *hanata-*
1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *hanaimūm* P 3513. 46v3 (Asm. 16) tr. *nāmayamī*.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hanemāte* *SS* 21r1 *KT* 5. 331 tr. *hdud-na*.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *hanatāndā* *FM* 25, 1 b4 *KT* 3. 125.

Et. < *fra-nāmaya- < *fra-nam-, v. *hanam-* p. 146. Cf. Av. *frā.nāmaya-* 'niederbeugen'; Parth. *frn'm-* 'mener, conduire' (Ghilain, p. 73).

haphan- 'to move, quiver' H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 120.

L.Kh. pres. pt.: *haphada* P 2956. 13 *KT* 3. 37 = id. Ch 00266. 19
KT 3. 34 = id. P 2025. 29 *KT* 3. 46. **haphanda-* < **haphananda-*.
Et < *fra-fan- H. W. B., loc. cit. See *našphāñ-* p. 52.

haphast- 'to flutter' mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *haphastāre* Z 20. 3.
O.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *haphastandā* Z 23. 141.
Et. < *fra-phast- p. 90.

haphār- 'to be distracted' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *haphāda-*, *haphāda-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *haphāde* Z 4. 72 (for -ā-, cf. *āphāde* p. 9).
O.Kh. ppp.: *haphadā* Z 7. 25; *haphāda* Z 4. 76 (-ā- due to *haphār-* etc.).
O.Kh. noun: *haphāra-* Z 5. 6+.
Et. < *fra-frya- < *fra-far-, v. *āphār-* p. 8.

hamān- 'to make' III b act. tr. B

+predicative adj.: *vasuta* Z 10. 23; *pāta'jsu* Z 22. 126.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hamāndā* Z 10. 23; 22. 126; 23. 98.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hamānīndā* Stein E 1. 7 149v1 *KT* 5. 79.
Et. < *mi-nā- < *maj-, cf. O.Ind. *minōti* 'builds'. Ir. **maj-* in Av. ppp. in *bərəzi.mita-*. See also *nārmān-* p. 55.

hamāh- 'to change' (intr.) I c mid. intr. B ppp. *hamāsta-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *hamāttā* Z 15. 93; 22. 131; L.Kh., *hamāitte* *JS* 16v2 (70).
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hamāyāre* Z 24. 2; *hamyāre* Z 6. 17.
O.Kh. ppp.: *hamāsta-* Z 5. 104+.
3 sg. pf. m.: O.Kh., *hamāstā* Z 24. 3; *hamāste* Z 5. 104; L.Kh., *hami'stā* *JS* 16v2 (70).
Et. < *fra-miθa- < *fra-maiθ-. Cf. Av. *maēθa* 'schwankend' Y. 30. 9 (v. S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 139 s.v.).

hamih- 'to change' V e act. tr. A ppp. *hamāsta-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hamihimā* Z 2. 52.
2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *hamiha* Z 2. 95.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hamihāte* H 143a NSB 24r5 *KT* 5. 86.

O.Kh. inf. *hamihā* Z 2. 97.

3 sg. pf. tr. m. (?), O.Kh., *hamāstä* Z 24. 4.

Et. < **fra-maiṭaya*- caus. < **fra-maiṭ*-, v. *hamāh*-.

hamurr- 'to crush' III b tr. B

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hamurdā* Z 17. 19.

Et. < **fra*-+*murr*- p. 110.

hayār- 'to rejoice, be happy' V c act. intr. B ppp. *hayāda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hayāda* Z 24. 215 (for -ā-, cf. *āphāde* p. 9).

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hayārindā* Z 3. 58; 14. 82; *hayārindi* Z. 3. 58, 60; *hayārindi* E 1. 7 19 v 5 KT 5. 389 tr. *ramante*.

O.Kh. inf.: *hayāde* Z 14. 84.

Et. < **fra-grbya*- H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 25. Doubtful; v. *hamgrih*- p. 138. < **fra-kar*- to IE *(s)ker-, σκαίρω 'dance', O.Ind. *kṛidati* 'plays' H. W. B.

hays- 'to drive, send' I b act. tr. A/B ppp. *hašta-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *haysa* Hed. 11. 7 KT 4. 28 'conduct' (KT 4. 99); id. Or 11252. 35b4 KT 2. 28 'send' (KT 4. 100).

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *haysindi* Z 22. 331.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *haysāñā* Si 104r2 KT 1. 40 tr. *byas-nas*.

L.Kh. inf.: *haysā* Ch 00269. 85 KT 2. 46.

Cf. *hīnāysa*- Ch c. 001 987 KBT 140 'general' (v. H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 2-3, 1936, 790-1) < **hīnā*-+**az*-.

L.Kh. inf.: *hašta* Ch 1. 0021a, a22 KT 2. 54.

Et. < O.Ir. **az*- (with prothetic *h*-), cf. Av. *az*-, O.Ind. *aj*- S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 143 s.v.; H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xv. 3, 1953, 538; KT 4. 102 (not to Av. *haz*-, O.Ind. *sah*- as H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 74).

haysān- 'to be aware' III b intr. ppp. *haysānda-*

O.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *haysānandaa*- Z 12. 112; 24. 440.

O.Kh. ppp.: *haysānda*- Z 17. 24.

Et. < **fra-zan*-, cf. Parth. *frz'ng* 'sage' (Ghilain, p. 84). See also *paysān*- p. 71.

haysñ- 'to bathe' V b tr. A ppp. *haysnāta-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *haysñā* P 5538b 85 KT 3. 124.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *haysñāte* Z 4. 96.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *haysñāñā* Si 100r5 KT 1. 34.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *haysnāte* Z 2. 170; 21. 13.

Et. < **fra-snāya*- < **fra-snā*-, cf. Av. *frasnaya*-, *frasnāta*-. Cf. also MPe *sn'y*- 'reinigen' (*Verbum*, p. 203); B. Sogd. *sn'y*-, *sn't*-.

harañ- 'to throw' ? III a act. tr. A/B ppp. *harasta-*

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *haraña* Z 13. 72.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *harañindā* Z 22. 265.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *harastai* JS 23v2 (102).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *haraste* Z 13. 52.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *harastāndā* Z 13. 137; *harastāndā indā* N 158. 8.

Et. < **fra-randa*- < **fra-rad*-, cf. O.Ind. *rādhyati* 'succumbs'; *randhāyati* 'subjects' (v. S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 141 s.v.).

harays- 'to extend' I b mid. intr. (tr. fig.); act. L.Kh. B ppp. *harašta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *haraysde* Z 2. 132, 182 'stretches out'.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *haraysindā* Hed. 23. 17 KT 4. 36.

3 sg. pf. m. (intr.), O.Kh.: *harašte* Z 24. 258; *haraštā* Z 2. 142.

In L.Kh. used tr. of 'extending favours': 3 sg. pres., L.Kh., *mušdā haraysde* P 2788. 12 KT 2. 109; *mvai'sdā haraysde* Ch 00269. 118 KT 2. 48 (v. Dresden, pp. 483-4 s.v. *rays*).

Et. < **fra-raz*-, cf. Av. *raz*- 'richten'; v. *rrāš*- p. 115.

harāš- 'to extend' V e tr. ppp. *harašta-*

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *harāšu* Z 4. 109.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *harāša'ra* Ch 1. 0021b, a2. 28 KBT 150.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *haraštai* JS 23v1 (102).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *harašte* Z 2. 136; 5. 45.

3 sg. pf. tr. f., O.Kh.: *haraštātā* Z 5. 107.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *haraštādi* Or 11252. 34. 11 KT 2. 27.

Et. < **fra-rāzaya*- caus. < **fra-raz*-, cf. Av. *raz*-, *rāzaya*-. Cf. also MPe *pr'r*z- 'ausstrecken' < **frā-raz*- (*Verbum*, p. 187).

harāt'- 'to burst' ? I b mid. tr. intr. B ppp. *haršta-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *haršdā* Suv. K 63v7 KT 5. 115; *haršdi* Z 20. 57 (so now H. W. B. against Leumann, 'E', p. 522 s.v. *haršda*- and H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xx. 1, 1957, 59); L.Kh., *haršda* P 4099. 31, 32 KBT 114.

O.Kh. ppp. *haršta* Z 22. 258.

Note that in Z 6. 23 *harāta*' is 2 sg. imper. (not 2 pl. as Dresden, p. 490 s.v. *haršta*-).

Et. < **fra-raiš*-, see *birāt*'- p. 98.

hariys- 'to tremble' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hariysde* SS 80v4 KT 5. 341; *ha<r>i<y>de* H 143a NSB 10+25 v3 KT 5. 84.

3 pl. pres. mid.: O.Kh., *hariysāre* Z 24. 480; L.Kh., *hariysāri* Vajr. 25a3 KT 3. 25 tr. *saṃprasīyanti*.

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *harīysāñu* H 143a NSB 9v1 KT 5. 83.
Et. < *fra- + 2. *rīys-* p. 116.

harrūñ- 'to shine' VI b act. intr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *harrūñe* JS 7r4 (26); *harūñe* P 2906. 27 KT 3. 98 = *harūñai* P 2910. 31-32 KT 3. 99.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *harūñindā* P 2782. 8 KT 3. 58 = *harūñida* Or 8212. 162. 90 KT 2. 6.
Et. Denom. < *harrūna-, v. *bārūñ-* p. 99. Cf. Man. Sogd. *frwwoq* 'flash, brightness' < *fra-rauka- (W. B. Henning, *Sogdica*, p. 29; I. G., *GMS*, § 319, p. 49).

hars- 'to be left, remain' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *harita-*

3 sg. pres. act.: O.Kh., *harstā* Z 24. 428, 447; L.Kh., *harstā* Si 101r3 KT 1. 36 tr. *lus-pas*.
1 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *harsāmā* Z 22. 107.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *harsīndi* Z 2. 217.
3 sg. pf. intr. m.: O.Kh., *harāte* Z 5. 106; L.Kh., *harye* P 2783. 235 (74) KT 3. 75 'he was left behind' (not 'they left him' as H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 571).
1 pl. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *haryadū* P 2786. 184 KT 2. 99 = id. Or 8212. 186. 220 KT 2. 11 < *harātandā mā.
3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *harita* Z 22. 288; id. f., O.Kh.: *harāte* Z 24. 269.
Et. Inch. < *fra-raik-, v. *pars-* p. 76.

haškīm- 'to make' III d act. tr. A ppp. *haškaunda-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *haškīme* P 3513. 20v2 KBT 56.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *haškīmīdā* P 3513. 16v3-4 KBT 55.
O.Kh. ppp. *haškaunda-* Z 5. 56; 24. 384; *haškonda-* Z 24. 382.
Et. < *fra-skambaya- < *fra-ska(m)b-, cf. Av. *frascimbaya-* V. 18. 74.

hašpalgy- 'to make bloom' V e tr.

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *hašpalgya* Z 22. 191.
Et. < *fra-sparjaya- < *fra-sparg-, v. *gusprīs-* p. 30. Cf. Av. *fra-sparəya-* m. 'Schößling, Zweig' Y. 10. 5. Cf. B. Sogd. 'sprym'k 'fleur' P; NP *siparam* (Lazard, § 76, p. 161).

hašprīs- 'to bloom' IV a intr. ppp. *hašprīya-*

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *hašprīsāmdai* P 4089b 11 KT 3. 117.
3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *hašprīya* Z 24. 203.
Et. Inch. < *fra-sparg-, v. *hašpagyl-*.

hasamīth- 'to destroy' tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hasamīthātā* Suv. K. 63v7 KT 5. 115; 65v4 KT 5. 116.
Et. ? See p. 242.

hastrīs- Meaning? IV a act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hastrīsīdā* P 2786. 30 KT 2. 94; *hastrīsīda* P 2786. 114 KT 2. 97.
Et. < *fra- + *strīs-* p. 135.

haspās- 'to strive' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *haspāta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *haspāstā* Z 11. 47.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *haspāsīndā* Z 13. 6; Or 9609. 56v2 KT 1. 240 tr. *vyāpayisyanti*; *haspāsīndā* Z 13. 8.
3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *haspāta* īndi Z 22. 290.
Et. Inch. < *fra-spaik-. Cf. Kh. *spātaa-* 'flower' Z 2. 80++ MPe 'spyx-, *spyxt 'to shine; bloom' (*Verbum*, p. 178); ZP *spēč-* 'emit' H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 103-4.

haspij- 'to urge' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *haspāta-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *haspijīndā* Z 2. 95; Kha 1. 119 29r1 KT 3. 127.
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *haspyāmdā* P 2958. 119 KBT 42.
Et. < *fra-spaicaya- caus. < *fra-spaik-, v. *haspās-*.

hasv- 'to swell' I b act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hasvīmdā* Si 140r3 KT 1. 78 tr. *skrañ-ba yin*.
Et. < *fra-sav-. Pres. I b as not *hasś-. IE *keu-/ *kuā- Pok. 592.
O.Ind. *śvāyati* but *śav-* in *śavas-* n. Av. *spā(y)-* 'aufschwellen'.

***hahalj-** 'to direct upon' V e tr. ppp. *hahrīya-*

3 sg. subj.: *haha'jāte* *AdhS* p. 94, l. 19+.
1 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hahrīyai* P 3513. 67v1 KT 1. 245 tr. *careyañ*.
L.Kh. noun: *haharka* P 3513. 75r3-4 KT 1. 249 < *fra-θarka-ka-.
Et. < *fra-θrak-.

hahāls- 'to be glad' ? IV a intr.

O.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *hahālsandau* Kha 1. 13. 142v2 KBT 5 tr. 大歡喜 (T. I. 642. 642B). Old L.Kh. *hahi'samdaī* Kha 1. 306a 5r3 KBT 8 (with *ramamdaī*).
Et. ? Perhaps in some way inch. to *hayār-* p. 148 (for -h-/y-, cf. *hamāyāre* < *hamāh-* p. 147).

***hahvah-** 'to hash' S. Konow, *A Medical Text in Khotanese*, 1941, 15+. tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *hahvāṇa* JP 73v1 KT 1. 159+; 49r4 KT 1. 141.
Et. < **fra-hvah-*, cf. B. Sogd. *βrγw'y-* 'to chop' SCE (I. G.).

hāy- 'to help' (ἀπ. λεγ.) V e tr.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *hāyarā* Hed. 20. 8 KT 4. 34.
Et. < **frādaya-*, cf. Av. 'frād-, *frādaya-* 'fördern' H. W. B., KT 4. 124. Cf. also Parth. *wyfr'y-* 'faire progresser' (Ghilain, p. 60); MPe *wypr'y-* 'fördern' (*Verbum*, p. 176).

***hārūd-** 'to grow' I b act. intr. A/B ppp. *hārsta-*

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *hāruvīndā* Or 9609. 56r6 KT 1. 240 tr. *prarohayīṣyanti*; L.Kh., *hārveda* P 4099. 275 KBT 126; *hārvaiddā* Vajr. 43b2 KT 3. 29.
O.Kh. ppp. *hārsta-* Z 4. 61+.
3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *hārstā* SS 80r3 KT 5. 340.
Et. < **frā-raud-*, v. *hambrūd-* p. 144. Cf. Av. *frāurusta-* Yt 18. 6.
For *hā-*, see p. 242.

hām- 'to be, become' mid. intr. A ppp. *hāmāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hāmāte* Z 2. 76++.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hāmāre* Z 3. 147++.
3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *hāmāta* Z 22. 334.
L.Kh. *ham-*, *him-*, *hem-*; ppp. *hamya-*, *himya-*, *hemya-* v. Dresden, p. 467 s.v. *ham-*.
Uses: +nom. complement (v. R. E. E., BSOAS, xxviii. 1, 1965, 24, § I. 2): *ṣā balysā brāte hāmīya* Z 13. 69 'Would he become the Buddha's brother?' *ttai hāmāte* Z 2. 124+ 'thus it occurs to him'; *ttai hāmātu* Z 23. 29+ 'thus it occurred to him', and very similar to the Skt it translates, *ttye tta hāmātu* Or 9609. 5v4 KT 1. 234 tr. *taṣyaitad abhavat*; but probably indigenous, cf. *kai ju hāmāte* Z 3. 66 'if it should occur to one' (v. R. E. E., loc. cit., p. 29, § III. 10(c)).
hām- is used to express 'potentiality' or the 'consummation of an action' (v. *yan-* p. 111) with intr. verbs and in the passive. Cf. Sogd. *βw-* beside *kwn-* (v. I. G., GMS, §§ 881, 884-5, pp. 130-2). Examples: 1. with intr. verbs: *ku hā tsute hāmāte* Z 22. 128 'when he has gone away'; *cīyā . . . ṣṣamana āta hāmāre* Z 24. 473 'when the monks have come'; *ku . . . nātā'sta hāmāre* Z 24. 488 'when they have sat down'; *ka . . . nirvānā ttranda hāmānde* Z 22. 92 'may they be able to enter nirvāṇa'; 2. in the passive: *ūtca biṣṣa khaṣṭa hāmāte* Z 2. 120 'the water can all be drunk up'; *ne hvatā hāmāre . . . puṇa* Z 3. 149 'his merits cannot be told'.
Et. ? See p. 242.

hāv- 'to appropriate' VI mid. tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hāvīyā* Z 3. 138; 9. 17; *hāvīye* Z 5. 79; *hivīyā* Z 7. 37; *hivīye* Z 3. 138; 6. 46 < **hāvīyāte* (cf. Leumann, 'E', p. 525 s.v. *hāvīa-*).
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hāvīyāre* Z 4. 68; *hivīyāre* Z 2. 226; 4. 76; 9. 8.
O.Kh. inf.: *hivīye* Z 22. 112.
O.Kh. nom. ag.: *hivīyāka-* Z 22. 156, 163.
O.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *hivīyāmatā-* Z 5. 55, 57, 58; *hivīyāmata* Suv. K. 34v4 KT 5. 112 tr. *parigrahaṃ*.
Et. Denom. < *hāvīa-*, *hivīa-* 'suus'.

hīs- 'to come' IV a act. intr. B suppletive ppp. *āta-*

+loc. goal of motion (v. R. E. E., BSOAS, xxviii. 1, 1965, 32, § V. 1): Z 22. 115+.
3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hīstā* Z 22. 115++.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hīśindā* Z 3. 72+.
3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *ātā* Z 2. 99+.
3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *āta* Z 5. 23.
Et. *hīs-/āta-* suppletive like Man. Sogd. 'ys-/yt-' (I. G., GMS, § 603, p. 94). Man. Sogd. 'ys- < **ā-isa-* (I. G., GMS, § 539, p. 83). Kh. *hīs-* is likely therefore to have the same origin (with prothetic *h-*). Difficulty arises in trying to account also for *īs-* 'to return' (p. 14). If *īs-* is < **ā-isa-*, we would expect *īs-/āta-*. It seems likely that *īs-* is < **ā-isa-* where **isa-* is inch. < **aiš-* and *hīs-* < **ā-isa-* where **isa-* is inch. < **ay-* 'go' (Av. 'ay-; O.Ind. *ēti* 'goes'), the prothetic *h-* developing to enable the two verbs to be distinguished. The inch. of **ay-* is possibly also represented in Orm. *nīs-* 'to go out' < **niš-isa-* (IIFL, i. 403); *wīs-* 'to enter' < **abi-isa-* (IIFL, i. 411). *āta-* < **āgata-*, cf. Av. *agata-* V. 19. 31; O.Ind. *āgata-*; Parth. 'gd' (Ghilain, p. 47).

huṣ- 'to become dry' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *huṣṭa-*

3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *huṣṭi* JP 95v3 KT 1. 177; *hausṭe* Si 121v1-2 KT 1. 48 tr. *bskams-nas*.
3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *hvāri* JP 109v2 KT 1. 189.
O.Kh. inf.: *hū* SS 35r2 KT 5. 336 = id. H 147 NS 110 42r1 KT 5. 74 < **hūṣi* < **hausai*.
L.Kh. ppp. in *dūma-hauṣṭa* Si 100v1 KT 1. 34 'smoke-dried' (quoted Dresden, p. 490 s.v. *hus-*).
2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *huṣṭi* JS 28r3 (123) 'you shrivelled up' (Dresden, p. 439; not < **hūs-* as H. W. B., AM, n.s. ii. 1, 1951, 31).
Et. < **haus-*, cf. Av. *haoš-* 'exarēscere', pres. I b *haoša-* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 145 s.v.

huṣṣ- 'to grow' I c act. intr. B ppp. *huṣṣāta-*; *huṣṣāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hustā* Z 11. 50+.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *huṣṣindā* *Suv.* K. 31r6 *KT* 5. 109 tr. *vivardhayet*.

O.Kh. ppp. *huṣṣāta-* Z 23. 128+; *huṣṣāta-* Z 22. 245.

2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *huṣṣāvi* Ch 00271. 13 *KT* 2. 49.

3 sg. pf. intr. m.: L.Kh., *huṣṣā* P 2798. 161 *KB* 43 = id. P 2958.

42 *KB* 41 < *huṣṣātā* Z 24. 241 (O.Kh.).

2 pl. pf. tr. f. (intr.), O.Kh.: *huṣṣātāndā sta* Z 22. 245.

Et. < **uxša-* < **vaxš-*, cf. Av. *vaxš-* 'grow', pres. V c *uxšya-* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 145 s.v.; Leumann, 'E', p. 526 s.v.; H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 33 (cf. also B. Sogd. *γwšy-*; v. I. G., *GMS*, § 428, p. 65).

huṣṣāñ- 'to increase' V e mid. tr. A ppp. **huṣṣāñāta-*

1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *huṣṣāñe* Or 9609. 56r3 *KT* 1. 240 tr. *vivardhayiṣyāmi*.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *huṣṣāñāte* Or 9609. 54r3 *KT* 1. 238 tr. *vivardhayiṣyati*; id. *Suv.* K. 34r7 *KT* 5. 112 tr. *vivardhayet*.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *huṣṣāñāre* Si 17v3 *KT* 1. 28 tr. *hphel-ba*.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *huṣṣāñāka* Si 17v4 *KT* 1. 26; *huṣṣāñāka* Ch 1. 0021a, 110 *KT* 2. 53.

L.Kh. 3 sg. pres. or pf. tr. m.: *hūṣvāñai* Ch 00266. 75 *KB* 23 = *huṣvāñe* P 2025. 126 *KB* 15 = *hūṣvāñye* P 2957. 29 *KB* 32 (-v- due to development in L.Kh. of -ā- to [o:]).

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *huṣṣāñai* JS 10v1 (41); *hūṣāñai* JS 13v2 (56).

Et. Caus. < *huṣṣ-*.

hūs- 'to sleep' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *hūta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hūstā* Z 9. 17; 12. 60, 88.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hūṣindā* Z 4. 93.

3 sg. pf. tr. m. (intr.), O.Kh.: *hūte* *Suv.* K. 67v5 *KT* 5. 118 tr. *supto*.

3 sg. pf. tr. f. (intr.), O.Kh.: *hūtātā* Z 13. 55.

Et. < **hvaṣa-* inch. < **hvaṣ-*, cf. Av. *xvāp-*, *xvāpta-* inch. *xvāṣa-*. Av. has presented a problem in that **hufsa-* with reduced grade root is expected in the inch. B. Sogd. **wβs-* (3 sg. impf. *wβs*), cf. Yaghn. *ūfs-*, was therefore derived < **hufsa-* (v. I. G., *GMS*, § 539, p. 83; § 620, p. 97). But Kh. has also *hūna-* 'sleep' < **hvaṣna-*, cf. Av. *xvāṣna-*, O.Ind. *svāpna-*. The development in Kh. is thus in each case **hvaṣ-* > **hvaṣ-*.

hei- 'to send' I c act. tr. B ppp. *hiṣṭa-*; *hiṣṭāta-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hei'mā* Z 17. 27.

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hei'tā* Z 24. 431.

1 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hā'mā* Stein E 1. 7 145r2 *KT* 5. 77 tr. *bžud hchal-lo*.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hūdā* Or 11252. 35b4 *KT* 2. 28 for **hei'ndā* ('they send' rather than 'they give' as H. W. B., *KT* 4. 100).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hiṣṭe* Z 5. 33; 24. 260; *hiṣṭāte* Z 23. 144, 145 (H. W. B.).

Et. < **fra-iša-* < **fra-aiš-*, cf. Av. *²aeš-* 'set in motion', pres. I c *iša-*; *fraēšya-* 'impellere'; OP *frāišayam*; Man. Sogd. *fryš-*, *fryšt-* 'send' (I. G., *GMS*, § 331, p. 50; § 598, p. 93); Parth. *fryštig* 'envoyé, apôtre' (Ghilain, p. 95).

hot- 'to be able' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *hosta-*

+inf.: *hviye* Z 14. 3; *hviyā* Z 24. 437.

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hotte* Z 14. 78+.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hotāre* Z 13. 36.

O.Kh. noun: *hotā-* Z 1. 32+.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *hostā* N 168. 30.

Et. < **fra-vat-*, cf. Arm. LW *havat*; Av. *frā-*, *aipi-vat-*; Skt *api-vat-*; Parth. *frwd-* (Ghilain, p. 53) H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 78; *TPS*, 1960, 70-75.

haur- 'to give' +G-D (dat.) pers., R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 29, § III. 9. I b act. tr. B ppp. *hauḍa-*; *hūḍa-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *heḍā* Z 2. 30+.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hauridā* Si 103v4 *KT* 1. 40; *haurimḍe* P 2958. 147 *KT* 2. 118.

Old L.Kh. ppp. *hauḍa* Kha 1. 306a 5v3 *KB* 8.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hoḍe* Z 13. 103; *hūḍe* Z 13. 82+.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hūḍai* P 2787. 142 *KT* 2. 106.

3 pl. pf. tr.: O.Kh., *hūḍāndā* Z 22. 321; L.Kh., *hauḍāmdā* P 2790. 34 *KT* 2. 111.

O.Kh. inf.: *haurā* Z 13. 71.

Et. < **fra-bar-*, cf. Av. *frabara-*, OP *fra-bar-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 78; *Annali*, 1959, 129. Man. Sogd. *ḍ'brw* (1 sg. imperf.); Chr. *t'br*, B. *ḍ'br* (3 sg. imperf.) (I. G., *GMS*, § 621, p. 97) < **fra-bara-* I. G., *GMS*, § 621A, p. 246. Note *hūḍa-* < **fra-bṛta-* but *hauḍa-* < **fra-barta-*, cf. Sogd. heavy stem *ḍbrt-* < **fra-barta-* (v. I. G., *GMS*, § 486, pp. 72-73).

haus- 'to carry off' V e act. tr. A ppp. *hausṭa-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *hoṣā* JS 34r1 (148) < **hausātā*.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hausindā* *Suv.* K. 63v6 *KT* 5. 115 tr. *haranti*; id. 64v2 *KT* 5. 115 tr. *hariṣyanti*.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hausṭe* P 2801. 31 *KT* 3. 66.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *hoštāndi* Z 22. 308.

Et. < **fra-vāzaya* < **fra-vaz-* (caus.; not < **fra-vaz-ya-* as Dresden, p. 491 s.v. *hoš'*), cf. Av. *fravaza-*; Parth. *frwšt* 's'envoler' (Ghilain, p. 52); MPe *prwz-* 'fliegen' (*Verbum*, p. 170); B. Sogd. *ḫrwz'n'k* 'qui vole' SCE 304. For caus. of **vaz-*, cf. Parth. *prw'z-* 'faire voler' (Ghilain, p. 70).

hvañi- 'to be called' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *hvata-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hvānde* Z 5. 13++.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hvañāre* Z 5. 69+.

3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *hvata* Z 3. 142.

+nom. complement, R. E. E., BSOAS, xxviii. 1, 1965, 25, § I. 2.

Et. < **hvan-ya-* < **hvan-*, cf. O.Ind. *svanati* 'makes a noise'; MPe *xw'n-*, *xw'nd* 'rufen' (*Verbum*, p. 189); Parth. *xwn-* (Ghilain, p. 48); B. Sogd. *γwinty* 'il s'appelle' (Benv., JRAS, 1933, 48-49); Waxi *ṣan-*, *ṣat-* 'to speak' (IIFL, ii. 552).

hvar- 'to consume' I b act. tr. B ppp. *hvaḍa-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hviḍā* Z 2. 26+.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hvarindā* Z 3. 59; *hvarindī* Z 4. 33.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *hvaḍāndi* Z 2. 24; 4. 50; *hvaḍāndā* Z 22. 235.

L.Kh. inf.: *hvarā* JS 17v2 (74).

+loc. source of motion, R. E. E., BSOAS, xxviii. 1, 1965, 33, § V. 2.

Et. < **hvar-*, cf. Av. *xʷar-* 'genießen, verzehren', pres. I b *xʷara-*; MPe *xwɔr-*, *xwɔrd* 'essen' (*Verbum*, p. 174); Parth. *wxr-*, *wxrd* 'manger' (Ghilain, p. 57); B. Sogd. *γwr-* 'manger' VJ+.

hvah- 'to strike' V a act. tr. C ppp. *hvasta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hvaittä* Z 2. 16.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *hvastāndi* Z 22. 309.

Et. < **hvahaya-* < **hvah-*, cf. Av. *xʷaṇhaya-*, *xʷasta-*; see Benv., Oss., pp. 43-44.

hvāñi- 'to speak' V c act. tr. A ppp. *hvata-*

+dat. pers., R. E. E., BSOAS, xxviii. 1, 1965, 29, § III. 9 (d) (e).

+I-A (comitative) pers., R. E. E., ibid. 32, § IV. 10 (e) (f).

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *hvāñāte* Z 2. 7++; L.Kh., *hvāñe* P 3513. 4v2 KT 3. 113 = *hūñe* ibid. 4r4.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hvāñindā* Z 3. 100+.

O.Kh. inf.: *hvāñi* Z 2. 64.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hvate* Z 2. 102++.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *hvatāndi* Z 2. 20+.

O.Kh. inf.: *hviye* Z 5. 7+.

Et. < **hvānaya-* < **hvan-*, v. *hvañi-*

hvā'ñi- 'to make dry' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *hvaiñe* Si 1115 KT 1. 16 tr. *skems-šin* = *hvēñe* P. 2892. 99 KT 5. 320.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *hvā'ñāñā* P 2893. 178 KT 3. 89.

O.Kh. nom. ag.: *hvā'ñākā* Or 9609. *27v5 KT 1. 236 tr. **saṃśoṣakaḥ*.

Et. Caus. < *huṣ-* p. 153.

The following words are of uncertain or unknown origin: *ājum-*, *ḫṣimj-*, *khvīh-*, *gach-*, *ggh-*, *grāsd-*, *gvīth-*, *cev-*, *jsīr-*, *najs-*, *nāsam-*, *nīsem-*, *nuvalys-*, *pajārūšt-*, *parī-*, *pašauj-*, *paškūj-*, *paškaus-*, *paher-*, *pātāl-*, *pīm-*, *pūhā't-*, *prahauy-*, *pvīys-*, *pvīs-*, **phīś-*, *phūm-*, *pherr-*, *bajeṣṣ-*, *bichān-*, *bitcūś-*, *bihījs-*, *byāl-*, *ysān-*, *vatiṣ-*, *vau's-*, *śūh-*, *śaul-*, **sal-*, *sphan-*, *hayār-*, *hasamīth-*, *hahāls-*, *hām-*.

LIST OF VERB ROOTS

*ak-	vyach-
*ad-	pātāy-
*an-	uysan-
*ay-	hīs-
*ar-	ār-
*ark/g-	āljs-
*ard-	pātāl-
*az-	hays-
1. *ah- 'be'	ah-
2. *ah- 'throw'	uhy-
*āp-	eh- peh- byeh- prev- byev- byau-
*āh-	āh-
*aiś-	hei'- īs- patīs- īś-
*auk-	ggūch- ggūs-
*auš-	byūv'-
1. *kan- 'dig'	kaṃggan-
2. *kan- 'put/throw'	pacan- *paljsan- pārān- pyan- buvan-
	kañ-
	kāñ- pārāñ- buvāñ- byāñ-
*kap-	cev-
1. *kar- 'pull'	gujsar-
	kār- naṣkār- haṃggār-
2. *kar- 'do'	yan-
*kark-	uskalj- kalj- naṣkalj-
	kris-

*kart-	naṣkirr-	patält-
1. *kav-	*parkun-	
2. *kav- 'burn'	hamjsul-	
*kaš-	kāt'- tcāš'-	nįsaš- pājsaš- vajsāš- hamjsaš-
	nįsvāñ-	
1. *kas-	ātas-	kas- kašš-
2. *kas- 'see'	nyas-	
*kaz-	pyays-	*byays- kašš-
*kā-	biyāšš-	
*kauk-	uskuj-	hamggūj- hamggūjs-
*kaup-	pachus-	v. khvīh-
1. *kauš- 'act frivolously' (?)	uskūš-	
2. *kauš- 'look at'	1. kuš-	
3. *kauš- 'flay'	2. *kuš-	
1. *kauz-	kūš-	
2. *kauz- 'throw'	uskoš-	naškoš-
*xaklg-	uskhaj-	naškaj- uskhajs- naškajš-
*xad-	khad-	gguhad- pāhad- *vahad-
*xand-	khan-	naškhan- bihan-
*xard-	saṃkhal-	
*xaz-	khāš-	parchāš-
*xah-	khah-	v. uskhajs- naškajš-
*xā-	khā-	
*xaiš-	pachīys-	pachīš- hamkhīš- *pachiš-
*xauþ-	khvīh-	
*xauz- (?)	khauiys-	
*xray-	uysgārñ-	ggāñ-
*xrav-	uysgurs-	*uysgru-
*xraus-	grūs-	*grušš-
*xšam- (?)	kšam-	kšamev-
*xšai-	v. 2. kšāv-	
*xšaiḡ-	kšimj-	
*xšaub-	ākšuv-	niḡšuv- 1. kšāv- *prakšiv- kšiy-
*xšvaiþ-	v. kšāv-	kšiy-
*gad-	*jad-	pajād- pajāy-
*gan-	jsan-	jsañ- pajsāñ-
*gaf-	jsaus-	
*gam-	hamjsam-	
	*naljsem-	paljsem- hajsem- hamjsem-
	v. hīs-	
1. *gay- 'harm'	jīñ-	jīy- pajīy-
2. *gay- 'live'	1. juv-	
*gar-	jsīr-	ttājser-

1. *garg- 'assemble'	hamggalj-
2. *garg- 'make a noise'	ggalj-
*gart-	ggad- *hamggad- ggei'ls- *hamggeils-
	ggei'šš-
*garθ-	*pajsiñh-
*gav-	hagav-
*gaz-	pajāys-
*gā-	jsā- bijsā-
*gaid θ-	ggih-
*gaud-	pajud- uysgun- hamggun-
*gaub-	gguph-
*gauš-	pyūš- hamggūš-
*gyav-	hamjv-
*gran-	grañ-
*grab-	hamgrīh-
*gžad-	*šad-
*ġaxs-	pacas-
*ġyam-	tsām-
*ġyav-	ttātsu- tsu- naltsu- vatsu-
*ġyā-	patāts- hats-
*tak-	ttajs- byajs- vatajs- hamdajs- byāj-
*tank g-	pattamj-
*tap-	āyv- ttav- 1. *naštav- pattav- byav-
	*hamdav-
	ttaus- naštos- hamdavāñ- hamdev-
*tam-	bitam- pātem-
1. *tar- 'remove'	ustar- hamtrāñ-
2. *tar- 'extend'	bitar-
*tark-	hataljs-
1. *tav- 'be strong'	tvāñ-
2. *tav- 'thrust'	ttun- 2. naštav-
*taš-	ttāš-
*taig-	hatījs-
*θang-	usthamj- thamj- nuhamj- pathamj- bāthamj-
	this- pathīs-
*θav-	thūs- paṭhu-
*θrak-	*āhalj- nihalj- *hahalj- hamthraj-
	*pahālj- prahālj- *pahāljāñ-
	*naštīrīs- *prhīs- prahīs- hamthīrīs- nṛhīšš-
	thurs-
*θrav-	1. uysdišš- 1. dišš-
*daxš-	dajs- padajs- pandīs- daj- handaj-
*dag-	handajāñ-
	v. uysdav-
*dab-	

*daf-	padaus-
1. *dam- 'make'	2. *dīm- padīm- *vadīm-
2. *dam- 'tame'	dīm-
3. *dam- 'blow'	dam- naṣdam-
	wysdem- *dem- *naṣdem- padem-
*day	āy- ūy- pūy- *vūy- did- dyāñ-
	wysdai- dai- bāysdai-
*dar-	handār- pader-
*darš-	darrv-
*darz-	dalš- byāls-
1. *dav- 'burn'	padav-
2. *dav- 'rub'	wysdav- *dav-
*das-	dāšš-
*dā-	parāth-
*dais-	anandišš- 2. wysdišš- 2. *dišš-
*dbanz-	baš-
*drag-	drjs- hamdramj- hamdris-
*drap-	drāh-
*dram-	drem-
*nak/g-	najs-
*nad-	panāy-
*nam-	panam- binam- hanam-
	panem- binem- hanem-
	vanau- vanvāñ-
*nav-	nās-
1. *nas- 'take'	panašš- hanašš- panāšš- hanāšš-
2. *nas- 'fare ill'	binās- vanās-
*nā-	parnai-
*naik-	nājs-
*naid/θ-	ganīh-
*naiz-	panīys-
*pak-	gvach- pach- parvach- pajs- gvachāñ-
*pat-	pat- vavat-
*paθ-	nuvamīh- pheh-
*pad-	1. nuvad-
1. *par- 'give, pay'	1. *par- 1. *pār-
2. *par- 'fill'	2. pūr- hambīr- hamber-
3. *par- 'nourish'	2. pār-
4. *par- 'remove'	2. *par-
5. *par- 'fight'	purr-
*pard-	naṣpul-
*pašt-	nyūšt-
*pažd-	uspašd- tvašd- naṣpašd-
*pā-	pai-

*fan-	usphan- naṣphan- *nīphan- paphan- vahan-
	haphan-
	naṣphāñ- paphāñ- vahāñ-
*far-	āphār- phir- haphār- āphīr- usphīr-
	*āphīrāñ-
*fast-	phast- haphast- naṣphašt- phašt- vaphašt-
*fray-	āvun-
*fras-	aurāšš- *pūšš- puls-
*frād-	hāy-
*frauš-	brūšc-
1. *fšar- 'be ashamed'	kšār- kšer-
2. *fšar- 'exhilarate'	ššarr-
*baxš-	būšš-
*bag-	naṣphaj- hamphāj- usphūs-
	naṣphīšš- *phīšš- hamphīšš-
	ban-
*ban-	pabañ- bañ- hambañ- bai- hambai-
*band-	ttuvar- nuvar- puror- bar- haur-
1. *bar- 'carry'	2. bīr-
2. *bar- 'break'	3. bīr-
3. *bar- 'throw'	pherr-
4. *bar- 'speak'	*gujsabalj- tcabalj- *pajsabalj-
1. *barg- 'break'	gujsabrīs- tcabrīs-
	bulj-
2. *barg- 'praise'	parbav-
*bav-	vīv-
*bā-	bid- hambid-
*baid-	nīhujs- 2. hambujs-
1. *baug- 'bend'	paphūj- bāhūj- *hamphūj- *hamphus-
	1. hambujs-
2. *baug- 'enjoy'	būd- būd- hambus- bušš-
*baud-	brem-
*bram-	brašš-
*bras-	*uysbrījs- brījs-
*braig-	mad-
*mad-	mañ- vamas-
1. *man- 'think'	1. māñ-
2. *man- 'remain'	mañih-
*manθ-	nārmāñ- hamāñ-
*may-	man- ggumerāñ- murr- vamurr- hamurr-
1. *mar- 'crush'	patāmar- šumār-
2. *mar- 'notice'	mār-
3. *mar- 'die'	*ggumal-
*mard-	ttumalys- nimalys-
*marz-	

*mav-	mūr-	mvīr-
*maz-	*vamays-	
*maik g-	ūmījs-	nāmājs-
*maid-	hamāh-	hamāh-
*mauk-	pañjs-	
*mauz-	mūys-	
*yaθ-	jah-	jeh-
*yam-	ājum-	
*yaz-	gyays-	
*yah-	jīš-	jšāñ-
*yauk-	nyūj-	nyūs-
*yaug-	v. nyūšt-	pajarūšt-
*yau-	2. juv-	
1. *yaup- 'change'	byūh-	
2. *yaup- 'yearn'	jūh-	
*yauz-	āyauys-	nyauys-
*rag-	pārājs-	
1. *rad- 'scratch'	varrad-	*rran-
2. *rad- 'throw'	harañ-	
3. *rad- 'achieve'	ttrāy-	
*ra(n)g-	*ārramj-	pāramj- pāramjs- ārīs- pārīs-
1. *rap- 'support'	pārah-	
2. *rap- 'move'	bārāh-	
*raf-	pāreh-	
*ram-	ram-	ttrām- narām- parrām-
*ramb-	*pārīmph-	
*raz-	birays-	harays-
	gūrās-	birās- rrās- varās- harās-
	rrāys-	
*rāz-	parrīj-	rrīj- pars- hars-
*raik-	ārīh-	prih- hambrīh-
*raiθ-	birāt-	harāt-
*raiš-	birriys-	2. rriys- hariys-
1. *raiz- 'tremble'	1. *rriys-	
2. *raiz- 'lick'	bārūñ-	harrūñ- parrus- 1. rrus-
*rauk-	parrus-	burs-
*rauxš-	nirūj-	*nirus- 2. *rrus-
*raug-	rrūy-	
1. *raud- 'obstruct'	rrūd-	hambrūd- *hārūd- hambrāñ-
2. *raud- 'grow'	*burūw-	rrw- burūvāñ- ārūh- rrūh-
*raup-	pyūmj-	byūmj- vañj-
*vak-	hušš-	huššāñ-
*vaxš-	vāj-	
*vag-	hot-	
*vat-		

1. *vad- 'lead'	uysbāy-	ttuvāy-	nvāy-	bāy-	*pravāy-
	āvad-	bad-			
2. *vad- 'make a noise'	2. *nuvad-				
*van-	uysvāñ-	vāñ-			
*vand-	van-				
*vam-	bam-	bamāñ-			
1. *var- 'tear away'	pver-	var-			
2. *var- 'cover'	1. gvīr-	*nyūrr-			
3. *var- 'speak'	2. gvīr-	šver-			
*vark-	valj-				
*vart-	nyūd-	bad-	būh-	hambūh-	*bei'šš-
	*ābei'ls-				
1. *vas- 'shine'	byūs-				
2. *vas- 'make a noise'	nvāšš-				
*vaz-	oys-	gvays-	paraus-	bays-	
	aus-	paraus-	haus-		
	bār-	vabār-	ber-		
*vār-	bijs-				
*vaig-	beñ-				
*šan-	būsv-	šsun-			
*šav-	sāj-				
*sak-	*san-	(v. sarb-)	sāñ-		
*san-	pasad-	sad-			
*sa(n)d-	sam-	1. *samev-			
*sam-	šš-				
*say-	*āsal-	pasal-			
*sard-	hasv-				
1. *sav- 'swell'	sauly-				
2. *sav- 'rub'	*bisimj-				
*sing-	pasūjs-	sūjs-	pasūj-	vasūj-	vasus-
1. *sauk- 'burn'	sūch-				
2. *sauk- 'call'	pasaus-				
*sauš-	gatcañ-	*nitcañ-	bitcañ-	*vatcañ-	hatcañ-
1. *ska(n)d- 'break'	hatcy-				
	v. hatcañ-				
2. *skand- 'present'	paltcīmph-	*naltcīmph	škīm-	haškim-	
*ska(m)b-	niškal-	pāškal-			
*skard-	skau-	skauy-	*škav-		
*skav-	*paštarr-	baštarr-	starr-		
*star-	*paštu-	stav-			
*stav-	āšt-	ešt-	pašt-	vašt-	št-
*stā-	āstañ-	paštañ-			
	nuvašt-	višt-	stās-		
	*pastramj-	*stramj-	pastrīs-	strīs-	hastrīs-
*strang-	*stramjāñ-	strīsāñ-			

* <i>(s)nā-</i>	<i>bināj- ysānāj- ysānāh- haysn-</i>
* <i>spar-</i>	<i>āspar- *paspar- *vaspar-</i>
* <i>sparg-</i>	<i>haspalgy- gusprīs- vašprīs- hasprīs-</i>
* <i>spard-</i>	<i>spal-</i>
* <i>spas-</i>	<i>spāšš-</i>
1. * <i>spā-</i> (< * <i>spā-</i>)	<i>spai-</i>
2. * <i>spā-</i> (< * <i>svā-</i>)	<i>ništ- pašš-</i>
* <i>spaiḱ-</i>	<i>haspās- haspāj-</i>
* <i>sraiš-</i>	<i>ššiš-</i>
1. * <i>zan-</i> 'know'	<i>paysān- biysān- vaysān- biysān-</i>
2. * <i>zan-</i> 'bear'	<i>ysan- ysai- ysyāñ-</i>
* <i>za(n)g/k-</i>	<i>*biysajs- biysamj- biysīs-</i>
1. * <i>zay-</i> 'take by force'	<i>ysān-</i>
2. * <i>zay-</i> 'equip'	<i>āysān-</i>
1. * <i>zar-</i> 'make a noise'	<i>ysār- ? šer-</i>
2. * <i>zar-</i> 'grow old'	<i>*ysīr-</i>
* <i>zav-</i>	<i>*nalysv- buysvai- ysun- ysaury-</i>
* <i>zah-</i>	<i>ysah- yseh-</i>
* <i>zauš-</i>	<i>ysūš-</i>
* <i>zran-</i>	<i>šāñ-</i>
* <i>zvar-</i>	<i>šir-</i>
* <i>hak-</i>	<i>pahāj- pahīs-</i>
* <i>hag-</i>	<i>ajs- vahaj-</i>
* <i>had-</i>	<i>nād- puva'd- buva'd- ttuvā'y- *nišā'y-</i>
	<i>pvā'ñ- nāša's-</i>
* <i>har-</i>	<i>paher-</i>
* <i>haiz-</i>	<i>pahīys- bihīys- vahīys-</i>
	<i>pahīs- bihīs- vahiš-</i>
	<i>huš- pahvā'ñ- hvā'ñ-</i>
* <i>hauš-</i>	<i>hvañ- hvāñ-</i>
* <i>hvan-</i>	<i>ūm- ūs- hūs-</i>
* <i>hvap-</i>	<i>nāhvarr- hvar-</i>
* <i>hvar-</i>	<i>ttāhvah- nei'hvoh- hvah- *hahvah-</i>
* <i>hvah-</i>	<i>*āhus- *āhusāñ-</i>
* <i>hvaid-</i>	

LOANWORDS

añāy- adhišt- anuj- anuvartt- armūv- avamañ- avišimj- ahamañ-
*ahāvāys- ākūt- āchāy- *āchānn- ājīs- āyāc- ālamgr- āvul- āsvāš- uchānn-*
uthep- upekš- upev- usahy- usāv- uhar- kūṭ- kšam- kšamev- kšāv- khij-
**khijev- *ggarah- car- cav- ciṇḍ- jaṇph- jāy- tṛṣṭh- dukhev- namas-*
nimandrai- nirikš- nārsāy- nivartt- nyāp- pakūt- paramiro- parikalp-
paridiv- pariṇām- pasamaṇḍ- pīp- pracar- pracav- praysai- pravartt-

pravai- bihar- bhāv- makš- marš- rakš- ram- varrt- vavaj- vašv- vāys-
vāš- vikalp- vibram- vimath- virāh- vāhañ- vihil- vūs- vyāgar- vyusthah-
*šāš- *ššāv- ššaddah- ššan- samkhal- samev- sambaj- sahy- sāh- sāj-*
**suhev- stav-*

REVERSE INDEX OF PRESENT STEMS

<i>khā-</i>	<i>gach-</i>	<i>nyūj-</i>
<i>jsā-</i>	<i>pach-</i>	<i>nirūj-</i>
<i>bijsā-</i>	<i>vyach-</i>	<i>pasūj-</i>
<i>pari-</i>	<i>gvach-</i>	<i>vasūj-</i>
* <i>paštu-</i>	<i>parvach-</i>	<i>pašauj-</i>
<i>paṭhu-</i>	* <i>mich-</i>	<i>pattamj-</i>
* <i>uysgru-</i>	<i>ggūch-</i>	<i>thamj-</i>
<i>tsu-</i>	<i>sūch-</i>	<i>pathamj-</i>
<i>vatsu-</i>	<i>naškaj-</i>	<i>bāthamj-</i>
<i>ttātsu-</i>	<i>uskaj-</i>	<i>usthamj-</i>
<i>naltsu-</i>	<i>daj-</i>	* <i>ārramj-</i>
<i>khai-</i>	<i>handaj-</i>	* <i>pāramj-</i>
<i>dai-</i>	<i>našphaj-</i>	* <i>stramj-</i>
<i>bāysdai-</i>	<i>baj-</i>	* <i>pastramj-</i>
<i>uysdai-</i>	<i>sabaj-</i>	<i>hamdramj-</i>
<i>parnai-</i>	<i>hamthraj-</i>	<i>vamj-</i>
<i>pai-</i>	<i>vavaj-</i>	<i>biysamj-</i>
<i>spai-</i>	<i>vahaj-</i>	<i>nuhamj-</i>
<i>bai-</i>	<i>ysānāj-</i>	<i>avišimj-</i>
<i>hambai-</i>	<i>hamphāj-</i>	<i>kšimj-</i>
<i>nimandrai-</i>	<i>byāj-</i>	* <i>bisimj-</i>
<i>pravai-</i>	<i>vāj-</i>	<i>pyūmj-</i>
<i>āvai-</i>	<i>sāj-</i>	<i>byūmj-</i>
* <i>nuvai-</i>	<i>pahāj-</i>	<i>kalj-</i>
<i>sai-</i>	<i>khij-</i>	<i>naškaj-</i>
<i>pasai-</i>	<i>sāj-</i>	<i>uskaj-</i>
<i>ysai-</i>	<i>haspāj-</i>	<i>ggalj-</i>
<i>praysai-</i>	<i>rrij-</i>	<i>hamggalj-</i>
<i>buysai-</i>	<i>parrij-</i>	<i>haspalgy-</i>
<i>gguhai-</i>	<i>uskuj-</i>	<i>tcabalj-</i>
<i>hei-</i>	<i>anuj-</i>	* <i>pajsabalj-</i>
<i>skau-</i>	* <i>niruj-</i>	* <i>gujsabalj-</i>
<i>vanau-</i>	<i>paškūj-</i>	<i>valj-</i>
<i>byau-</i>	<i>hamggūj-</i>	* <i>hahalj-</i>
<i>āyāc-</i>	<i>paphūj-</i>	* <i>āhalj-</i>
<i>brūšc-</i>	* <i>hamphūj-</i>	<i>nihalj-</i>

*pahālġ-	hamdovāñ-	ṣṣan-
prahālġ-	buwāñ-	beñ'-
bulġ-	burūvāñ-	pat-
kañ-	toāñ-	vavat-
gatcañ-	vanvāñ-	hot-
*vatcañ-	nijsvāñ-	vartt-
hatcañ-	uysvāñ-	pravartt-
*nitcañ-	hvāñ-	nivartt-
bitcañ-	ṣāñ-	anuvartt-
*āṣṭañ-	jṣāñ-	patālt-
āstañ-	pvā'ñ-	phaṣt-
bañ-	huṣṣāñ-	vaphaṣt-
pabañ-	hvā'ñ-	naṣphaṣt-
hambañ-	pahvā'ñ-	nuvaṣt-
mañ-	sāñ-	viṣt-
avamañ-	*āhusāñ-	phaṣt-
ahamañ-	strisāñ-	haphaṣt-
grañ-	biysāñ-	vimath-
hvañ-	vahāñ-	parāth-
jsañ-	harrūñ-	gvūth-
pajsañ-	bārūñ-	maṃth-
vāhañ-	haysñ-	nuvaṃth-
kāñ-	kūt-	rrūth-
gvachāñ-	pakūt-	khad-
michāñ-	ākūt-	*jad-
handajāñ-	ṣt-	1. 2. bad-
*stramjāñ-	paṣt-	hambad-
*pahālġāñ-	vaṣt-	mad-
paṣtāñ-	*āṣt-	varrad-
*nuvaṃthāñ-	nyūṣt-	āvad-
paphāñ-	pajarūṣt-	1. nuvad-
naṣphañ-	eṣt-	2. *nuvad-
1. māñ-	būth-	*ṣad-
2. māñ-	hambūth-	puva'd-
bamāñ-	hasamūth-	buva'd-
dyāñ-	*pajṣūth-	sad-
ysyāñ-	adhiṣṭh-	pasad-
pārāñ-	ttrṣṭh-	*vahad-
*āphīrāñ-	ggaḍ-	pāhad-
berāñ-	*hamggaḍ-	gguhad-
ggumerāñ-	baḍ-	pajad-
hamtrāñ-	nyūd-	did-
hambrāñ-	pasamaṇḍ-	nād-
vāñ-	haraṇ-	bid-

hambid-	ggāñ-	tsām-
pajud-	bichāñ-	hām-
bud-	jīñ-	ṣkīm-
būd-	hamāñ-	haṣkīm-
rrūd-	nārmāñ-	ātīm-
*hārūd-	ysāñ-	1. dīm-
hambrūd-	āysāñ-	2. *dīm-
cimḍ-	*parkun-	padīm-
naṣpaṣḍ-	hamggun-	*vadīm-
uṣpaṣḍ-	uysgun-	pīm-
graṣḍ-	*ttun-	ājum-
tvaṣḍ-	āvun-	ūm-
khan-	ṣṣun-	phūm-
naṣkhan-	ysun-	*naṣdem-
kamggan-	*āchāññ-	pātem-
pacan-	uchāññ-	*dem-
paphan-	uysgāññ-	panem-
haphan-	nyāp-	hanem-
*nīphan-	pīp-	binem-
naṣphan-	uthep-	uysdem-
sphan-	parikalp-	drem-
usphan-	vikalp-	brem-
ban-	gguph-	hajsem-
man-	jamph-	hamjsem-
yan-	*naltcūmph-	*naljsem-
pyan-	paltcūmph-	paljsem-
*rran-	*pārūmph-	āy-
haraṇ-	sarb-	āchāy-
van-	naṣdam-	jāy-
buvan-	bitam-	pajāy-
ṣṣan-	dam-	añāy-
jsan-	panam-	pūtāy-
pajsan-	hanam-	panāy-
paljsan-	binam-	bāy-
ysan-	vibram-	uysbāy-
uysan-	ram-	ttrāy-
vahan-	nāṣam-	*pravāy-
bihan-	kṣam-	ttuvāy-
pārāñ-	sam-	nvāy-
ysāñ-	hamjsam-	nārśāy-
paysāñ-	parinām-	*niṣā'y-
vaysāñ-	narām-	ttuvā'y-
haysāñ-	parrām-	hāy-
biysāñ-	ttrām-	kṣiy-

jīy-	2. pār-	naṣkīrr-
pajīy-	bār-	purr-
ūy-	vabār-	murr-
pūy-	ṣumār-	vamurr-
rrūy-	ysār-	hamurr-
*vūy-	phīr-	*nyūrr-
skauy-	haphār-	*pherr-
sauy-	āphār-	niṣkal-
ysauy-	mār-	pāṣkal-
prahauy-	hayār-	saṃkhal-
hatcy-	*śīr-	spal-
by-	kṣār-	*ggumal-
*ūmy-	*ysīr-	*pasal-
pātāly-	1, 2, 3. pūr-	*āsal-
hāvy-	āphūr-	pātāl-
dvy-	usphūr-	vihiḥ-
uysdvy-	1, 2, 3. būr-	naṣpul-
sahy-	hambūr-	āvul-
usahy-	1, 2. gvūr-	hamjsul-
uhy-	mvūr-	śaul-
vyāgar-	jsūr-	*škav-
car-	ysūr-	hagav-
pracar-	mūr-	cav-
bitar-	ker-	pracav-
ustar-	pader-	1. *naṣtav-
1. *par-	pher-	2. naṣtav-
2. *par-	ber-	ttav-
*paspar-	hamber-	pattav-
*vaspar-	gver-	stav-
āspar-	pver-	*dav-
bar-	šver-	padav-
patāmar-	šer-	hamdav-
var-	kšer-	parbav-
ttuvar-	ttājser-	byav-
nuvar-	paher-	bhāv-
hvar-	puror-	usāv-
gujsar-	haur-	*śāv-
bihar-	ālamgr-	1, 2. kšāv-
uhar-	*paṣtarr-	*prakṣiv-
kār-	baṣtarr-	paridiv-
naṣkār-	starr-	viv-
hamggār-	nāhvarr-	vašiv-
handār-	ṣṣarr-	prakṣiv-
1. *pār-	ār-	1, 2. juv-

buv-	pachīš-	bitcūšš-
ākṣuv-	hatīš-	*pūšš-
nikṣuv-	pvīš-	ggei' šš-
būv-	pahīš-	*bei' šš-
armūv-	vahīš-	kāt-
*hārūv-	bihīš-	tcāš'-
*burūv-	kūš-	ttāš-
*hambrūv-	haiš-	nījsaš-
dukhev-	auš-	pājsaš-
cev-	naṣkoš-	vaticīš-
bajev-	uskoš-	harāt'-
*khijev-	khaus-	birāt'-
hamdev-	paraus-	ṣṣiṣ-
upev-	haus-	vajsāš-
kṣamev-	parš-	jīš-
samev-	dalš-	ājīš-
pajsamev-	byalš-	1. kuš-
byev-	*salš-	2. *kuš-
prev-	byālš-	parruṣ-
*suhev-	šš-	pasuṣ-
hamjv-	kašš-	huṣ-
uysdv-	panašš-	uskūš-
āyv-	hanašš-	hamggūš-
rrv-	pašš-	pyūš-
paramirv-	brašš-	byūv'-
darrv-	dāšš-	ysūš-
būšv-	panāšš-	makṣ-
hasv-	hanāšš-	rakṣ-
*nalysv-	spāšš-	nirikṣ-
hahv-	biyāšš-	upekṣ-
baš-	aurāšš-	marṣ-
vaš-	nvāšš-	burṣ-
khāš-	nišš-	huṣṣ-
parchāš-	išš-	būṣṣ-
birāš-	1. dišš-	bajeṣṣ-
rrāš-	2. *dišš-	kas-
varāš-	anandišš-	pacas-
harāš-	1, 2. uysdišš-	ātas-
gūrāš-	*phīšš-	namas-
vāš-	naṣphīšš-	vamas-
āšvāš-	hamphīšš-	nyas-
šāš-	nphīšš-	nāša's-
*pachīš-	bušš-	stāš-
hamkhīš-	*grušš-	nāš-

vanās-	nyūs-	gyays-
binās-	byūs-	bays-
haspās-	grūs-	*vamays-
*bihīs-	vūs-	pyays-
īs-	hūs-	*byays-
patīs-	paškaus-	harays-
thīs-	naštos-	birays-
pathīs-	ttaus-	gvays-
pandīs-	padaus-	hays-
usphīs-	vau's-	pajāys-
āris-	jsaus-	rrāys-
pāris-	ajs-	vāys-
kris-	naškajš-	ahāvāys-
hamgrīs-	uskajš-	pachīys-
*našthrīs-	ttajš-	panīys-
strīs-	vatajs-	1. *rrīys-
pastrīs-	dajš-	2. rrīys-
hastrīs-	padajs-	hariys-
hamthrīs-	hamdajš-	birriys-
hamdrīs-	najš-	pvīys-
vašprīs-	pajš-	pahīys-
hašprīs-	byajš-	vahīys-
gušprīs-	pārajš-	*bihīys-
tcabrīs-	*biysajš-	mīys-
gujsabrīs-	nājs-	oys-
biysīs-	bijs-	khauys-
hīs-	nāmājs-	āyauys-
pahīs-	ūmijs-	nyauys-
prahīs-	drjs-	paraυys-
bihīs-	hatījs-	nimalys-
*prhīs-	brījs-	*ttumatys-
pachus-	*uysbrījs-	nūvalys-
*hamphus-	bihījs-	pars-
hambus-	1, 2. hambujš-	hars-
1. rrus-	nihujs-	uysgurs-
2. *rrus-	hamggūjs-	thurs-
*nirus-	sūjs-	hahāls-
parrus-	pasūjs-	puls-
*pasus-	paṃjs-	ggei'ls-
vasus-	pāramjs-	*hamggeils-
*āhus-	hataljs-	*ābei'ls-
ūs-	āljs-	ah-
ggūs-	hats-	jah-
thūs-	patāts-	vyusthah-

ššaddah-	virāh-	jūh-
*ggarah-	drāh-	byūh-
pārah-	sāh-	rrūh-
hvah-	hamāh-	ārūh-
*hahvoh-	ggāh-	sūh-
ttāhvah-	gganūh-	eh-
nei' hvah-	hamūh-	jeh-
ysah-	ārīh-	peh-
āh-	hamgrīh-	pheh-
ysānāh-	prīh-	byeh-
ārāh-	hambrīh-	pareh-
bārāh-	khvīh-	yseh-

REVERSE INDEX OF PAST PARTICIPLES

It will be convenient to have here a reverse index of those past participles occurring in the verb-list. It is intended to deal on another occasion with those past participles that lack present stems.

kašta- < kašš-	vatcāšta- < vatciš-
khašta- < khāš-	*pachāšta- < pachīš-
gyašta- < gyays-	jīšta- < jīš-
panašta- < panašš-; panāšš-	hatāšta- < hatīš-
hanašta- < hanāšš-	rrāšta- < 1. *rrīys-
bašta- < bays-	ššišta- < ššiš-
pyašta- < pyays-	vajsišta- < vajsāš-
byašta- < *byays-	pājsašta- < pājsaš-
rrašta- < rrāš-	pahāšta- < pahīys-; pahīš-
varašta- < varāš-	*bihāšta- < *bihīys-
harašta- < harays-; harāš-	vahāšta- < vahīys-
birašta- < birays-; birāš-	išta- < īš-
orašta- < aurāšš-	dīšta- < daj-; 1. dīšš-
brašta- < puls-	hamdīšta- < hamdaj-
gvašta- < gvays-	hīšta- < heī-
nājsašta- < nijsaš-	bihīšta- < *bihīys-
hašta- < hays-	kušta- < 2. *kuš-
kāšta- < kāt-	hušta- < huš-
parchāšta- < parchāš-	hamggūšta- < hamggūš-
pajāšta- < pajāys-	pūšta- < *pūšš-
spāšta- < spāšš-	pyūšta- < pyūš-
byāšta- < byāšš-; biyāšš-	byūšta- < byūs-
khāšta- < khāš-	ysūšta- < ysūs-
hamkhišta- < hamkhiš-	haišta- < haiš-

<i>aušta</i> < <i>auš-</i>	<i>yuḍa</i> < <i>yan-</i>
<i>khaušta</i> < <i>khaus-</i> ; <i>khaus-</i>	* <i>ttūḍa</i> < <i>ttuvar-</i>
<i>āyošta</i> < <i>āyauys-</i>	<i>nūḍa</i> < * <i>nuvar-</i>
<i>nyaūšta</i> < <i>nyauys-</i>	<i>hūḍa</i> < <i>haur-</i>
<i>paraūšta</i> < <i>parauys-</i>	<i>purauḍa</i> < <i>puror-</i>
<i>haūšta</i> < <i>haus-</i>	<i>hauḍa</i> < <i>haur-</i>
<i>prahaūšta</i> < <i>prahaus-</i>	<i>dārṣṭa</i> < <i>dals-</i>
<i>harṣta</i> < <i>harāt-</i>	<i>kamggata</i> < <i>kamggan-</i>
<i>dirṣta</i> < <i>dals-</i>	* <i>pacata</i> < <i>pacan-</i>
<i>ggurṣta</i> < <i>grūs-</i>	<i>panata</i> < <i>panam-</i>
<i>burṣta</i> < <i>burs-</i>	<i>hanata</i> < <i>hanem-</i>
<i>ustaḍa</i> < <i>ustar-</i>	<i>spata</i> < <i>spai-</i>
<i>haphaḍa</i> < <i>haphār-</i>	<i>buṽata</i> < <i>buṽan-</i>
<i>hambaḍa</i> < <i>hambār-</i>	<i>hvata</i> < <i>hvañ-</i> ; <i>hvāñ-</i>
<i>hvaḍa</i> < <i>hvar-</i>	<i>nāṣa'ta</i> < <i>nāṣam-</i>
<i>kāḍa</i> < <i>kār-</i>	<i>sata</i> < * <i>san-</i> (<i>sarb-</i>);
<i>naṣkāḍa</i> < <i>naṣkār-</i>	<i>sāñ-</i>
<i>hamggāḍa</i> < <i>hamggār-</i>	<i>jsata</i> < <i>jsañ-</i> ; <i>jsan-</i>
<i>padāḍa</i> < <i>pader-</i>	<i>pajsata</i> < <i>pajsañ-</i>
<i>handāḍa</i> < <i>handār-</i>	<i>paljsata</i> < * <i>paljsan-</i>
<i>pāḍa</i> < 1. * <i>pār-</i> ; 2. <i>pār-</i>	<i>āta</i> < * <i>āgam-</i> (<i>hīs-</i>)
<i>bāḍa</i> < <i>bār-</i> ; <i>ber-</i>	<i>ṣtāta</i> < <i>ṣt-</i>
<i>vabāḍa</i> < <i>vabār-</i>	<i>hiṣtāta</i> < <i>hei'</i>
<i>hambāḍa</i> < <i>hambār-</i>	* <i>atāṣthāta</i> < <i>adhiṣth-</i> LW
<i>kṣāḍa</i> < <i>kṣār-</i>	<i>stāta</i> < <i>ṣt-</i>
<i>ysāḍa</i> < <i>ysār-</i>	<i>pastāta</i> < <i>paṣt-</i>
<i>haphāḍa</i> < <i>haphār-</i>	<i>vistāta</i> < <i>vaṣt-</i> ; <i>vist-</i>
<i>āphāḍa</i> < <i>āphār-</i>	<i>nuvaṁthāta</i> < <i>nuvaṁth-</i>
<i>yāḍa</i> < <i>yan-</i>	<i>nāta</i> < <i>nās-</i>
<i>hayāḍa</i> < <i>hayār-</i>	<i>haysnāta</i> < <i>haysñ-</i>
<i>pāḍa</i> < 1. <i>pār-</i>	<i>pāta</i> < <i>pai-</i>
<i>bāḍa</i> < 3. <i>bār-</i>	<i>parāta</i> < <i>parāth-</i>
<i>gvāḍa</i> < 2. <i>gvār-</i>	<i>vāta</i> < <i>vāj-</i>
<i>jsāḍa</i> < <i>jsār-</i>	<i>śāta</i> < <i>śś-</i>
<i>puda</i> < 1, 2. * <i>par-</i>	<i>paśāta</i> < <i>paśś-</i>
<i>paspuda</i> < * <i>paspar-</i>	<i>niśāta</i> < <i>niśś-</i>
<i>vaspuda</i> < * <i>vaspar-</i>	<i>huṣṣāta</i> < <i>huṣṣ-</i>
<i>āspuda</i> < <i>āspar-</i>	* <i>ggei'sāta</i> < <i>ggei'ls-</i>
<i>buḍa</i> < <i>bar-</i>	<i>ysāta</i> < <i>ysan-</i> ; <i>ysai-</i>
<i>muda</i> < <i>mār-</i>	* <i>thursāta</i> < <i>thurs-</i>
* <i>patāmuda</i> < <i>patāmar-</i>	* <i>vyachāta</i> < <i>vyach-</i>
<i>sumuda</i> < <i>sumār-</i>	* <i>sūchāta</i> < <i>sūch-</i>
* <i>ṣṣuda</i> < <i>ṣṣarr-</i>	<i>jāta</i> < <i>jin-</i> ; <i>jīy-</i>
<i>guda</i> < 2. <i>gvār-</i>	<i>aviṣṣāgyāta</i> < <i>aviṣṣimj-</i> LW

<i>uskujāta</i> < <i>uskuj-</i>	<i>dyta</i> < <i>djys-</i>
<i>bāhujāta</i> < * <i>bāhuj-</i>	<i>numandrāta</i> < <i>nimandrai-</i> LW
* <i>bisiṁjāta</i> < * <i>bisiṁj-</i>	<i>parrāta</i> < <i>parrij-</i> ; <i>pars-</i>
<i>buljāta</i> < <i>bulj-</i>	<i>paranārvyta</i> < <i>paranirv-</i> LW
<i>mañāta</i> < <i>mañ-</i>	<i>vihlāta</i> < <i>vihl-</i> LW
<i>dyāñāta</i> < <i>dyāñ-</i>	<i>āvulāta</i> < <i>āvul-</i> LW
<i>berāñāta</i> < <i>berāñ-</i>	<i>vāta</i> < <i>ah-</i>
* <i>huṣṣāñāta</i> < <i>huṣṣāñ-</i>	<i>cavāta</i> < <i>cav-</i> LW
<i>bārūñāta</i> < <i>bārūñ-</i>	<i>stavāta</i> < <i>stav-</i> (LW)
* <i>kūṭāta</i> < <i>kūṭ-</i> LW	* <i>bhāvāta</i> < <i>bhāv-</i> LW
* <i>āṣtāta</i> < * <i>āṣt-</i>	<i>śśāvita</i> < * <i>śśāv-</i> LW
* <i>nyūṣtāta</i> < <i>nyūṣt-</i>	* <i>paridivāta</i> < <i>paridiv-</i> LW
* <i>pajarūṣtāta</i> < <i>pajarūṣt-</i>	<i>armivāta</i> < <i>armiv-</i> LW
<i>eṣtāta</i> < <i>eṣt-</i>	* <i>cevāta</i> < <i>cev-</i>
* <i>pajsiṭhāta</i> < * <i>pajsiṭh-</i>	* <i>pajsamevāta</i> < <i>pajsamev-</i>
<i>ayāṣthāta</i> < <i>adhiṣth-</i> LW	* <i>vāṣāta</i> < <i>vāṣ-</i> LW
<i>pravarttāta</i> < <i>pravartt-</i> LW	* <i>parṣāta</i> < <i>parṣ-</i>
* <i>anuvarttāta</i> < <i>anuvartt-</i> LW	<i>braśāta</i> < <i>braśś-</i>
<i>dita</i> < <i>dai-</i>	* <i>dāśāta</i> < <i>dāśś-</i>
* <i>ciṁdāta</i> < <i>ciṁd-</i> LW	* <i>nvāśāta</i> < <i>nvāśś-</i>
* <i>bāysdāta</i> < <i>bāysdai-</i>	* <i>phīśāta</i> < * <i>phīśś-</i>
<i>uysdāta</i> < <i>uysdai-</i>	<i>bitcūśāta</i> < <i>bitcūśś-</i>
<i>āchānnāta</i> < * <i>āchānn-</i> LW	<i>ggei'śāta</i> < <i>ggei'śś-</i>
* <i>nyāpāta</i> < <i>nyāp-</i> LW	<i>ājīṣāta</i> < <i>ājīṣ-</i> LW
<i>uthepāta</i> < * <i>uthep-</i> LW	<i>huṣṣāta</i> < <i>huṣṣ-</i>
<i>haspāta</i> < <i>haspās-</i> ; <i>haspāj-</i>	* <i>bajeṣṣāta</i> < <i>bajeṣṣ-</i>
<i>pamāta</i> < <i>paṁjs-</i>	<i>namasāta</i> < <i>namas-</i> LW
<i>vibramāta</i> < <i>vibram-</i> LW	* <i>vamasāta</i> < <i>vamas-</i>
* <i>pariṇāmāta</i> < <i>pariṇām-</i> LW	<i>āhusāta</i> < * <i>āhus-</i>
<i>hāmāta</i> < <i>hām-</i>	<i>naṣtosāta</i> < <i>naṣtos-</i>
<i>ūmāta</i> < <i>ūm-</i>	* <i>hambujāta</i> < 2. <i>hambuj-</i>
<i>nārmāta</i> < <i>nārmān-</i>	<i>patātsāta</i> < <i>patāts-</i>
<i>nārsāyāta</i> < <i>nārsāy-</i> LW	<i>ysāta</i> < <i>ysān-</i>
<i>pūyāta</i> < <i>pūy-</i>	<i>āysāta</i> < <i>āysān-</i>
<i>vūyāta</i> < * <i>vūy-</i>	<i>vāysāta</i> < <i>vāys-</i> LW
* <i>sahyāta</i> < <i>sahy-</i> LW	<i>ahāvāysāta</i> < <i>ahāvāys-</i> LW
<i>usahyāta</i> < <i>usahy-</i> LW	<i>birriysāta</i> < <i>birriys-</i>
<i>carāta</i> < <i>car-</i> LW	<i>thursāta</i> < <i>thurs-</i>
<i>vyātarāta</i> < <i>vyāgar-</i> LW	<i>ggarahāta</i> < * <i>ggarah-</i> LW
<i>harita</i> < <i>hars-</i>	<i>ārāhāta</i> < <i>ārāh-</i> LW
<i>ggārāta</i> < <i>ggār-</i>	* <i>virāhāta</i> < <i>virāh-</i> LW
* <i>uysgārāta</i> < <i>uysgār-</i>	* <i>sāhāta</i> < <i>sāh-</i> LW
<i>orāta</i> < <i>āvun-</i>	<i>skuta</i> < <i>skau-</i> ; <i>skaus-</i>
* <i>ālamgāta</i> < <i>ālamgr-</i> LW	* <i>hamggūta</i> < <i>hamggūj-</i>

pachuta- < pachus-
 juta- < 1. juv-
 štuta- < št-
 paštuta- < *paštu-
 paštuta- < paštu-
 *paduta- < padav-
 *uysduta- < uysdav-
 vanuta- < vanau-
 *paphuta- < paphūj-
 hamphuta- < *hamphus-;
 *hamphūj-
 *parbuta- < parbau-
 *darruta- < darro-
 *niruta- < nirūj-
 uysgruta- < *uysgru-
 *ššuta- < ššun-
 *pasuta- < pasūj-; pasūjs-
 vasuta- < vasus-; vasūj-
 tsuta- < tsu-
 naltsuta- < naltsu-
 *ysuta- < ysun-
 buysuta- < buysai-
 nihuta- < nihijs-
 ggūta- < ggūch-; ggūs-
 būta- < būš-
 nyūta- < nyūj-
 sūta- < sūjs-
 hūta- < hūs-
 paškauta- < paškaus-
 vo'ta- < vau's-
 ākšutta- < ākšuv-
 byūtta- < byūh-
 autta- < eh-
 dukhutta- < dukhev- LW
 *paltcautta- < paltcimph-
 bajautta- < baje-
 *khijautta- < *khijev- LW
 ysānautta- < ysānāh-
 upautta- < upev- LW
 kšamotta- < kšamev- (LW)
 samautta- < 2. samev- LW
 ārautta- < ārūh-
 patārotta- < pārāh-
 hamgrautta- < hamgrih-

drautta- < drāh-
 kšautta- < 1. kšāv-
 prakšautta- < *prakšiv-
 *nikšautta- < nikšuv-
 ysautta- < ysavi-
 suhutta- < *suhēv- LW
 *khamtta- < kham-
 bihamtta- < biham-
 khasta- < khad-
 naškasta- < naškaj-
 uskhasta- < uskhaj-
 gatcasta- < gatcañ-
 vatcasta- < *vatcañ-
 hatcasta- < hatcañ-; hatcy-
 nitcasta- < *nitcañ-
 gyasta- < jah-
 pasta- < pat-
 basta- < bañ-; bai-
 pabasta- < pabañ-
 hambasta- < hambañ-
 varrasta- < varrad-
 harasta- < hara-
 āvasta- < āvad-
 ttāhvasta- < ttāhvah-
 nvasta- < 1. nvad-
 hvasta- < hvah-
 nei'hvasta- < nei'hvoh-
 šasta- < *šad-
 nāta'sta- < nād-
 puva'sta- < puva'd-
 buva'sta- < buva'd-
 sasta- < sad-
 pasasta- < pasad-
 vahasta- < *vahad-
 ihasta- < uhy-
 pāhasta- < pāhad-
 guhastā- < guhad-
 āsta- < āh-
 pātāsta- < pātāy-
 stāsta- < stās-
 bāsta- < bāy-
 māsta- < mad-
 ttrāsta- < ttrāy-
 pravāsta- < *pravāy-

ttuvāsta- < ttuvāy-
 nvāsta- < nvāy-
 nāśā'sta- < *niśā'y-
 jista- < *jad-
 pajista- < pajād-
 dista- < did-
 *gganista- < gganih-
 bista- < bid-
 hamāsta- < hamāh-; hamih-
 ggista- < ggih-
 pviista- < pviys-
 *škusta- < *škav-
 hamggusta- < hamggun-
 uysgusta- < uysgun-
 justa- < 2. juv-
 pajusta- < pajud-
 busta- < bud-
 rrusta- < rrūd-; rrūy-
 šūsta- < šūh-
 parausta- < pareh-
 hosta- < hot
 parsta- < parī-
 ārsta- < ārih-
 hārsta- < *hārūd-
 pārsta- < prih-
 hambirsta- < hambrih-
 nāmalsta- < nimalys-
 *ggumalsta- < *ggumal-
 ttumalsta- < *ttumalys-
 pātālsta- < pātāl-
 kilsta- < ker-
 *niškālsta- < niškal-
 pāškālsta- < pāškal-
 saṃkhalsta- < saṃkhal-
 hamggālsta- < hamggad-
 patālsta- < patālt-
 ggumālsta- < *ggumal-
 pūlsta- < pviys- (?)
 *hamggeilsta- < *hamggeils-
 naštauda- < 1. *naštav-
 ttauda- < ttav-
 pattauda- < pattav-
 handauda- < *hamdav-
 byauda- < byev-; byeh-
 proda- < prev-
 āštanda- < *āštāñ-
 bitanda- < bitam-
 āštanda- < āštāñ-
 danda- < 1. dim-
 *danda- < 2. *dīm-
 padanda- < padīm-
 *vadanda- < *vadīm-
 paphanda- < paphan-
 pyanda- < pyan-
 naranda- < narām-
 ttranda- < ttrām-
 uysamda- < uysan-
 vahanda- < vahan-
 paphānda- < paphāñ-
 mānda- < 1. māñ-
 *mānda- < 2. māñ-
 pārānda- < pārāñ-
 ysānda- < ysāñ-
 paysānda- < paysāñ-
 haysānda- < haysāñ-
 biysānda- < biysāñ-
 ājīnda- < ājum-
 *parkunda- < *parkun-
 ttunda- < *ttum-
 škaunda- < škim-
 haškaunda- < haškim-
 *našdaunda- < *našdem-
 *ātaunda- < ātīm-
 pātaunda- < pātem-
 daunda- < *dem-
 uysdaunda- < uysdem-
 *braunda- < brem-
 *kšaunda- < kšam- (LW)
 sonda- < sam-
 hajsaunda- < hajsem-
 hamjsonda- < hamjsem-
 naļsonda- < naļsem-
 *paļsonda- < paļsem-
 *tsaunda- < tsām-
 paštarrda- < *paštarr-
 baštarrda- < baštarr-
 starrda- < starr-
 nihvarrda- < nāhvarr-

ārrda- < ārr-
 purrda- < purr-
 murrda- < murr-
 vamurrda- < vamurr-
 nyūrrda- < *nyūrr-
 pherrda- < *pherr-
 kūysda- < kūś-
 pattīya- < pattamj-
 thīya- < thamj-; this-
 pathīya- < pathamj-;
 pathis-
 usthīya- < usthamj-
 padīya- < padajs-
 biya- < bijs-
 rriya- < rrīj-
 pāriya- < pāramj-
 krīya- < kalj-
 hamgrīya- < hamggalj-;
 hamgrīs-
 naṣkrīya- < naṣkalj-
 naṣṭhrīya- < *naṣṭhrīs-
 strīya- < *stramj-; strīs-
 pastrīya- < *pastramj-;
 pastrīs-

hamthriya- < hamthraj-;
 hamthris-
 hamdriya- < hamdrīs-
 haṣpriya- < haṣprīs-
 tcabriya- < tcabalj-;
 tcabris-
 pajsabriya- < *pajsabalj-
 gujsabriya- < gujsabalj-;
 gujsabris-
 hahrīya- < *hahalj-
 *āhrīya- < *āhalj-
 sīya- < sāj-
 biysīya- < biysamj-
 pahīya- < pahīs-; pahāj-
 *vahīya- < vahaj-
 prhīya- < *pahālaj-;
 prahālaj-;
 prahīs-
 nuhīya- < nuhamj-
 nrhīya- < nihālaj-
 pravaiya- < pravai- LW
 paha- < pach-
 gvaha- < gvach-

VERB CLASSES

THE Sanskrit present system is still usually described by means of the ten classes taught by native Indian grammarians from an early date. This description is usually refined by superimposing a further classification into two conjugations. An example of this type of classification may be seen in W. D. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, 1889, pp. 228 ff.¹ Whitney's system was applied to Avestan by A. V. Williams Jackson, *Avesta Grammar*, i, 1892, 137 ff. C. Bartholomae in *GIP*, i. 67 ff. developed a more elaborate system of thirty-two present classes,² having mainly in view the description of Avestan.

By and large, Bartholomae's description is still valid, although in some respects it is antiquated. Thus, his present 25 would not now be maintained. A practical disadvantage of the system he created is that there is nothing with which to associate thirty-two numerals. In describing the present stems found in Khotanese, I have therefore developed a new system of classification based essentially on Bartholomae. It has the advantage that there are a small number of groups of presents having common characteristics. Both the number of groups and the number of subdivisions can easily be increased as required.

In the table below the present classification adopted here is set out accompanied by references to the appropriate class number of Bartholomae. Roman numerals in brackets give the traditional Indian class numbers.

Abbreviations: Rf = root in full grade; Rz = root in zero grade; \bar{R} = root in lengthened form; (n) = nasal contained in root; rd. = reduplicated; int. rd. = intensive reduplication.

In the verb list, further classification on a purely descriptive level was thought to be useful, because all Khotanese verbs fall into one of the following categories based on the 3 sg. and 3 pl. pres.:

- A. -iti, -īndi/ -ite, -āre
- B. -ti, -īndi/ -te, -āre
- C. -aittā, -aindā
- D. -aiyā, -aindā/ -aiye, -(i)yāre

These categories are always maintained in Old Khotanese, and are only partly obscured in Late Khotanese.

¹ Essentially the same type of description is to be found in the most recent grammar by L. Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, 1961, 416 ff.

² For literature on the present classes, see K. Brugmann, *Grundriß*, ii. 3, 1, 1913, 43 and J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Kratylos*, vii. 1, 1962, 25.

I. Primary

(a) Rf/Rz	<i>ds-ti; y-ánti</i> (ii)	B ₁
(b) Rf+a	<i>bhāvati</i> (i)	B ₂
(c) Rz+d	<i>tuddati</i> (vi)	B ₃
(d) R̄±a	<i>rāṣṭi; rājati</i>	B ₄

II. Reduplicated

(a) rd. Rf/Rz (occas. them.)	<i>juhóti</i> (iii)	B ₅
(b) rd. Rz+d	<i>tṣṭhati</i>	B ₆
(c) int. rd. Rf/Rz (occas. them.)	<i>cárkarti</i> Intensive	B ₇

III. Nasal

(a) Rz (n)+d	<i>vindāti</i>	B ₉
(b) Rz+nā/n (occas. them.)	<i>punāti</i> (ix)	B ₁₁
(c) Rz+nau/nu (occas. them.)	<i>sunóti</i> (v); <i>tanóti</i> (viii)	B ₁₀
(d) Rf (n)+aya	Av. <i>sčimbaya-</i>	B ₉ +24

IV. Sibilant

(a) R+IE *sk+a	<i>rcchāti</i> Inchoative	B ₁₄
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V. Yod

(a) Rz+ay+a (occas. Rf)	<i>iṣayati</i>	B ₂₄
(b) Rf+y+a	<i>ndśyati</i> (iv)	B ₂₆
(c) Rz+y+a	<i>yujyāte</i> Passive	B ₂₇
(d) R̄+y+a	<i>śrāmyati</i>	B ₂₈
(e) R̄/Rf+d̄y+a	<i>pātayati; vardhāyati</i> (x) Causative/Iterative	B ₃₀

VI. Denominative

(a) noun ± a	<i>bhiṣākti</i>	B ₃₂
(b) noun (±a)+y+a	<i>bhiṣajyāti</i>	B ₃₁

LOANWORDS

Loanwords were not given verb classes in the verb list. Such information as could be deduced concerning their inflection is summarized here:

- A. (i) act. mid. X¹: *anuj-*, *anuvartt-*, *ārāh-*, *āśvās-*, *uchānn-*, *usāv-*, *jamph-*, *dukhev-*, *nivartt-*, *pakūṭ-*, *parikalp-*, *pracav-*, *bhāv-*, *vāys-*, *vyusthah-*, *sāh-*.

¹ X in this section means 'unknown'.

- (ii) act.: *armūv-*, *aviṣṣiṇj-*, *ājṣ-*, *usahy-*, *kṣam-*, *khij-*, *car-*, *ciṇd-*, *jāy-*, *tṣṣṭh-*, *nyāp-*, *paraniv-*, *pariṇām-*, *pravartt-*, *raṣ-*, *ram-*, *vartt-*, *vaśiv-*, *vās-*, *sahy-*, *sāj-*.
(iii) mid.: *adhiṣṭh-*, *uṣev-*.

- A/B. (i) act.: *añāy-*, *uhar-*, *cav-*, *mich-*, *vavaj-*, *vikalp-*, *virāh-*, *vibram-*, *vihil-*, *vūs-*, *vyāgar-*, *ṣṣaddah-*, *stav-*.
(ii) mid.: *pīp-*, *bihar-*.
B. act.: *ahāvāys-*, *namas-*.
D. act.: *nimandrai-*, *praysai-*, *pravai-*.

Unless therefore a present is of type A or D one should be cautious about accepting it as a loanword.

CLASS Ia

- B. (i) act. intr.: *ah-*.
(ii) mid. intr.: *āh-*, *jsā-*, *byau-*.

Surprising here is *byau-*. See also *bījsā-*.

CLASS Ib

- A/B. (i) act.: *āljs-*, *uysdav-*, *usphan-*, *kas-*, *gujsar-*, *najs-*, **nīphan-*, *niṣkal-*, *pāskal-*, *pyan-*, *van-*, *vavat-*, *hays-*, *hasv-*, **hārūd-*.
(ii) mid.: *ātas-*, *āyauys-*, *tav-*, *tcāṣ'-*, **naḥysv-*, *nyauys-*, *patāmar-*, *ban-*, *bays-*, *bitar-*, *byav-*, *byūv'-*, *hamggūṣ-*, *hamdajs-*, *hataljs-*.
B. (i) act.: *āspar-* (? Ic), *ustar-*, *kāt'-*, *khan-*, *grūs-*, *jsan-*, *ttajs-*, **ttumalys-*, *ttuvar-*, *tsu-*, *nimalys-*, **nuvar-*, *pajs-*, *pat-*, *padajs-*, *panīys-*, *paphan-*, **paljsan-*, *pārān-*, *puror-*, *pūhāt-*, *pyays-*, **biysajs-*, *buvan-*, *byajs-*, *ysan-*, 1. **rrīys-*, *rrūd-*, *varrad-*, *vahan-*, **škav-*, *sūjs-*, *hambrūd-*, *haur-*, *hvar-*.
(ii) mid.: *uskūṣ-*, *uskhajs-*, *oys-*, *kaljs-*, *khaus-*, *ggad-*, *gvays-*, *jah-*, *ttāṣ-*, *naṣkhajs-*, *nījsaṣ-*, 1. *nuvad-*, *nuvalys-*, *nyas-*, *nyūd-*, *pachīys-*, *parruṣ-*, *paraus-*, *pasuṣ-*, *pasūjs-*, *pahīys-*, *pārajs-*, *pājsaṣ-*, *pyūṣ-*, *baḍ-*, *birays-*, *birrīys-*, *bihījs-*, *būd-*, *ysūṣ-*, 2. *rrīys-*, *vajsāṣ-*, *vatajs-*, *vaticiṣ-*, *vahīys-*, *spal-*, *sphan-*, **hamggad-*, *hamjsaṣ-*, *hatījs-*, *harays-*, *harāt'-*, *hariys-*, *huṣ-*, *hot-*.
(iii) act. tr./mid. intr.: *dajs-*, **dav-*, *padav-*, *bar-*, *birāt'-*, *saṃkhal-*.

See also *ajs-*, *naṣkhan-*, *bihan-*, *pāramjs-*.

- D. *uysdai-*, *dai-*, *bāysdai-* (all act.). See also *parnai-*.

CLASS Ic

- A. mid. intr.: *ṣṣ-*.
A/B. (i) act. intr.: *nājs-*.
(ii) mid. tr.: *paṃjs-*; mid. intr.: 2. *juv-*.

- B. (i) act.: *ākṣuv-*, *ūmījs-*, *niṣṣuv-*, *nād-*, *nāmājs-*, *nihujs-*, *bijs-*, *bid-*,
1, 2. *hambujs-*, *huṣṣ-*, *hei'*-.
(ii) mid.: 1. *kuṣ-*, *drjs-*, *bud-*, *ṣṣiṣ-*, *hamāh-*.
(iii) act. mid. X: *pajud-*, *patālt-*, *burṣ-*, *hambid-*.

CLASS I d

The existence of this class was denied by Andreas-Wackernagel, *Gött. Nachrichten*, 1931, 325-6 and again by F. B. J. Kuiper, *AO*, xvii, 1939, 42, but reaffirmed by Benv., *MSL*, xxiii. 6, 1935, 395 and H. W. B., *Schayer Vol.*, 1957, 61. Note that in Khotanese *kār-* Id is phonologically distinct from *ker-* Ve. This class in Khotanise is characterized by B inflection, -ā- vocalism, and absence of palatalization.

A/B. act.: *kār-*; mid.: *ysār-*.

- B. (i) act.: *binās-*, *vanās-*, *vabār-*, *hamgār-*.
(ii) mid.: *nās-*, *pajāys-*, *vanau-*, *handār-*.
(iii) act. mid. X: *naṣkār-*, *skau-*.
D. *ttātsu-*, *naltsu-*, *vatsu-*; *paṭhu-* (probably all act.); *buysai-*.
pātāl- (B), *buysai-* (D) have act. tr./mid. intr. See also *ṣumār-*.

CLASS II a

Two verbs only left in this class, both thematicized: *did-* (mid.), *parāth-*.

CLASS II b

- A. (i) act. intr.: *eṣṭ-*, *paṣṭ-*, *vaṣṭ-*.
(ii) mid. intr.: *ṣṭ-*.
(iii) act. mid. X: **āṣṭ-*.
B. mid. intr.: *jīṣ-*.
ṣumār- II b+Id act. tr. B.

CLASS II c

- B. act. *hamggan-*.

CLASS III a

- A/B. act. tr.: *uysgun-*, *haraṇ-*.
B. mid. intr.: *nuvaṃṭh-*.
Here also **rran-*, *hamggun-*.

CLASS III b

A/B. act. tr.: *ysān-*.

- B. (i) act.: *jīn-*, *nārmān-*, *purr-*, *biysān-*, *man-*, *hamān-*.
(ii) mid.: *āysān-*, *ggān-*, *nāhwarr-*.
(iii) act. or mid.: *naṣkīrr-*, *paysān-*, *yan-*, *hamurr-*.

According to their form, the following also belong here: *ārr-*, *āvun-*, *uysgār-* (mid.), **ttun-*, **nyūrr-*, **parkun-*, **paṣṭarr-*, *baṣṭarr-*, *ysun-*, *vamurr-*, *vaysān-*, *ṣṣarr-*, *ṣṣun-*, *starr-*, *haysān-*.

CLASS III c

A/B. mid.: *darv-*.

CLASS III d

- A. (i) act. tr.: *kṣimj-*, *pyūmj-*, *ṣkim-*, *hatcañ-*, *haṣkīm-*.
(ii) mid. tr.: *biysamj-*.
(iii) act. mid. X: *byūmj-*.

A/B. act. tr.: *hamdrāmj-*.

Here also: **naltcīmph-*, *paltcīmph-* (both A. tr.); **gatcañ-*, **nitcañ-*, *bitcañ-*, *vamj-*, **vatcañ-*.

CLASS IV a

A/B. act. intr.: *padaus-*, *parrus-*, **hamphus-*, *hastris-*.

- B. (i) act. tr.: *puls-*, *biysīs-*, *vamas-*.
(ii) act. intr.: *ārīs-*, *uysgurs-*, *ūs-*, *gujsabrīs-*, *ggūs-*, *ttaus-*, *tcabrīs-*, *thīs-*, **nirus-*, *nāṣa's-*, *pachus-*, *pathīs-*, *pandīs-*, *pars-*, *pahīs-*, *pārīs-*, *prahīs-*, *byūs-*, 1. *rrus-*, 2. **rrus-*, *vaṣprīs-*, *vasus-*, *stās-*, *strīs-*, *hamgrīs-*, *hamthris-*, *hamdrīs-*, *hambus-*, *hars-*, *haspās-*, *hīs-*, *hūs-*.
(iii) mid.: **ābei'ls-*, *ggei'ls-*, *nyūs-* (all intr.), *thūs-* (tr.).
(iv) act. or mid. intr.: *īs-*.

Also belong here: **āhus-*, *usphīs-*, *krīs-*, *guṣprīs-*, *jsaus-*, *thurs-*, *naṣṭos-*, **naṣṭhrīs-*, *patīs-*, *paṣkaus-*, *pastrīs-*, **prhīs-*, **bihīs-*, *vau's-*, **hamggeils-*, *haṣprīs-*, *hahāls-*.

The inchoatives relate to the root as follows:

*a < IE *n	vamas-	mañ-
*ā	stās-	°stā-
*i	hīs-	

*u	uysgurs- thūs-	uysgru- °thu- (cf. paṭhu-; haṁthuta-)		
*k/g	kriś- biysīs- *bihiś-	kalj- biysamj- bihijs-		
*k	ggūs- *naṣṭhris- nyūs- parrus- pars- *prhis- prahis- 1. rrus- vasus- vau's- haṁthris- hars- haspās-	ggūch- nyūj- parrij- *pahālġ- prahālġ- vasūj- haṁthraj- haspāj-		
*g	ārīs- usphīs- gujsabris- guṣprīs- tcabris- thīs- *nirus- pathīs- pandīs- pastrīs- ggei'ls- *ābei'ls-	*ārramj- *gujsabalj- °spalgy- tcabalj- thamj- nirūj- pathamj- padajs- *pastramj- ggaḍ- baḍ-	pārīs- 2. *rrus- vaṣprīs- strīs- haṁgrīs- haṁdrīs- haṁphūs- hastrīs-	pāramj- °rūj- °spalgy- *stramj- haṁggalġ- haṁdrāmġ- haṁphūj- haṣpalgy- °stramj-
*t				
*d	*āhus- nāsa's- haṁbus-	nād- bud-		
*p	ūs- jsaus- ttaus- naṣṭos-		pachus- padaus- hūs-	
*ṣ < IE *s	īs- patīs-	1. *naṣṭav- ppp. iṣṭa-		
*s < IE *k	puls-	ppp. braṣṭa-		
*h < IE *s	byūs-	ppp. byūṣṭa-		

Uncertain are paṣkaus-, hahāls-.

CLASS V a

Type A inflection without modification of the root vowel is a feature of this class. Here also belong the peculiar presents of type C inflection (except for *bad-* < **badya-* Vc, with which they have coalesced). These cannot represent a transfer to Ib, as from, e.g., **sadati*, **pasadati*, one would expect **sittā*, **pasittā*, like *varrītā* < **ava-radati*, but one has *saittā*, *pasaittā*, like *baittā* < **badyati*.

A/B. act. tr.: *naṣḍam-*, *pabañ-*, **prakṣiv-*, *haṁbañ-*.

- A. (i) act. mid. X: tr., 1. *kṣāv-*, *bam-*, *maṁth-*; intr., *binam-*, *hanam-*.
(ii) act. tr.: *dam-*, *bañ-*, *bulj-*.
(iii) act. intr.: *ysah-*, *sam-*, *sarb-*.
(iv) mid. intr.: *panam-*.

- C. act.: *āvad-*, *khad-*, *khah-*, *gguhad-*, *tāhvah-*, *nei'hvah-*, *pasad-*, *puva'd-*, *buva'd-*, *mad-*, *sad-*, *hvah-*.

Here also belong: 2. **nuvad-*, *pāhad-*, **vahad-*.

CLASS V b

This class is characterized by palatalization and division between types A and B, *-ya having some effect but not necessarily coalescing with *-aya as in Ve. -ū-, as often, is sometimes not palatalized, probably due to words already with a palatal such as *byūh-*, *jūh-*, *sūch-*. Such are *rrūh-*, *ārūh-*. *ysānāh-*, if correctly explained (p. 113), is surprising. Either -ā- prevented palatalization or else the word was associated with V d.

- A/B. (i) act. tr.: *ggūch-*.
(ii) mid.: *nuvašt-*, *rrūh-*, *vašt-*, *hats-*.

- A. (i) act. mid. X: *ārūh-*, *khvūh-*, *jūh-*, *peh-*, *bīth-*, *ysānāh-*, *sūch-*, *haṁbīth-*, *haysñ-*.
(ii) act.: *niśś-*, *paśś-*, *byeh-*, *višt-*, *hanaśś-*.
(iii) mid.: *eh-*, *mañ-*.
(iv) act. tr./mid. intr.: *byūh-*.

- B. (i) act. mid. X: **jad-*, 3. *bīr-*, *braśś-*.
(ii) act.: *pajād-*, *baś-*, *bryāśś-*.
(iii) mid.: *kaśś-*, *panaśś-*.

- D. (i) act. tr.: *pai-*.
(ii) mid.: *spai-*.

Here also belong: 2. *gvīr-*, **pajṣīth-*, *patāts-*, *sauy-*, *skauy-*. See also *parnai-*, *haṁgrīh-*.

CLASS Vc

- A. (i) act. intr. (= pass.): **niruj-*, *baj-*.
 (ii) act. tr. or intr.: *vyach-*.
 (iii) mid. intr. (= pass.): *āy-*.
- A/B. (i) act. tr.: **pūš-*.
 (ii) mid. intr. (= pass.): *kañ-*, *kšiy-*, *kšār-*, **ysir-*, *hatcy-*.
- B. (i) act. intr.: *hambir-*, *hayār-*.
 (ii) mid. intr.: *āphār-*, *uskuj-*, **gruś-*, *gvach-*, 1. *gvār-*, *jīy-*, *jsañ-*, *daj-*, *pach-*, *pajīy-*, *pajsañ-*, *parvach-*, *mār-*, *haphār-*, *hvañ-*.
 (iii) act. mid. X: **pachiś-* (intr. pass.), 2. *pūr-*.

In this group probably belong: 2. *pūr-*, *phir-*, 2. *būr-* (A/B act. intr.), **šir-*, *handaj-*.

C. act. intr. (= pass.): 1. *bad-*, *hambad-*.

D. mid. intr. (= pass.): *ysai-*.

See also *našphaj-*.

CLASS Vd

A/B. *parrām-* act. tr.

- A. *ttrām-* tr. intr. mid. (O.Kh.); act. or mid. (L.Kh.).
narām- tr. intr. act.
drāh- intr. act.; *bārāh-* intr.

CLASS Ve

This is by far the largest class. One of the most noticeable general characteristics of Indo-Iranian in general is to emphasize the contrast between tr. and intr. even at the expense of other distinctions. In Khotanise this is seen in the constant opposition of intr. inch. to tr. caus.

All members of this class show both palatalization and type A inflection. Palatalization is as follows: *-js* > *-j*; *-n* > *-ñ*; *-st* > *-št*; **-zd* > *-šd*; *-d* > *-y*; *-ys* > *-š*; *-s* > *-šš*; *a* > *i* over *m*, *r*, *h*; *ā* > *e* over *m*, *r*, *v*, *h*.

The stems will be treated in order of their final consonant:

-j

- aj *uskhaj-*, *naškhaj-*, *vahaj-*, *hamthraj-*.
 -āj *pahāj-*, *byāj-*, *ysānāj-*, *vāj-*, *sāj-*, *hamphāj-*.
 -aņj **ārraņj-*, *usthaņj-*, *thaņj-*, *nuhaņj-*, *pattaņj-*, *pathaņj-*, **pastraņj-*, *pāraņj-*, *bāthaņj-*, **straņj-*.
 -alj **āhalj-*, *uskalj-*, *kalj-*, *ggalj-*, **gujsabalj-*, *tcabalj-*, *naškalj-*, *nihalj-*, **pajsabalj-*, *hamggalj-*, *hašpalgy-*, **hahalj-*.
 -ālį **pahālį-*, *prahālį-*.

- imj **bisiņj-* (? VI).
 -ij *parrīj-*, *rrīj-*, *haspīj-*.
 -ūj *nirūj-*, *nyūj-*, *paphūj-*, *paškūj-*, *pasūj-*, *vasūj-*, *hamggūj-*, **hamphūj-*.
 -auj *pašauj-*.

The intr. corresponding tends to be in *-js* (I b) or *-s* (IV a), the two next largest classes:

- j/-js *uskhaj-*/*uskhajs-*, *kalj-*/*kaljs-*, *naškhaj-*/*naškhajs-*, *byāj-*/*byajs-*, *pasūj-*/*pasūjs-*, *hamggūj-*/*hamggūjs-*.
 -j/-s **ārraņj-*/*ārīs-*, *kalj-*/*krīs-*, **gujsabalj-*/*gujsabrīs-*, *tcabalj-*/*tcabrīs-*, *thaņj-*/*thīs-*, *nirūj-*/**nirus-*, *nyūj-*/*nyūs-*, *pathaņj-*/*pathīs-*, *parrīj-*/*pars-*, **pastraņj-*/*pastrīs-*, *pahāj-*/*pahīs-*, **pahālį-*/**prhīs-*, *pāraņj-*/*pārīs-*, *prahālį-*/*prahīs-*, *biysaņj-*/*biysīs-* (tr.), *vasūj-*/*vasus-*, **straņj-*/*strīs-*, *hamggalj-*/*hamgrīs-*, *hamthraj-*/*hamthrīs-*, **hamphūj-*/**hamphus-*, *hašpalgy-*/*hašprīs-*, *haspīj-*/*haspās-*.

- A. (i) act. mid. X: **ārraņj-*, **gujsabalj-*, *tcabalj-*, *naškalj-*, *nyūj-*, *pasūj-*, *pāraņj-*, *prahālį-*, *bāthaņj-*, **straņj-*.
 (ii) act.: *ggalj-*, *nirūj-*, *nihalj-*, *pathaņj-*, *parrīj-*, *vasūj-*, *sāj-*, *hamggalj-* *hamggūj-*.
 (iii) mid.: *rrīj-*.
 (iv) *thaņj-* mid. intr. (O.Kh.); act. tr. (L.Kh.).
- A/B. (i) act.: **āhalj-*, *usthaņj-*, *kalj-*, *nuhaņj-*, **pajsabalj-*, *pattaņj-*, *paškūj-*, *pahāj-*, **bisiņj-*, *ysānāj-*, *hamggūj-*, *hamthraj-*, *haspīj-*.
 (ii) mid.: *biysaņj-*, *vāj-*.

-āñ

1. Primary: *uysvāñ-*, *kāñ-*, *našphāñ-*, *paphāñ-*, *pārāñ-*, *biysāñ-*, *buvāñ-*, *byāñ-*, 1. *māñ-*, *vahāñ-*, *vāñ-*, *šāñ-*, *sāñ-*, *hvañ-*.
 Beside these tend to stand presents in *-an*: *našphan-*/*našphāñ-*, *paphan-*/*paphāñ-*, *buvan-*/*buvāñ-*, *vahan-*/*vahāñ-* or in *-ān*: *pārān-*/*pārāñ-*, *biysān-*/*biysāñ-*.
 2. Secondary: **āphirāñ-*, **āhusāñ-*, *ggumerāñ-*, *gvachāñ-*, *jsāñ-*, *tvāñ-*, *dyāñ-*, *nijsvāñ-*, **nuvamthāñ-*, *paštāñ-*, **pahālįāñ-*, *pahvāñ-*, *pvāñ-*, *bamāñ-*, *burīvāñ-*, *berāñ-*, *michāñ-*, *ysyāñ-*, *vanvāñ-*, **straņjāñ-*, *strisāñ-*, *hamtrāñ-*, *hamdavāñ-*, *hambrāñ-*, *handajāñ-*, *huššāñ-*, *hvañ-*.

These are based secondarily on present stems as follows:

- Ib *tvāñ-* < **tv-*, *nijsvāñ-* < *nijsaš-*, *pahvāñ-* < **pahuš-*, *vanvāñ-* < *vanau-*, *hambrāñ-* < *hambrūd-*, *hvañ-* < *huš-*.
 Ic *huššāñ-* < *hušš-*.

- II a *dyāñ-* < *did-*.
 II b *jsāñ-* < *jīs-*, *paṣtāñ-* < *paṣt-*.
 III a **nuvaṃthāñ-* < *nuvaṃth-*.
 IV a **āhusāñ-* < *āhus-*, *strisāñ-* < *strīs-*.
 V a *pvā'ñ-* < *puva'd-*.
 V c *gvachāñ-* < *gvach-*, *ysyāñ-* < *ysai-*, *handajāñ-* < *handaj-*.
 V e **āphirāñ-* < *āphīr-*, **pahāl jāñ-* < **pahāl j-*, *burūvāñ-* < **burūv-*,
**stranjāñ-* < **stranj-*.
 VI b *berāñ-* < *ber-*.
 A. (i) act. mid. X: **āhusāñ-*, *uysvāñ-*, *ggumerāñ-*, *naṣphāñ-*,
**pahāl jāñ-*, *pārāñ-*, *pvā'ñ-*, *biysāñ-*, *berāñ-*, *byāñ-*, *vanvāñ-*,
vāñ-, *hambrāñ-*, *hvā'ñ-*.
 (ii) act.: 1. *māñ-*, *sāñ-*, *hvāñ-*.
 (iii) mid.: *tvāñ-*, *ysyāñ-*, *huṣṣāñ-*.
 (iv) *dyāñ-* act. tr./mid. intr.
 A/B. (i) act.: *kāñ-*, *jsāñ-*, *buṣvāñ-*, *ṣāñ-*.
 (ii) mid.: **āphirāñ-*, *nijsvāñ-*, *paphāñ-*, *paṣtāñ-*, *michāñ-*, *hamtrāñ-*.

-t, -d

phaṣt-, *naṣphaṣt-*, *vaphaṣt-*.

vaphaṣt- A tr.

phaṣt- stands beside *phast-* mid. intr. A/B.

-ph

**pārimph-* A/B act. tr.

-m

-īm A. mid. tr.: *ātīm-*, *padīm-*. Here also: 1. *ḍīm-*, 2. **ḍīm-*, **vaḍīm-*.

-um A/B. act. tr.: *ājum-*.

-em *uysdem-*, **dem-*, *drem-*, **naljsem-*, **naṣdem-*, *nāṣem-*, **padem-*,
panem-, *paljsem-*, *pātem-*, *binem-*, *brem-*, *hañjsem-*, *hajsem-*,
hanem-.

A. (i) act.: *uysdem-*, *brem-*.

(ii) act. mid. X: *drem-*, *nāṣem-*, *panem-*, *paljsem-*, *hanem-*.

A/B. *pātem-* act. tr.

These stand beside presents in -am of class V a: **dem-/dam-*,
**naṣdem-/naṣdam-*, *panem-/panam-*, *binem-/binam-*, *hañjsem-/*
hañjsam-, *hanem-/hanam-*. Note also: *nāṣem-/nāṣam-* (cl.?).

-y

-ūy A. act. tr.: *rrūy-*.

-āy *uysbāy-*, *ttuvāy-*, *ttuvā'y-*, *ttrāy-*, **niṣā'y-*, *nvāy-*, *pajāy-*, *panāy-*,
pātāy-, **pravāy-*, *bāy-*, *hāy-*.

A. (i) act.: *ttuvāy-*, *ttrāy-*, **niṣā'y-*, *pātāy-*, *bāy-*.

(ii) act. mid. X: *uysbāy-*.

A/B. (i) act. tr.: *nvāy-*; act. intr.: *panāy-*.

(ii) mid. tr.: *pajāy-*.

-r

-īr *āphīr-* (mid. tr. A) *usphīr-*.

-er *ker-*, *kṣer-*, *gver-*, *ttājser-*, *pader-*, *paher-*, *pver-*, *ṣver-*, *ṣer-*,
hamber-.

A. (i) act. tr.: *hamber-*.

(ii) act. intr.: *ṣer-*.

A/B. act. tr.: *ker-*, *gver-*, *pader-*.

These stand beside presents: *kṣer-/kṣār-* V c, *gver-/gvīr-* V b,
hamber-/hambīr- V c.

-v

-ūv A. tr. **burūv-* (?). For -ū-, cf. p. 183 (on V b).

-ev

1. Primary: *cev-*, *prev-*, *bye-*, *hamdev-*.

A. (i) act. tr.: *bye-*.

(ii) act. mid. X: *prev-*, *hamdev-*.

A/B. act. tr.: *cev-*.

2. Secondary: *kṣamev-*, *pajamev-*, *bajev-*, 1. **samev-*.

A. (i) act. tr.: *bajev-*.

A/B. act. tr.: *kṣamev-*.

These stand beside *kṣam-*, *baj-*, *sam-*.

It is difficult to continue to believe that -ev is Ind. in origin (< *-āpaya*) the more widespread it appears to have been in Ir. Of certainly Ind. origin, Kh. has *dukhev-*, **khijev-*, *uhev-*, 2. *samev-*, **suhev-*. In Ir. cf. Par. *-ēw-*, Paštō, Orm. *-aw-*, Munjī *-ōv-*, Yidgha *-iw-*, Waxī *-uw-* (see Morg., *IIFL*, i. 101).

-ś

uskoś-, *auś-*, *kūś-*, *khāś-*, *khaś-*, *gūrāś-* (?), *dalś-*, *naṣkoś-*, *pachīś-*,
paraś-, *parchāś-*, *pahīś-*, *pvīś-*, *birāś-*, *bihīś-*, **bei'śś-*, *byalś-*, *rrāś-*,
varāś-, *vahīś-*, *hamkhīś-*, *hatīś-*, *harāś-*, *haś-*.

A. (i) act.: *auś-*, *kūś-*, *khāś-*, *birāś-*, *rrāś-*, *haś-*.

(ii) mid.: *pachīś-*, *varāś-*.

(iii) act. mid. X: *naṣkoś-*, *pahīś-*, *hamkhīś-*.

- A/B. (i) *hatīś-* act. tr./mid. intr.
 (ii) *gūrāś-* (?) mid.

These verbs relate to present stems of class I b: *aus-/oys-*, *khaus-/khoy-*, *pachīś-/pachīys-*, *paraus-/parauys-*, *pahīś-/pahīys-*, *pviś-/pviys-*, *birāś-/birays-*, *bihīś-/*bihīys-*, *vahīś-/vahīys-*, *harāś-/harays-*.

-śś

īśś-, 1. 2. *uysdīśś-*, *aurāśś-*, *ggei'śś-*, *dāśś-*, 1. 2. *dīśś-*, *naṣphīśś-*, *nṛhīśś-*, *nvāśś-*, *panāśś-*, **phīśś-*, *bitcūśś-*, **bei'śś-*, *spāśś-*, *hanāśś-*, *hamphīśś-*.

- A. (i) act.: *īśś-*, *ggei'śś-*, *dāśś-*, *nvāśś-*, **phīśś-*.
 (ii) mid.: *spāśś-*.
 (iii) act. mid. X: 1. *uysdīśś-*, *naṣphīśś-*.

A/B. act.: 2. **uysdīśś-*, 2. **dīśś-*, *hanāśś-*.

Beside these are presents in classes IV a and V b:

- IV a *īśś-/īs-*, *ggei'śś-/ggei'ls-*, **phīśś-/ophīs-*, **bei'śś-/obei'ls-*.
 V b *panāśś-/panaśś-*, *hanāśś-/hanaśś-*.

-h

jeh-, *pareh-*, *pheh-*, *yseh-*, *hamīh-*.

- A. (i) act.: *jeh-*, *hamīh-*.
 (ii) mid.: *pareh-* (act. L.Kh.).

These relate to presents thus:

jeh-/jah- I b *yseh-/ysah-* V a *hamīh-/hamāh-* I c.

CLASS VI a

This class is characterized by absence of palatalization. Unless *bār-* has been wholly adapted to I d, this class is also likely to be characterized by type B inflection. *bār-* act. intr. B < *bāra-*. *phūm-* act. intr. A/B and *mūr-* act. intr. A/B may belong here. Here also no doubt belongs 1. *juv-* 'to live' (act. intr. B).

CLASS VI b

This is the main class of denominatives. They may be tr. or intr. *ātīm-*, *āstañ-*, *uspaśd-*, 2. *kṣāv-*, *tvaśd-*, *naṣpaśd-*, *parś-*, *bajeṣṣ-*, *bārūñ-*, 1. *bīr-*, *buśś-*, *ber-*, *byālś-*, *brūśc-*, 2. *māñ-*, *mvīr-*, *rrāś-*, *rrīnth-*, *harrūñ-*, *hāvvy-*. Here possibly belong: *gūrāś-*, *graśd-*, *pheh-*, **bīsinj-*.

Nouns or adjectives attested beside these are: *ātīm-/ātama-*, *āstañ-/āstana-*, *parś-/parysa-*, *bajeṣṣ-/bajāṣṣa-*, *bārūñ-/brūna-* (adj.), *buśś-/busā-*, *ber-/bāra-*, *byālś-/byālysa-*, *brūśc-/brūška-* (adj.), *rrāś-/rrāsa-*, *rrīnth-/raṁtha-*, *hāvvy-/hāvvia-* (adj.).

- A. (i) act. intr.: 2. *māñ-*, *harrūñ-*.
 (ii) mid.: *ātīm-*, *bārūñ-* (act. L.Kh.), *ber-*, *byālś-* (B L.Kh.), *hāvvy-*.
 (iii) act. mid. X: *āstañ-*, *uspaśd-*, 2. *kṣāv-*, *naṣpaśd-*, 1. *bīr-*, *brūśc-*, *mvīr-*, *rrāś-*.
 A/B. (i) act.: *tvaśd-*, *parś-*, *rrīnth-*.
 (ii) mid. intr.: *bajeṣṣ-*, *buśś-*.

VERB MORPHOLOGY

LITERATURE: S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, 1932, pp. 52-59; *Primer*, 1949, pp. 45-52; P. Tedesco, *ZII*, 1923, 281-315; H. W. Bailey, *Languages of the Saka*, 1958, pp. 143-7; M. J. Dresden, *The Jātakastava*, 1955, pp. 413-17; S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, pp. 41-54; Herzenberg, 1965, pp. 101-13.

PRESENT INDICATIVE ACTIVE

A complete paradigm can be found for *yan-* in O.Kh.:

SINGULAR	PLURAL
1. <i>yanīmā</i> Z 5. 94+; <i>yanāmā</i> Z 24. 222+.	1. <i>yanāmā</i> Z 2. 26+.
2. <i>yañi</i> Z 5. 42+.	2. <i>yanda</i> <i>Suv.</i> 30 v 7
3. <i>yindā</i> Z 2. 6+.	3. <i>yanindā</i> Z 2. 66+.

1. The first person singular

-īmā < **-āmi*, shortened < **-āmi* in unaccented syllable. Av., O.Ind. *-āmi*. *-īmā* is the usual spelling in O.Kh., and it is found also in L.Kh.: *byehīmā* P 3510. 8. 2 *KBT* 52; *hanāsīmā* P 3513. 48r4 (Asm. 24). Occasionally *-imi* is found both in O.Kh. e.g. *hvarimi* Z 4. 50, and in L.Kh. e.g. *uysdīšimi* P 3513. 48r3 (Asm. 23). **kāt'īmā* has been contracted already in O.Kh. to *kei'mā* Z 2. 216.

Already in O.Kh. *-īmā* was shortened to *-āmā*, e.g. *trāyāmā* Z 12. 1; *namasāmā* Z 6. 1; *parsāmā* Z 2. 217; *pulsāmā* Z 3. 18; *barāmā* Z 11. 7; *māñāmā* Z 2. 138; *sahyāmā* Z 2. 202, 216; *haṃberāmā* Z 2. 194. Occasionally this is spelled *-imā*, e.g. *yanimā* Z 3. 119, 120; *horimā* Z 11. 75; *hvāñimā* Z 13. 39; 23. 18. *-āmā*, *-imā* are due to shortening in unaccented syllable.

I have not noticed *-āmā* in L.Kh., but the modification of *-āmā* to *-umā* due to the labial influence of *-m-*, found rarely in the oldest Kh., e.g. *pulsumā* Z 23. 120; *hvāñumā* *SS* 84v2 *KT* 5. 342 (both preceded also by a labial and common words, perhaps therefore the starting-point), is common in L.Kh.: *namasumā* *JS* 9v3-4 (37)+; *hvāñumā* Ch c. 001. 954 *KBT* 139.

-umā was apparently lengthened, due to *-īmā*, to *-ūmā*. In O.Kh. only *haurūmā* N 125. 44 = H 144 *NSB* 19r5 *KT* 5. 92 has been noticed, but it is common in L.Kh.: *namasūmā* *Avdh* 10v1 *KT* 3. 4; *parrījūmā* *Avdh* 12r3 *KT* 3. 5; *dīśūmā* *Avdh* 17r3 *KT* 3. 9, in older texts.

Attempts to explain *-umā*, *-ūmā* as of ancient origin seem to be clearly contradicted by the distribution of forms as stated. S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 55, wanted to derive *-ūmā* < *-u* 1 sg. inj. (< **-am*) +

primary *-mi* (cf. the addition of *-tā* in *-itā* 3 sg. opt.). According to E. Leumann, *-ūmā* spread from **yanūmā* < **kṛnauni* (N, p. 176). But in such a case we should expect **yanūmā* to occur already in O.Kh. Z has 1 sg. pres. act. of *yan-* 15 times but not once **yanūmā*. Konow's proposal could only have developed late (*-u* < **-am*), but one would expect *-ūmā* if based on the inj. to have some modal force (cf. *-itā*), whereas it is a mere alternative to *-īmā*.

In the case of verbs conjugated as types C and D, the 1 sg. pres. ind. act. ending is *-aimā* in O.Kh.: *daimā* Z 6. 7+; *SS* 20r2 *KT* 5. 330+; *nimandrainmā* Z 2. 50; *puvai'mā* Z 24. 435; *buysaimā* Z 20. 23, 24; *saimā* Z 13. 60. I have noticed one example of *-eimā* in O.Kh.: *hei'mā* Z 17. 27. In L.Kh. are found also: *-inme*, *diṃme* P 3513. 51r4 (Asm. 38); *-ajma*, *daṃma* Hed. 23. 20-21 *KT* 4. 36; *-aimi*, *daimi* P 3513. 50r4 (Asm. 33); *-aime*, *daimē* P 3513. 49v4 (Asm. 31); *ibid.* 56r4 (62)+.

The O.Kh. endings are thus: *-īmā*, *-imi* > *-āmā*, *-imā* > *-umā* > *-ūmā*. Verbs of types C and D: *-aimā*, *-eimā*.

In L.Kh., further modifications are found in three stages: 1. the final vowel *-ā*, *-i* was weakened to *-e*, *-a*; 2. the final vowel was lost; 3. the nasal, becoming final, was lost.

1. *tsīma* Hed. 23. 23 *KT* 4. 36; *tsīme* P 3513. 52r3 (Asm. 42); *tsūme* *JS* 20r3 (85). *-ime* is especially common: *byehīme* *JS* 39v4; Hed. 20. 14 *KT* 4. 34; *yinīme* P 3513. 52v1, 2, 4 (Asm. 43, 45); *ttrāyīme* Hed. 23. 28 *KT* 4. 36. For *-ume* cf. also *hvāñūme* Ch c. 001. 883 *KBT* 136.

2. *tsūm* *JS* 11v3 (46); *namasūm* Ch 00268. 132 *KBT* 66; *tsūm* P 3513 76v1 *KBT* 62; *barūm* *Avdh* 12r5 *KT* 3. 5; *vāsūm* *JS* 1v4 (2); *hīsūm* Hed. 20. 14 *KT* 4. 34. In L.Kh., *-ū* alternated with *-ā* and *-au* especially before a nasal, e.g. *rāmā* P 2787. 51 *KT* 2. 103; *rūda* *ibid.* 50; *rrumā* *Si* 145r1 *KT* 1. 86. Hence, we find beside *tsūm* also *tsām* P 5538b 32 *KT* 3. 122 and *tsau* *ibid.* 44 (v. 3.). Another example of *-ām*: *birāsām* *Si* 19v3 *KT* 1. 30.

3. *-u*: *āyācu* P 3513. 46r4 (Asm. 15); *caidu* P 2025. 249 *KBT* 20 (= *caidū* P 2957. 109 *KBT* 36 = *cadū* Ch 00266. 165 *KBT* 28); *-ū*: *ājīū* P 3513. 46r3 (Asm. 14) tr. *adhyesami*; *tsū* P 5538b 82 *KT* 3. 124 tr. *gatsamī*; *namasū* *JS* 16r2 (67); P 4099. 1, 2, 5 *KBT* 113; *byehū* P 3513. 44r1 (Asm. 3); *brremū* P 2834. 21 *KBT* 45; *yanū* P 3513. 80v4 *KBT* 64; *haurū* Hed. 4. 4 *KT* 4. 23. On the writing of *-u* and *-ū*, see *KT* 1 p. ix. *-ā*: *birāsā* *Si* 20r5 *KT* 1. 32. *-au*: *ttrāyau* Ch 1. 0021b, a² 38 *KBT* 151 (= *ttrūyū* Ch 00266. 317 *KBT* 109); *tsau* P 5538b 44 *KT* 3. 122; *dīśau* P 3513. 84v1 *KBT* 66.

In addition to the O.Kh. endings (except perhaps *-āmā*, *-imā*), L.Kh. thus has: *-ima*, *-ime*; *-ume*, *-ū(m)*, *-ā(m)*, *-au*. Types C and D: *-inme*, *-ajma*, *-aimi*, *-aime*.

2. The second person singular

-iā, -i < *-ahi, cf. Av. -ahi; O.Ind. -asi. The palatalization has no effect if the present stem ends in a palatal (-j, -y, -ś attested) or a labial preceded by a palatal vowel (-em). O.Kh. *trāyi* Z 22. 259; L.Kh. *trāyi* *Avdh* 12v2 KT 3. 6 < *trāy-*. O.Kh.: *jsañā* Z 24. 50; *nārmāñi* Z 2. 155; *paysāñi* Z 3. 10, 11; *parrīji* Z 6. 3; 22. 259; *paśšā* Z 21. 20; 24. 47; *pulśā* Z 3. 21; *bremā* Z 24. 235; *yañi* Z 5. 42; 12. 33, 53, 54; *yañā* Z 24. 43; *sājā* Z 12. 32; *herā* Z 2. 92; 24. 463. *dai* SS 85r4 KT 5. 343 < **dayā*. *pari* Z 22. 112; 23. 114 may be opt.

3. The third person singular

Basically, -ti < *-(a)ti, cf. Av. -aiti; O.Ind. -ati.

From a purely descriptive point of view, there are four types of ending in the 3 sg. (see p. 177): A. -iti; B. -ti; C. -aittā; D. -aiyā.

A. In the oldest Kh., -āte is more common than -ātā. Thus, *byehāte* occurs 9 times in Z, but *byehātā* only 3 times; *māñāte*, *māñāte* occur 7 times in Z but *māñātā* is found only in Z 24. 4 (2. *māñ-*). It is thus unwise to emend -āte to -ātā as done by Leumann in all these cases. In one case only in Z have I noticed more forms in -ātā, and there they are almost equalled in number by -āte: *kṣamātā* 6 times; *kṣamāte* 5 times. Rarely in O.Kh. do we find the spelling -ete: *peḍete* Z 6. 13; *paśšete* H 147 NS 110 42v5 KT 5. 74. The evidence suggests dissimilation of -ātā to -āte, whence -te alternated with -tā in type B presents. O.Kh. -ātā, -āte resulted normally in L.Kh. -e: *trāye* *Avdh* 20v3 KT 3. 11; *paśe* S 2471 123 KBT 95; *prāvaratte* P 3513. 55v3 (Asm. 59); *byehe* Ch c. 001. 216 KBT 76; *hvāñe* ibid. 731 KBT 90. -e is rarely found already in O.Kh.: *nāseme* Reuter 1v6 KT 5. 395. Other L.Kh. spellings are -ai: *brāimāi* P 2834. 19 KBT 45; and with further weakening, -a: *mūñā* Hed. 23. 14 KT 4. 36; *habā'ra* P 3513. 76v4 KBT 62; -ā: *sājā* Ch c. 001. 741 KBT 90; -i: *paśi* Hed. 17. 7 KT 4. 31. *bajaitti* *Vajr.* 21a1 KT 3. 24; 41a3 KT 3. 28, if genuine, is an archaizing form of O.Kh. *bajātā* (v. p. 91).

B.D. As a result of the loss of the unaccented thematic vowel, the -t- of the 3 sg. came into secondary contact with the stem final requiring various adjustments. It will be convenient to set these out as in table on next page.

Not surprisingly, this elaborate system showed signs of disintegration. In particular, *št* and *śd* tended to be confused. In L.Kh. we find for example: *gvašte/gvaśde* (v. *gvach-* p. 32); *dašte/dasde'* (v. *daj-* p. 43); *naṣphaštākā/naṣphaśdākā* (v. *naṣphašt-* p. 52); *padaštā/padaśdā* (v. *padaj-* p. 68); *baštā* for **baśdā* (v. *baś-* p. 94); *byaśde* for **byaštā*, cf. *ttaštā* < *ttaj-* p. 38 (v. *byaj-* p. 104); ? *rištā* for **rrīśdā* (v. 1. **rrīys-* p. 115). In O.Kh. this confusion is much less common, but note *bištā* <

bijs- (v. p. 95). Note also in the middle O.Kh. *pasūste* for **pasūysde* (< *pasūjs-* p. 78) and *kalste* < **karčatai* (v. *kaljs-* p. 21).

	Active	Middle	Active	Middle
1.	*k/g	*-č-t ¹	*-j-t ¹	*-j-t-
	<i>št</i>	<i>ysd</i>	<i>śd</i>	<i>ysd</i>
	<i>sūštā</i>	<i>vataysde</i>	<i>padaśdā</i>	<i>dryśde</i>
2.	*-čy-t ¹	*-čy-t-	*-jy-t ¹	*-jy-t-
		<i>št</i>		<i>śd</i>
		<i>gvašte</i>		<i>uskuśde</i>
				<i>daśde'</i>
3.			*-ny-t ¹	*-ny-t-
				<i>ind</i>
				<i>hvinde</i>
4. ¹	*-t-t ¹	*-t-t-	*-d-t ¹	*-d-t-
	<i>itt</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>itt</i>	<i>tt</i>
	<i>pittā</i>	<i>hotte</i>	<i>rrvittā</i>	<i>butte</i>
5.	*-rt-t ¹	*-rt-t-	*-rd-t ¹	*-rd-t-
		<i>ltt</i>		<i>ltt</i>
		<i>ggaltte</i>		* <i>spaltte</i>
6.			*-nd-t ¹	*-nd-t-
			* <i>initt</i>	<i>ntt</i>
			* <i>khimttā</i>	<i>nvamttē</i>
7.			*-n-t ¹	*-n-t-
			<i>ind</i>	<i>nd</i>
			<i>yindā</i>	<i>yande</i>
8.	*-p-t ¹	*-p-t-	*-b-t ¹	*-b-t-
			<i>ūt</i>	
			<i>ākṣūtā</i>	
9.			*-y-t ¹	*-y-t-
			<i>aiy</i>	[* <i>aiy</i>]
			<i>daiyā</i>	[* <i>spaiye</i>]
10.			*-r-t ¹	*-r-t-
			<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ḍ</i>
			<i>biḍā</i>	<i>mīde</i>
11.			*-v-t ¹	*-v-t-
			<i>jūtā</i>	<i>skaute</i>
			<i>tsiyā</i>	
			<i>otseyā</i>	
12.	*-ś-t ¹	*-ś-t-	*-ž-t ¹	*-ž-t-
		<i>št</i>		<i>śd</i>
		<i>panašte</i>		<i>pachiśde'</i>
13.	*-š-t ¹	*-š-t-	*-ž-t ¹	*-ž-t-
	<i>št</i>	<i>št</i>	<i>ḥ</i>	<i>ḥ</i>
	<i>huštā</i>	<i>ṛparrušte</i>	<i>kei'tā</i>	<i>pyūṣde</i>
14.	*-s-t ¹	*-s-t-	*-z-t ¹	*-z-t-
	<i>št</i>	<i>st</i>	<i>śd</i>	<i>ysd</i>
	<i>pulštā</i>	<i>nāste</i>	<i>nimalśdā</i>	<i>bāraysde</i>

¹ Under 4 belongs *-θ-t- > -tt- in *hamāttā*.

Although it belongs more to phonology than to morphology, it will be convenient to draw attention to a particular phonological feature of some of these forms, especially since the voiced series in 2 has not previously been recognized. In the case of *dryśde* < *drjs-* we have:

js-d > *ysd* i.e. *dzd* > *zd*.¹

This is parallel with the development in 2:

ch-t > *št* i.e. *tsyt* > *št*
gy-d > *śd* i.e. *dzyd* > *śd*.

With regard to 4c, see p. 183.

With regard to 10, note that *-rd-* is maintained in type III b presents (v. p. 181) e.g. *purdā* < *purr-*.

Both in O.Kh. and in L.Kh. the most frequent spellings are *-tā*, *-ti*, *-te*. O.Kh.: *ākšūtā* Z 4. 15+; *grūštī* Z 2. 21; *bitte* Z 2. 138. L.Kh.: *ttāuštā* Si 103r3 KT 1. 38; *pajitti* Hed. 50a1 KT 4. 45; *pīreḍe* JS 11v4 (47). The spelling *-tu* is rare. Two O.Kh. examples only have been noticed: *grūštu* Z 22. 249; *praysaitu* SS 35v3 KT 5. 337 (= *praysaiyā* H 147 NS 110. 42v2 KT 5. 74).

-te for *-tā*, *-ti* is rarely found in O.Kh. All examples found in O.Kh. are preceded by *-y-* or *-i-*, *-ā-* (cf. p. 192): *naltsaiye* Z 24. 252; *naltseie* Z 22. 202; *nirmānde* Z 2. 48; *nārmānde* Z 4. 5+; *bitte* Z 2. 138; *daiye* Or 9609. 4v3 KT 1. 233. Here again we have an indication of dissimilation.

In L.Kh. *-tā* is frequently weakened further to *-ta*: *ārišta* Ch 00266. 318 KBT 109; *paršta* Hed. 23. 15 KT 4. 36; *pīreḍa* JP 52r5 KT 1. 143; *byūšta* P 4099. 262 KBT 126 (= *byūštā* Vajr. 41b1 KT 3. 29); *śu'meḍa* Ch 00277. 2v3 KBT 70.

Apart from these treatments of the final vowel, *-tā* may be modified as follows:

(a) *-tā* is sometimes lost after *-ū-* and *-ai-* already in O.Kh.: *ākšū* Suv. K. 66r2 KT 5. 117; *dai* Z 5. 58; *buysai* Z 20. 24. L.Kh. has *jū* Hed. 17. 2 KT 4. 31 for O.Kh. *jūtā* Z 11. 47+.

(b) *-dā* (< **-r-ti*) with present stems in *-r* (not *-rr*): *ttuvīdā* Z 22. 156 < *ttuvar-*; *hamggedā* Z 19. 23 < *hamggār-*; *heḍā* Z 2. 30+ < *haur-*.

(c) *-di*, *-dā* with present stems in *-n* (< **-n* not **-nd*) and *-rr* and after *ś* with present stems in *-js*, *-ys* (but see also p. 192 on *št/śd*): *-n*: *yīndā* Z 2. 6+; *paysendā* Z 4. 97+; *jāndā* Z 3. 28+; *kaṃggīndi* Z 2. 28; *-rr*: *purdā* Z 24. 400; *-js*: *padaśdā* Z 11. 36 < *padajs-*; *-ys*: *nimalśdā* Z 22. 147 < *nimalys-*.

(d) *-yā* alternates with *-tā* in O.Kh. after *-ai-*, *-ei-*: < *kāt'*: *kei'yā* Z 19. 85 beside *kei'tā* Z 2. 5; *ke'tā* H 144 NS 55 44v4 KT 5. 76 (L.Kh. has *ke'ttā* JS 22r4 (96); *ke'ttā* JS 26v4 (117)); < *dai-*: *daiyā* Z 2. 11;

¹ Cf. [tʃt] > [ʃt] in Sogd. 3 sg. pres.: *s'št* < *s'č-*; *w'št* < *w'č-* (v. I. G., GMS, § 260, p. 41).

deiyā Z 14. 70+ beside *daitā* Z 24. 416 (L.Kh. *daittā* Si 7v3 KT 1. 12; P 3513. 54v4 (Asm. 54) (so read); *Vajr.* 42b4 KT 3. 29); < *buysai-*: *buysaiyā* Z 13. 132, 158 beside *buysaitā* Z 4. 95 (L.Kh. *buysvaiye* JS 19v4 (84)). Note also *pariyi* Z 24. 442 beside *paritā* Z 24. 450 if not opt.

C. A few verbs only, all active, have type C inflection. See Class Va p. 183. The spellings noticed are: *-aitta* (L.Kh.): *ne'hvaitta* P 4099. 169 KBT 121; *pasaitta* P 2896. 49 KT 3. 36; *-aitti*: O.Kh., *maitti* H 144 NS 32 etc. r4 KT 5. 93; L.Kh., *khaitti* Hed. 17. 3+ KT 4. 31; *-aittā*: *saittā* Z 1. 35++; *hvaittā* Z 2. 16; *-eittā* (O.Kh.): *seittā* Z 4. 83+; *-ettā* (L.Kh.): *ne'hvettā* P 3513. 28r1 KBT 58.

Palatalization. This is one of the most striking characteristics of Kh. morphology, obscuring the connexion between the 3 sg. pres. and the stem. Palatalization is found also in the 2 sg. (p. 192), but few forms are attested. Note also that palatalization serves to keep act. and mid. distinct.

(a) Vowels:

<i>aⁱ</i> > <i>i</i>	over <i>t</i>	<i>pittā</i> < <i>pat-</i> <i>d</i> <i>varrittā</i> < <i>varrad-</i> <i>nd</i> <i>khittā</i> < <i>khan-</i> <i>n</i> <i>jsindā</i> < <i>jsan-</i> <i>r</i> <i>biḍā</i> < <i>bar-</i>
<i>āⁱ</i> > <i>e</i>	over <i>n</i>	<i>paysendā</i> < <i>paysān-</i> <i>r</i> <i>beḍā</i> < <i>bār-</i> <i>daiyā</i> < <i>dai-</i>
<i>aiⁱ</i> > <i>ai</i>		<i>heḍā</i> < <i>haur-</i>
<i>auⁱ</i> > <i>e, ai</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>tsaiyā</i> (<i>tsiyā</i> due to <i>tsīmā</i>) < <i>tsu-</i> <i>buysaiyā</i> < <i>buysai-</i> (* <i>vizāvati</i>)
<i>ūⁱ</i> > <i>vī, uī</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>rreüttā</i> , <i>hambruüttā</i> < <i>rrūd-</i> , <i>hambrūd-</i>

(Not however *uⁱ*, cf. *ākšūtā*, *jūtā*, *pajuttā*, *purdā*, *huṣṭā*.)

(b) Consonants:

<i>*-č-t'</i> > <i>št</i>	<i>sūštā</i> < <i>sūjs</i> < <i>*sauča-</i>
<i>*-j-t'</i> > <i>śd</i>	<i>padaśdā</i> < <i>padajs-</i> < <i>*pa-daṣa-</i>
<i>*-s-t'</i> > <i>št</i>	<i>pulštā</i> < <i>puls-</i> < <i>*prsa-</i>
<i>*-z-t'</i> > <i>śd</i>	<i>nimalśdā</i> < <i>nimalys-</i> < <i>*ni-marza-</i>
<i>*-d-y-t'</i> > <i>aitt</i>	<i>saittā</i> < <i>*sadayati</i>

See also p. 193.

4. The first person plural

-āmā < **-āmāh* (cf. O.Ind. *-āmāh*) < **-āmahi* (cf. Av. *-āmahi*; O.Ind. *-āmāsi*) with early loss of *-i* before palatalization by final *-i* took place.

O.Kh. has *-āmā* (*-āmi* has not been found): *padajśāmā* Z 2. 30; *parsāmā* Z 22. 334; *pulsāmā* Z 2. 28; *yanāmā* Suv. K. 31v4 KT 5. 109 tr. *kariṣyāmaḥ*; *hatcañāmā* Z 2. 72; *horāmā* Z 24. 517.

In L.Kh. *-āmā* > *-ām*, e.g. *paśām* P 2741. 69 KT 2. 90 and further reduced *-ā*: *viḥilā* P 2787. 11 KT 2. 101. Note that all the examples of 1 pl. act. given by Dresden, p. 414, are from mid. (!) verbs.

In L.Kh. *-ām* resulted from *-īmā* (p. 191) 1 sg. pres. act. and also from *-āmane* 1 pl. pres. mid. There begins therefore to be confusion between 1 sg. and 1 pl. Notice in L.Kh.: *mahi* . . . *hvāñīmā* Ch c. 001. 962 KBT 139 beside *aysā* . . . *hvāñīmā* ibid. 954, whereas in O.Kh. *muhu* and *buhu* take a 1 pl. verb.

5. The second person plural

-ta cannot be from O.Ir. **-θa*, cf. Av. *-θa*, O.Ind. *-tha*. It is due to secondary *-ta* and 2 pl. imper. *-ta*. Cf. Sogd. *-t'* I. G., GMS, § 722, p. 112.

A. O.Kh. *-āta*, *-ita*: *parrijāta* Suv. K. 33r1 KT 5. 111 tr. *parimocayisyatha*; *byehāta* Z 23. 100, 101; *māñita* Z 22. 278; 23. 93; *rrūyāta* Z 23. 101.

B. O.Kh. *-ta*: *ākṣūta* Z 22. 276; *parsta* Z 19. 94; *pulsta* Z 24. 492; *hūsta* Z 15. 115. After *-n* the spelling is *-da*: O.Kh., *jānda* Z 22. 275; *yanda* Suv. 30v7 KT 5. 108; L.Kh., *yamda* P 2741. 104 KT 2. 91 (*yanda*, *yamda* could be mid.). Note also *parya* Z 23. 52 < *pari-* 'order'.

C. Not noticed.

D. O.Kh. *-ya* (cf. p. 194 (d)): *daiya* Z 14. 59+; *bāysdaiya* Z 23. 8.

6. The third person plural

-indā < **-anti*, cf. Av. *-anti*, O.Ind. *-anti*.

A, B. In O.Kh. the usual spellings are *-indā*: *ākṣvīndā* Z 24. 407; *jānīndā* Z 24. 114; *jsanīndā* Z 24. 403; *narāmīndā* Z 3. 99; *parsīndā* Z 2. 69; and *-īndi*: *ākṣvīndi* Z 23. 133; *jsanīndi* Z 23. 32; *narāmīndi* Z 22. 173; *parsīndi* Z 2. 60.

Rarely is the nasal weakened in O.Kh. *-īndā*: *tsīmdā* Or 9609 24r6 KT 1. 235; *yanīmdā* Z 22. 324. *-īndi*: *hayārīndi* E 1. 7 19v5 KT 5. 389. *-idā*: *tsidā* Z 22. 163; *byehidā* H 143 NS 65+144 NSB 11 8v5 KT 5. 68. *-idi*: *yanīdi* Stein E 1. 7 145r3 KT 5. 77. In L.Kh. these spellings are common: *-īmdā*: *visūsīmdā* P 2782. 41 KT 3. 60; *-īndi*: *byehīndi* Ch 00268. 175-6 KBT 67; *-idā*: *tsidā* Hed. 6. 3 KT 4. 24; *vasusidā* Ch c. 001. 213-14 KBT 76; *-idi*: *hīsīdi* Kha vi. 4. 1b3 KT 3. 130.

As in the case of *-īmā* shortened to *-āmā* in O.Kh. but not found in L.Kh., *-indā* is often shortened to *-āndā* in O.Kh.: *kaljāndā* Z 14. 83; *carāndā* Z 13. 8; *ttrāyāndā* Z 4. 112; *tsāndā* Z 17. 7; *parsāndā* Z 2. 195;

yanāndā Z 13. 140; *-īndā* > *-īndi*: *nārmānīndi* Z 4. 30; *-indā*: *sarbindā* Z 24. 390, 501. Such spellings have not been noticed in L.Kh.

As, however, in L.Kh. *e*, *ai* are found for O.Kh. *i* (Dresden, p. 406) and also *ai* for O.Kh. *i* (v. e.g. *vahīys-* p. 122), it is not possible to tell whether L.Kh. spellings *-aidā*, *-eda* represent O.Kh. *-indā* or *-āndā*. *-aidā*: *bajaidā* Hed. 22. 4. 3 KT 4. 35 (v. p. 91); *hārvoidā* StH 52 KT 2. 75; *-eda*: *hārveda* P 4099. 275 KBT 126.

In one place in O.Kh. *-īndi* has been weakened to *-īnde*: *parsīnde* Stein E 1. 7 149v3 KT 5. 79. In L.Kh., with the further weakening of *-n-* to *-m-*, this is common: *tsīmdē* P 3513. 49r4 (Asm. 29); *vasūsīmdē* P 3513. 53v2 (Asm. 48); *haurīmdē* P 2958. 147 KT 2. 118. With further loss of *-m-* in L.Kh.: *tsīde* JS 3r1 (7); *yanīde* JS 31v4-32r1 (139); *vaštīde* P 3513. 56v2 (Asm. 63); *byehīde* P 3513. 80v1 KBT 64. L.Kh. frequently has *-ida*: *gūsīda* P 3513. 78r1 KBT 63; *tsīda* Hed. 6. 18 KT 4. 25; *byehīda* S 2471. 178 KBT 97; *-īmda*: *strīsīmda* Si 134r2 KT 1. 68.

In O.Kh. *kātī'ndi* Z 4. 67; 24. 645; *kā'tīndi* Z 4. 17; *kā'tīndā* Z 4. 26 has already been contracted in O.Kh.: *kei'ndā* Z 2. 116; *kei'ndi* Z 20. 13; 22. 316; *kai'ndā* SS 77v1 KT 5. 339; *kai'ndi* Stein E. 1. 7 145r3 KT 5. 77. L.Kh. spelling shows: *kim'dā* P 2741. 13 KT 2. 88; *kai'da* S 6701. 20 KT 3. 137; *kai'di* MT bii 0065. 3 KT 2. 72; *kaidā* S 6701. 17 KT 3. 137; *keda* P 4099. 172 KBT 121.

C, D. O.Kh.: *-aindā*: *daindā* Z 3. 14; *nāmandraindā* Z 12. 61; *puvai'ndā* Z 22. 118; *saindā* Z 3. 116; *-aindi*: *uysdāindi* Z 20. 17, 20; *prravāindi* Z 22. 205; *-eindā*: *deindā* Z 4. 91; *seindā* Z 3. 108; *-eindi*: *prayseindi* Z 2. 75. L.Kh. has: *-aidā*: *pvaīdā* Vajr. 25a3 KT 3. 25; *saidā* Vajr. 42a1 KT 3. 29; *-aide*: *daide* P 3513. 71v3 KT 1. 247; *-eda*: *deda* Vajr. 38a1, 2 KT 3. 28 tr. *paśyanti*.

The spellings may be summarized thus:

- O.Kh.: 1. *-indā* (*-īndi*); *-īmdā* (*-īmdī*); *-idā* (*-īdi*)
2. *-īnde*
3. *-āndā* (*-īndi*, *-indā*)
4. *-aindā* (*-aindi*, *-eindā*, *-eindi*)

L.Kh. in addition to O.Kh. (except 3. 4):

1. — (not *-n-* except in oldest L.Kh.)
2. *-ī(m)de*; *-ī(m)da*
3. (or 1) *-aidā*; *-eda*
4. *-aidā*; *-aide*; *-eda*.

PRESENT INDICATIVE MIDDLE

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1. <i>yane</i> Z 11. 27	<i>hāme</i> Z 12. 52	1. —	<i>hāmāmane</i>
2. —	<i>hāma</i> Z 6. 3	2. [<i>yanda</i> <i>Suv.</i> 30v7 KT 5. 108]	<i>SS</i> 77v2 KT 5. 339
3. <i>yande</i> Z 2. 65	<i>hāmāte</i> Z 2. 76	3. <i>yanāre</i> Z 20. 13	<i>hāmāre</i> Z 3. 147

1. The first person singular

-e < O.Ir. *-ai, cf. Av. -e, O.Ind. -e.

O.Kh.: *oyse* Z 11. 25; *ttrāme* Z 2. 126; *nāse* Z 2. 195; 11. 75; *padīme* Z 23. 132; *paname* Z 24. 259; *buve* Z 6. 45; *spāse* Z 2. 199; *hamjsa'te* Z 2. 124; L.Kh.: *yane* *Avdh* 6v4 KT 3. 2; *paysāne* P 3513. 45v4 (Asm. 12); Hed. 23. 20 KT 4. 36; *mīre* P 2936. 12 KT 3. 109.

-e is rarely weakened to -ā, -i in O.Kh.: *ggihā* Z 12. 51; *paysāni* Z 2. 135; *parehi* Z 24. 493. L.Kh. has -a: *pachiśa'* Hed. 4. 8 KT 4. 23; -ā: *hambrihā* N 164. 6; -i: *yani* Hed. 7. 5 KT 4. 25; *hambrihi* N 164. 12.

As a result of the confusion that developed in L.Kh. of 1 sg. pres. act. and 1 pl. pres. act. and mid. (v. p. 196), the 1 sg. pres. act. ending -ū(m) (v. pp. 190-1) is found in L.Kh. with mid. verbs: *gesū* P 5538b 20 KT 3. 121; *gvaysū* P 2897. 26 KT 2. 115; *habrrihū* JS 39v1, 2 (bis).

2. The second person singular

-a < O.Ir. *-aha (as H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. xi. 1, 1964, 15), the secondary termination, cf. Av. -aḥa (v. Barth., *GIP*, i, § 115. 2, p. 63); not from *-ahai, which caused S. Konow difficulty (*Saka Studies*, p. 54; *NTS*, vii, 1934, 42). For secondary ending in pres., cf. -ta p. 196.

-a is the only spelling noticed, except that it appears to have been lost in L.Kh. *yam* P 2741. 22, 29 KT 2. 88 (not 1 sg. as Dresden, p. 414; see H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. i, 1949, 33). O.Kh.: *nāsa* Z 12. 14, 30; 24. 50; *panama* Z 24. 263; *buva* Z 3. 9; 24. 52; *vahīysa* Z 23. 118, 119; *hadāra* N 176. 31; *hāma* Z 6. 3+. L.Kh.: *pva'* Hed. 11. 7 KT 4. 28; 20. 6 KT 4. 34; *vijsya* P 2783. 194 (33) KT 3. 74; P 2790. 54-55 KT 2. 112; *hama* *Vajr.* 33a3 KT 3. 27.

3. The third person singular

-te < O.Ir. *-tai, cf. Av. -te, O.Ind. -te (< IE *-toi, v. M. S. Ruipérez, *Emerita*, 20, 1952, 8-31).

A. Although -ātā is frequently spelled -āte in O.Kh. (v. p. 192), -āte (mid.) is never in Z spelled -ātā, and I have not noticed -ātā (mid.)

elsewhere in O.Kh. *hāvīyā* Z 3. 138; 9. 17 beside *hīviye* Z 3. 138; *hāvīye* 5. 79 < **hāvīyāte* is a special case. Examples of -āte: *trāmāte* Z 2. 90; *bārūnāte* Or 9609. 3v3 KT 1. 232; *berāte* Z 14. 70; 24. 475; *mañāte* Z 5. 53; 6. 21; *hāmāte* Z 2. 76+. -ite is rare: *rrijite* Z 2. 77; 22. 165; 24. 658. -āve is found once in O.Kh. *paśśāve* Z 2. 179.

The normal development of -āte in L.Kh. was to -e. -e is found already in O.Kh. in: *hāme* Stein E 1. 7 145r1 KT 5. 77. L.Kh.: *brūñe* Hed. 23. 13 KT 4. 36; *hīme* JS 1v4 (2). L.Kh. has also further weakening: -a: *brūñā* JS 23r4 (101); *varāśa'* P 4099. 395 KBT 133 (= *varāśāte* Z 9. 18); -i: *himi* Hed. 17. 8 KT 4. 31.

B, D. On secondary contact, see pp. 193-4. O.Kh. has -te, -tā and rarely -ti. -te: *īste* Z 2. 61+; *kašte* Z 2. 111+; *ditte* Z 1. 37+; *ysānde* Z 2. 80+; *hvīnde* Z 1. 41+; -tā: *istā* Z 12. 68+; *kaštā* Z 22. 320+; *dittā* Z 6. 6+; -ti: *ysāndi* Z 2. 85; *hvīndi* Z 11. 4; 13. 131. L.Kh. has -te, -tā, and more often than in O.Kh., -ti. -te: *spa'tte* Kha vi. 4. 1a1 KT 3. 130; *ysānde* JS 33v2 (147); *vahaiysde* JS 24r3 (105); -tā: *kaštā* *Avdh* 9v2 KT 3. 4; -ti: *pyūṣṭi* Ch c. 001. 731 KBT 90; *butti* P 3513. 55v3 (Asm. 59); *spa'tti* Kha vi. 4. 1b1 KT 3. 130. The final vowel was also weakened further in L.Kh.: *daiysda* P 3513. 55v4 (Asm. 60); *bautta* P 3513. 84v3 KBT 66.

Modifications of -te other than affecting the final vowel:

- de: with present stems in -r (not -rr) and -s (< *-š): *baḍe* Z 2. 95+ (note unique *baḍde* Z 13. 149) < *bar-*; *mīde* Z 4. 116+ < *mār-*; *pyūṣde* Z 14. 73+ < *pyūṣ-*; *ysūṣde* Z 12. 44 < *ysūṣ-*.
- de: after -n, -ys (present stems in -js < *č or *j, and -ys), -rr (< *rn), -ś (< *jy or < *zy): *jsinde* Z 19. 10 < *jsañ-*; *yande* Z 2. 65 < *yan-*; *vataysde* Z 17. 12 < *vatajs-*; *drysde* Z 12. 8, 47 < *drjs-*; *vahīysde* Z 23. 125 < *vahīys-*; *nāhvarrde* Z 12. 93 < *nāhvarr-*; *uskuṣde* Z 11. 50 < *uskuj-*; *pachiśde'* P 3513. 84v3 KBT 66 < *pachiś-*.
- ye, -yā, -tā, -te: after -i-, -ai-. O.Kh.: *jīye* Z 1. 38+; *jīyā* Z 6. 31+; *jītā* Z 24. 482; *ysaiye* Z 4. 115; *ysaite* Z 2. 212; *spaiye* Z 20. 64.
- ve, -vi, -vai are found for -te in L.Kh. 3 sg. of *jsā-*: *jsāve* P 4099. 63 KBT 116; *jsāvi* P 3513. 55v2 (Asm. 59); *jsāvai* P 5538b 64 KT 3. 123 tr. *gatsattī*.
- Note *byaude* Z 2. 9+. See pp. 107, 179.

4. The first person plural

-āmane is the usual O.Kh. form for the 1 pl. pres. mid. ind. and also 1 pl. pres. mid. subj. and (!) 1 pl. pres. subj. act. -āmane is probably a secondary formation beginning in 1 pl. pres. subj. mid., where it was

formed from *-āma* (1 pl. subj. act. in Kh., Av., O.Ind.) under the influence of *-āne* (1 sg. subj. mid. in Kh., Av.). This *-āma* then replaced **-āmade* (cf. Av. *-āmaide* 1 pl. pres. mid.).

O.Kh.: *nījsātā'mane* Z 2. 72; *pachīśāmane* Z 22. 107; 23. 115; *padīmāmane* Suv. K. 31v3 KT 5. 109; 32v2 KT 5. 110; *panamāmane* Stein E. 1. 7. 145v2 KT 5. 77; *pvāmane* Z 24. 518; *hāmāmane* SS 77v2 KT 5. 339; *hīvyāmane* Suv. K. 31v3 KT 5. 109; 30r6 KT 5. 108. L.Kh.: *himāmane* Kha 1. 221 13 KT 3. 129.

In L.Kh. *-āma* is weakened to *-āmaṃ*: *yanāmaṃ* Hed. 3v1 KT 4. 23; *himāmaṃ* Hed. 3v3 KT 4. 23; and further to *-ām*: *stām* P 2741. 86 KT 2. 90; *hamjisyām* P 2741. 104-5 KT 2. 91.

See also 1 pl. pres. subj. act. and mid., from which it is often difficult to distinguish 1 pl. pres. ind. mid.

5. The second person plural

No certain example of the 2 pl. mid. has been found. *yanda* given in the paradigm on p. 198 could equally well be 2 pl. act. (p. 196). No form was given by S. Konow in *Saka Studies*, p. 55. In S. Konow, *Primer*, p. 48; Dresden, p. 414; H. W. B., *Languages of the Saka*, p. 144; Herzenberg, p. 106, *vaštāta* is given as the only example of the 2 pl. mid. I have noticed *vaštāta* only in Suv. K. 33r2 KT 5. 111 tr. *āpādayiṣyatha*. *vašt-* is, however, clearly active as seen for example in 3 pl. pres. *vaštindā* SS 13r6 KT 5. 329. I have been unable to discover why this particular active verb should have been chosen to illustrate the 2 pl. middle!

6. The third person plural

-āre < O.Ir. **-ārai*, cf. Av. *-āire*. Kh. *āste*, *ā're* (v. *āh-* p. 13) = Av. *āste*, *ānhāire*. Kh. has *-re* only in *byaure* < **abi-āfrai* (p. 107). I.I. **-rai*, cf. Av. *sōire*, O.Ind. *sēre* (v. Barth., *GIP*, i, § 121. 2e, p. 66).

The usual form in O.Kh. and L.Kh. is *-āre*. O.Kh.: *jīyāre* Z 3. 29; *dījsāre* Z 2. 45; *nāsāre* Z 3. 55; *panamāre* Z 5. 54; *pyūvā're* Z 1. 52; *hāmāre* Z 3. 147. L.Kh.: *panamāre* Si 133v3 KT 1. 68; *mīrāre* JS 21v1 (92); *hamāre* P 3513. 44r1-2 (Asm. 3).

Already in O.Kh. the final vowel of *-āre* was weakened to *-ā*, *-i*. O.Kh.: *-ārā*: *oysārā* Z 15. 8; *jyārā* Z 15. 11; *nvanthārā* Z 24. 423; *parawysārā* Z 24. 467; *buwārā* Z 24. 646; *buārā* Z 23. 10; *hāmārā* Z 24. 442; *-āri*: *jyāri* Z 2. 191; *diyāri* Z 4. 37; *nuvaštāri* Z 22. 317; *pyūvā'ri* Z 22. 326; *buwāri* Z 24. 519; *mārāri* Z 22. 322; *yanāri* Z 22. 319. L.Kh.: *hamjīsārā* F II. 1. 006. 3-4 KT 2. 69; *spalāri* Kha vi. 4. 1b4 KT 3. 130.

In L.Kh. the further weakening to *-a* is found: *niṣa'māra* P 3510. 9. 5 KBT 53 (= *nāsi'māre* P 3513. 76v4 KBT 62); *phastāra* Ch 00266. 26 KT 3. 35; *byāśā'ra* P 3513. 80v1 KBT 64. L.Kh. has also *-ārai*: *buqrai* P 2787. 105 KT 2. 105.

Unless the vowel-mark has been omitted through carelessness, L.Kh. has occasional forms with *-ā-* shortened to *-ā-*: *štara* P 4099. 106 KBT 118; *hamara* P 3513. 58r1 (Asm. 69). Cf. also *hamjīsāmāri* Ch 00268. 195-6 KBT 68 = *hajsāmāre* Ch 00277. 11v3 KBT 71.

Only in the lyrical P 2956 have I noticed spellings with *-rr-*: *phastārra* P 2956. 17 KT 3. 37 (= *phastāre* Ch 00266. 22 KT 3. 35); *bīješārrā* P 2956. 3-4 KT 3. 36 (= *bīješāre* Ch 00266. 9 KT 3. 34); *ysaunārra* P 2956. 18 KT 3. 37 (= *ysanāra* Ch 00266. 23 KT 3. 35).

THE SUBJUNCTIVE

The subjunctive, or conjunctive, as it is often called, is in Kh. functionally indistinguishable from the optative and injunctive. Formally it is on the whole distinct, the subj. being characterized by *-ā-*, the opt. by *-ī-*. The forms collected so far are here set out on a purely descriptive basis.

SUBJUNCTIVE

Active Middle

SINGULAR

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------|
| 1. <i>-īñi</i> | 1. <i>-ā -āne</i> |
| 2. <i>-e</i> | 2. <i>-ā</i> |
| 3. <i>-a</i> | 3. <i>-āte</i> |

PLURAL

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. <i>-āma -āmane</i> | 1. <i>-āmane</i> |
| 2. <i>-āta</i> | 2. <i>-āta</i> |
| 3. <i>-āru -āro</i> | 3. <i>-āru -āro -ānde</i> |

SUBJUNCTIVE ACTIVE

1. The first person singular

-īñi was derived with some hesitation < **-ani* < **-āni* by S. Konow in *Saka Studies*, p. 54 and NTS, vii, 1934, 43. In *Primer*, pp. 46, 49 *-īñi* is treated as opt. < *-ī-* + **-ni*. It is listed with the opt. by H. W. B., *Languages of the Saka*, p. 144. If *-īñi* is opt. we are left with no 1 sg. subj. act. Note that in Z 7. 4-5 *parsimā* is parallel with *tsīñi*, *upevīñi* and the ind. is commonly so used (v. Dresden, p. 414, n. 65). *-imā* beside 1 pl. *-āmā*, *-āmane* may have resulted in producing *-īñi* (for **-āñi*) beside 1 pl. *-āma*, *-āmane*. Note also that **-āni* may be supported by the B. Sogd. spelling *-n* beside *-n* (v. I. G., *GMS*, §§ 685-6, p. 108).

-īñi, less common *-īñā*, and once only *-īñe*, have been found only in O.Kh. Only one example of *-īñi* has been noticed with a mid. verb.: *upevīñi* Z 7. 5 < LW *upev-*. This verb also provides the only instances

of -īyā 3 sg. opt. from a mid. verb. It is likely therefore that *upev-* was act. or mid.

-īñi: *ggūchīñi* Z 4. 110; *gūchīñi* Kha 1. 69a 5 KT 5. 134; *carīñi* Z 7. 6; *jāñiñi* Kha 1. 69a 5 KT 5. 134; *jvīñi* D III. 1. 8v5 KT 5. 70; *tsīñi* Z 2. 213, 214; 7. 4; *dāśīñi* Z 23. 36; *dīñi* Z 2. 100; *parrijīñi* Z 2. 184, 216; 5. 113; 6. 60; *yanīñi* Z 13. 4; *hvāñiñi* Kha 1. 13. 141r5 KBT 4.

-īñā: *jiniñā* Kha 1. 214 b5 KT 5. 164; *tsiñā* SS 83r5 KT 5. 341; Kha 1. 214 a6 KT 5. 164; *byehiñā* Kha ii 29 8r2 KBT 9; Or 9609. 3v7 KT 1. 232; *hvāñiñā* SS 83r5 KT 5. 341.

-īñe: *byehiñe* Kha ix 13a2 a2 KT 5. 184.

2. The second person singular

-e < O.Ir. *-āh(i), cf. Av. -āhi, -ā.

One example only has been noticed so far, O.Kh. *pīre* Z 24. 245.

3. The third person singular

-a < O.Ir. *-āt, cf. Av. -āt.

Only one clear example: *yana* Z 21. 15. In the case of present stems unable to show palatalization it is not possible to distinguish the 3 sg. subj. from the 3 sg. opt. act. in -īa. Ambiguous O.Kh. examples from act. verbs are: *ttuvāya* Z 24. 239; *tvā'ya* Z 24. 238 (?); *birāta* Z 13. 79; *byeha* Z 13. 70, 82, 84; *bvāña* Z 13. 62; *sāja* Z 13. 57.

4. The first person plural

(a) -āma, cf. Av. O.Ir. -āma.

-āma is found in O.Kh. only and is rare: *parsāma* Z 22. 212, 336; *yanāma* Z 2. 106; Kha. 1. 13. 139v3 KBT 3.

(b) -āmane has probably spread from the 1 pl. subj. mid. See also pp. 199-200.

O.Kh. -āmane: *byehāmane* Z 22. 336 (parallel with subj. *parsāma* and *jiyānde*); -āmanai: *hanāśśāmanai* Suv. K. 32v2-3 KT 5. 110 (parallel with pres. ind. act. (l) *yanāmā*, *ājumāmā*).

L.Kh. -āmane: *byehāmane* P 2790. 95 KT 2. 113; *hamgūjāmane* P 2031. 20 KT 2. 84; -āmana: *pyāmana* P 2781. 131 (63) KT 3. 71; -āmine: *byehāmine* Kha 1. 158. 15-16 KT 3. 128; -āmanai: *tsoqmanai* P 2787. 7 KT 2. 101.

5. The second person plural

-āta cannot continue O.Ir. *-āθa, cf. GAv. -āθā, O.Ir. -ātha. There has probably been interference with 2 pl. inj. -ta (Av. -ata).

O.Kh. -āta: *kṣamāta* Z 23. 92; *śśūhāta* Z 22. 96; *haspāsāta* Z 19. 94; *hīsāta* Z 22. 99. L.Kh. -āta: *byehāta* P 2790. 13 KT 2. 111; -āva: *kṣamāva* Ch 00266. 107 KBT 24; *byehāva* P 2781. 111 (43) KT 3. 70.

6. The third person plural

-āru, -āro beside 2. 3. pl. opt. act. and mid. -īru and 3 pl. opt. act. and mid. -īro show that -ā- is here the subj. characteristic. -r endings in Av. are confined to the 3 pl. but extended to the 3 dual in the perfect. In O.Ir. also they have been extended from 3 pl. to 2. 3. dual in the perfect. For bibliography of the much-discussed r-endings of IE, see W. Porzig, *Die Gliederung des indogermanischen Sprachgebiets*, Heidelberg, 1954, 83. See also M. Leumann, *Morphologische Neuerungen im altindischen Verbalsystem*, in *Med. d. kon. nederl. Ak. v. wet.*, 1952, 72-123. Leumann, op. cit., p. 91, takes -ram in Av. *vaozīram* Yt 19. 69 to be a sandhi-form of *-rən because Vedic -ram, which stands beside -ran, occurs only in late books of RV. O.Ir. *-ram is, however, expected from Kh. -ru. Just as in O.Ir. -ur replaced *-at (< *-nt) in *adadhur* beside Av. *dadaṣ* 3 pl. imperf. and *-ant in *bhareyur* beside Av. *baraym* 3 pl. opt. act. them., so in Kh. we have here -āru for expected *-āndi < *-ānti, cf. Av. -ānti; in the mid. -āru beside -ānde < *-āntai, cf. Av. -ānte. Further, if Av. *vaozīram* is taken as 3 pl. opt. (for -ī-, cf. *varəzimāčā* Y. 35. 3), we have *-īram to set beside O.Ir. -īran. With this *-īram there is no difficulty in identifying -īru. (Av. *vaozīram* was so interpreted by J. Wackernagel ap. H. Lommel, *Die Yāst's des Avesta*, Leipzig, 1927, 183, n. 5.)

O.Kh. -āru: *diyāru* Z 4. 91; *parsāru* Z 2. 193; 12. 87; *biysānāru* Z 4. 90; *yanāru* Z 23. 29 (or mid.); -āro: *kūśāro* Kha i 129a1 b2 KT 5. 147; *numāndrāro* H 144 NS 67 v2 KT 5. 88; *parsāro* Z 1. 84; 5. 112; *pvāro* Z 13. 81; 15. 44; *byehāro* Kha ii. 31 a1, 2 (b3) KT 5. 176; *yanāro* Z 2. 106; 24. 50 (or mid.); *ramāro* Suv. K. 33r3-4; v1, 2 KT 5. 111; *vihilāro* Suv. K. 33r6 KT 5. 111; *hayirāro* Suv. K. 33r4; v2 KT 5. 111; *haiśāro* Z 2. 156; *haurāro* Kha i. 129a1 b2 KT 5. 147.

In L.Kh. I have noticed two examples of the mid. ending used with act. verbs: *sijāṃdi* Avdh 21v2 KT 3. 12; *hambīrānde* Kha 1. 221. 10, 11 KT 3. 129.

SUBJUNCTIVE MIDDLE

1. The first person singular

-āne < O.Ir. *-ānai, cf. Av. -āne (v. Barth., *GIP*, i, § 114. 4, p. 63).

O.Kh. has once *hāmā* Z 11. 1. Cf. L.Kh. *mīrā* StH 73 KT 2. 76 (H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. ii. 1, 1951, 43). According to S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 43 -ne in *hāmāne* 'was felt to be a separable particle'. It was not, however, very often separated. As *hām-* is a very frequent auxiliary, it would seem more likely that *hāmā* shows an early reduction < *hāmān < *hāmāne* (cf. -āmane > -āmañ > -ām, p. 200).

O.Kh. -āne: *auysāne* Z 3. 70; *bvāne* Z 5. 113; 11. 77; 12. 1; 24. 259; Kha 1. 214 b3 KT 5. 164; *varāśāne* Z 2. 203; *hāmāne* Z 1. 190; 14. 100;

23. 93, 372; 24. 185; *hotāne* Z 14. 3. O.Kh. -ānā: *panamānā* E 20 app. 'E', p. 355; -āni: *buwāni* Z 2. 206.

The act. ending -āni is found once only with a mid. verb, O.Kh.: *upevīni* Z 7. 5 (v. pp. 201-2).

L.Kh. -āne: *kaśāne* P 3513. 50r2 (32); *ttrāmāne* P 3513. 50v2 (34); 51v3 (39); *dijsāne* P 3513. 49v2 (30); *dyāne* Hed. 23. 29 KT 4. 37; *bvāne* JS 3v2 (9); *StH* 54 KT 2. 75; P 3513. 54r2 (Asm. 50); P 3513. 74r1 KT 1. 248; *ysyāne* P 3513. 82r4 KBT 65; *vījsyāne* Ch 1. 0021b, b35 KBT 154; *himāne* P 3513. 70v4 KT 1. 247.

L.Kh. has various later spellings: -āna: *ysyāna* Ch 0048. 69 KBT 74; -āni: *himāni* Hed. 23. 24 KT 4. 36; -ānai: *ysyānai* P 3513. 82r3 KBT 65; *vījsyānai* Ch 1. 0021b, a²36 KBT 151; -auna: *vījsyauna* P 3510. 5. 3 KBT 50; -aune: *kaśaune* P 3513. 82v1 KBT 65; *nāsaune* P 3513. 82r2 KBT 65; *vījsyaune* P 3510. 8. 3 KBT 52; *hamaune* P 3513. 78r3 KBT 63; -aunai: *hamaunai* P 3513. 84v1 KBT 66; P 2027. 41. KT 2. 81; *mīraunai* P 2027. 37 KT 2. 81.

2. The second person singular

-ā < *-āha, cf. Av. *dānhā* (v. Barth. § 115. 2, p. 63), rather than < *-āhai, cf. Av. *-āhe*, O.Ind. -āse, as *-e might be expected < *-āhai. Not < *-aha as S. Konow, NTS, vii, 1934, 43, which, as expected, gives -a in the ind. (v. p. 198).

O.Kh. -ā: *yanā* Z 12. 53. L.Kh.: -ā: *mīrā* P 2783. 196 (35) KT 3. 74; *hamā* JS 5v3 (19). -ā is found also in: *dalsā* N 76. 42 (v. p. 44); *prrevā* Kha 1. 13. 148r2 KBT 7; *varā* P 2783. 193 (32), 196 (35) KT 3. 74.

3. The third person singular

-āte < O.Ir. *-ātai, cf. Av. -āite, O.Ind. -āte.

O.Kh.: *ā'te* Z 2. 222; *upevāte* Z 13. 97; *oysāte* Z 19. 51; *kaśāte* Z 19. 11; *vyāte* Z 3. 63; *dyjsāte* Z 5. 114; *dijsāte* H 147 NS 109. 41r5 KT 5. 73; *nāsāte* Z 8. 48; *pīrāte* (write) H 147 NS 109. 41r5 KT 5. 73; *pvā'te* Z 15. 133; *pyūvā'te* H 147 NS 109. 41r4 KT 5. 73; *pyūā'te* SS 36r4 KT 5. 337; *pyūvā'te* Suv. K. 31r4 KT 5. 109 tr. *śrnyāt*; *bāraysāte* Suv. K. 30r2 KT 5. 107; *hāmāte* Z 2. 51+; Suv. K. 31v6, 7 KT 5. 109; 34r2 KT 5. 112; *hīvyāte* Suv. K. 30r4 KT 5. 108 tr. *parigrahaṃ*.

L.Kh.: *dijsāte* Ch c. 001. 211 KBT 76; *pvāte* ibid.; *spalāte* Kha vi. 4. 123 KT 3. 130.

L.Kh. shows also the following spellings: -ātā: *hāmātā* Vajr. 10a4-b1 KT 3. 22 tr. *pravarteta*; -āva: *hamāva-m* P 3513. 53r4 (Asm. 47); -āvā: *hamāvā* JS 39r3; 39v2; -āvi: *hamāvi* JS 39r4; -āve: *āyīmāve* S 2471. 114 KBT 94; *pvāve* ibid. 117 KBT 94; *pvā've* P 3513. 84v2 KBT 66; *bvāve* P 3513. 57v4 (Asm. 69); *yanāve* S 2471. 114-15 KBT 94; *hamāve* P 3513. 47r3 (Asm. 18).

4. The first person plural

-āmane is probably a secondary formation, v. pp. 199-200, ad 4. Sogd. Anc. Lett. -'ymn and Chor. -āmmi have been compared, v. I. G., GMS, § 716, n. 1.

O.Kh.: *yanāmane* SS 77v4 KT 5. 339 (conditional clause); *yanāmane* Kha 1. 13 139v3-4 KBT 3 (parallel with *yanāma*) < *yan-* act. or mid.; *hāmāmane* Kha 1. 13 142v3 KBT 5. L.Kh.: *himāmane* Kha 1. 221. 13 KT 3. 129 could be ind.

In O.Kh. -amane is found with *jsā-* and *hamjsā-*: *jsamane* Z 19. 94; 20. 28; *ha<m>jsamane* H 142 NSB 4r1 KT 5. 78. Cf. *jsaman<e>* Hoernle 142, 143. 1 (bis) KT 5. 67. In L.Kh. the expected -ā- is found: *jsāmanai* P 2787. 7 KT 2. 101. Possibly by haplology < **hamjsam-āmane* as S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, pp. 56, 140.

5. The second person plural

-āta = act., v. p. 202, 5.

One example only, L.Kh.: *bvāta* P 2781. 111 (43) KT 3. 70.

6. The third person plural

(a) -ānde < O.Ir. *-āntai, cf. Av. -ānte.

O.Kh. -ānde: *jiyānde* Z 22. 336; *pyūā'nde* SS 83v1 KT 5. 341; *pyūvānde* Or 9609. 4v3-4 KT 1. 233; *pyū'vānde* ibid. 5r2 KT 1. 234; *bvānde* Z 23. 372; *hamjsā'nde* Suv. K. 32r7 KT 5. 110; *haraysānde* Z 3. 66; *hāmānde* Z 2. 203; 8. 26; 11. 74, 76; 22. 92.

-ānde is rare in O.Kh.: *pyūvām'de* H 143 NS 65+144 NSB 11 8v2 KT 5. 68, but usual in L.Kh.: *jānde* P 3513. 48v1 (Asm. 24); *JS* 13r4 (54); *ttrāmānde* P 3513. 81r2 KBT 64; *dijsānde* P 3513. 46v1 (Asm. 15); *pvānde* P 3513. 71v3 KT 1. 247; *bvānde* ibid. v4; *jinānde* P 3513. 44r1 (Asm. 3); Hed. 23. 30 KT 4. 37; *hāmānde* Avdh 6v5 KT 3. 2.

L.Kh. has also the following spellings: -ādi: *jādi* JS 39v1; -āndi: *hamāndi* Hed. 7. 10 KT 4. 25; *niśa'māndi* P 3513. 71r1 KT 1. 247; -āde: *himāde* Kha 1. 221 7 KT 3. 129; *niśi'māde* Si 1 bis vi-2 KT 1. 3; -aude: *pajāysaude* P 3513. 79r4 KBT 63; *hamaude* P 3513. 82r3 KBT 65; 84v4 KBT 66.

On transfer to act. verbs in L.Kh., v. p. 203 ad 6.

(b) -āru, -āro, v. p. 203 ad 6.

O.Kh. -āru: *āysānāru* Z 5. 97; *baysāru* Z 3. 135; *barāru* Z 13. 24; *bvāru* Z 2. 105; 11. 76.

O.Kh. -āro: *āryāro* Suv. K. 33v1 KT 5. 111; *uskujāro* Z 12. 70; *pajāysāro* Z 11. 44; Or. 9609. 3r2 KT 1. 232; *bvāro* Z 11. 7; Kha 1. 21423 KT 5. 164; *mañāro* (think) Suv. K. 33r4 KT 5. 111;

vasusāro H 142 NS 79 b2 *KT* 5. 30; *hamjsāṣā'ro* *Suv.* K. 33r6 *KT* 5. 111; *handajāro* Kha 1. 58a1 b4 *KT* 5. 132; *hamyāro* Z 2. 140; *haraysāro* Z 5. 43; *hāmāro* Z 3. 97, 151; 11. 43; 20. 6; 23. 134, 368; Kha 1. 13. 138r5 *KB* T 3; *SS* 27v5 *KT* 5. 334; 33r4, v1, 3, 5 *KT* 5. 335; *huṣṣāñāro* *Suv.* K. 33v2 *KT* 5. 111.

OPTATIVE

The optative is characterized by *-ī-* in formal contrast to the subj. which has *-ā-*. The forms are here classified on a purely descriptive basis. Striking is the absence of 1 pl. forms. The subj. supplies this need. *parsimā* was hesitatingly given as 1 pl. by H. W. B., *Languages of the Saka*, p. 144. This *-īmā* could formally derive < IE **-oimi*; but it is no doubt simply 1 sg. pres. ind. act. (v. p. 201).

OPTATIVE					
Active			Middle		
SINGULAR					
1.	<i>-ä</i>	<i>-io</i>	<i>-īne</i>	1.	<i>*-īne</i>
2.	<i>-ä?</i>			2.	
3.	<i>-ia</i>	<i>-ä</i>	<i>-īyā</i>	3.	<i>-īya</i>
PLURAL					
1.				1.	
2.	<i>-īru</i>			2.	<i>-īru</i>
3.	<i>-īru</i>	<i>-īro</i>		3.	<i>-īru -īro</i>

OPTATIVE ACTIVE

1. The first person singular

(a) *-ā*, *-i* < O.Ir. **-aim*, cf. B. Sogd. *-y* < **-ai(ya)m* (I. G., *GMS*, § 689, p. 108). Kh. would have **-ī* < **-aiyam* at least and probably **-ai*. The Kh. was previously unexplained; v. S. Konow's difficulties, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 45.

O.Kh. *-ā*: *ttuvāyā* Z 11. 8; *byehā* Z 7. 3; *-i*: *parsi* Z 13. 45; 22. 333; *bvāñi* Z 11. 23. L.Kh. *-i*: *nāsi* P 3513. 81v4 *KB* T 64.

(b) *-io* < O.Ir. **-yām*, cf. Av. *-yam*, O.Ind. *-yām*.

O.Kh. *-io* is clearly visible only in *hiśso* Z 22. 335 < *hīs-*. In other cases the present stem cannot show palatalization: *-o*: *anuvartto* Z 4. 108 (or mid.); *ttrāyo* N 168. 28; *byevo* Z 2. 183; *byeho* Z 7. 3; *hvāñi* H 144 NS 69. 467r2 *KT* 5. 49.

O.Kh. also has *-iu* in *paysāñu* Z 13. 160 (cf. *-o/-u* < **-ām* in ASf *ā-* decl.). With present stems already palatalized it is not possible to distinguish from the inj. as pointed out by S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 44. Such are O.Kh.: *dāśsu* Z 11. 77; *parriju* Z 4. 112; *byehu* Z 7. 2.

(c) *-īne* is found only in L.Kh. and is thus evidently a secondary formation, the O.Kh. endings (a), (b) being insufficiently distinctive. The form is based on opt. *-ī-+ne*. The ending probably began in the mid. under the influence of *-āne* 1 sg. subj. mid. *-āne*: *-āru* = *-īne*: *-īru*. L.Kh. *-ī* belongs to *-īne* as *-ā* to *-āne*, v. p. 203.

L.Kh. *-īne*: *byehīne* Ch 1. 0021b. b39 *KB* T 154; b45 *KB* T 154; *byehīne* P 2783. 44-45 *KT* 3. 74.

L.Kh. has also the spellings: *-ina*: *tsina* P 2891. 42 *KT* 3. 81; *yanina* (or mid.) P 2786. 195 *KT* 2. 99; P 2958. 207-8 *KT* 2. 120; *hajsaimina* P 2897. 42 *KT* 2. 116; *-inai*: *pašinai* P 2897. 41 *KT* 2. 116; *byehīnai* Ch 1. 0021b. b48 *KB* T 154; *hīsīnai* P 2027. 38 *KT* 2. 81.

L.Kh. has also the further reductions: *-im*: *pīm* *Avdh* 21r2 *KT* 3. 11; *-i*: *namasi* P 3513. 46v4 (Asm. 17); *pārīphī* P 3513. 65r3 *KT* 1. 244 tr. *sthāpayiṣye*; *pī* (fall) P 2783. 179 (18) *KT* 3. 73; *bārī* P 3513. 79v2 *KB* T 63; *byehī* Hed. 11. 3 *KT* 4. 27; *yini* P 3513. 46v4 (Asm. 17) (or mid.); *vasūjī* P 3513. 52v2 (Asm. 44); *hamgūjī* P 3513. 49r3 (Asm. 28); *harsī* P 3513. 81r3 *KB* T 64.

2. The second person singular

? *-ā* < O.Ir. **-aiš*, cf. Av. *-ōiš*, O.Ind. *-es*.

If O.Kh. *dai* *SS* 21r4 *KT* 5. 331 is not 2 sg. pres. but opt., it will derive < **dayā*. See also on 2 sg. imper. mid. (p. 213).

3. The third person singular

(a) *-ia* < O.Ir. **-yāt*, cf. Av. *-yāt*, O.Ind. *-yāt*.

O.Kh. *-ia* is clearly visible in: *kšīma* Z 2. 243; 21. 19, 26 < *kšam-*; *pulśa* Z 13. 105, 107 < *pulś-*; *bināśsa* Z 13. 100 < *binās-*; *harañia* Z 13. 72 < *harañ-*; *hiśa* Z 6. 58 < *hīs-*; *hvīra* Z 13. 93, 100 < *hvar-*. L.Kh. has *hera* *JS* 8r4 (30) < *haur-*.

Where the present stem is already palatalized, it is not possible to distinguish the 3 sg. opt. from the 3 sg. subj. act. (v. p. 202, 3) e.g. *hvāñi* Z 23. 7 < *hvāñ-* could have *-a* or *-ia*. *biyāśsa* Z 13. 113 is probably opt., as it is parallel with *phaštīya*, < *biyāśš-* (act. mid. X).

(b) *-ā* < O.Ir. **-ait*, cf. Av. *-ōit*, O.Ind. *-et*.

O.Kh.: *-ā*: *usthamjā* H 147 NS 111 43v1 *KT* 5. 75; *kerā* *SS* 33r1 *KT* 5. 335; *kšamā* Z 21. 18; *kšamevā* Z 19. 57; *khāśā* Z 2. 59;

thiśā Z 4. 91; *nihaljā* Z 2. 178; *patā* Z 20. 63; *pātāyā* Z 6. 36; 13. 111; *bajā* Z 23. 110; *bajevā* Z 6. 19; *byūsā* Z 5. 32; *ysānājā* Z 3. 102; *vaštā* Z 16. 4; *sumārā* SS 2716 KT 5. 333; *saitā* Z 2. 71; *saiyā* Z 7. 26; 10. 35; *hatcañā* SS 3616 KT 5. 337; *harsā* Z 2. 216.

O.Kh.: *-i*: *kūśi* Z 4. 118; *parsi* Z 23. 11; *baji* Z 13. 78; *māñi* (resemble) Z 2. 181; *sāji* Z 6. 18; *saiyi* Z 13. 107; *harsi* Z 23. 29; *hauri* Z 3. 148; *hvāñi* Z 24. 165. *kei* Z 13. 31 < **kāt'i*. L.Kh. *byehi* JS 38v1 (167) is probably 3 sg. pres. ind. (v. p. 192).

(c) *-iā* is clearly a secondary formation, probably based on the 3 sg. opt. mid. *-iā* < **-ita*, **-aita* under the influence of the 3 sg. pres. ind. act. *-tā*.

-iā is the most frequent spelling in O.Kh.: *ṣamīyā* Z 3. 24+; Or 9609. 53v4 KT 1. 237 (tr. *°kāmo bhavet*); *ṣamevīyā* Z 12. 83; *khijīyā* Z 19. 51; *tsīyā* Or 9609. 36v7 KT 1. 237 (tr. *atikramīyati*); *namasiyā* H 147 NS 109. 41v1 KT 5. 73; *pathamjīyā* Z 12. 119, 129; *parrījīyā* Z 22. 292; *pulsiyā* Z 17. 28; *pravartīyā* Z 4. 104; *bajīyā* Z 11. 27; *bārāṣīyā* Or 9609. 55v6 KT 1. 240 (tr. *sampra-kāśayīyati*); *buvāñīyā* Z 12. 47; *bvāñīyā* Z 12. 48; *byehīyā* H 144 N 30 etc. v5 KT 5. 95; *manīyā* Z 2. 200; *vaštīyā* Z 10. 29; *vāṣīyā* H 147 NS 109. 41r5 KT 5. 73; Kha ix. 13a2 a5 KT 5. 185; *hvarīyā* Z 2. 213.

-iā is occasionally found in L.Kh.: *ṣamīyā* Avdh 9r1 KT 3. 3; *siṣīyā* Avdh 21v3 KT 3. 12; *vāṣī'yā* Ch c. 001. 210-11 KBT 76.

O.Kh. also has the spellings: *-itā*: *narāmītā* Z 24. 199; *pātāyitā* Z 19. 52; *byehitā* Z 22. 99; *-iti*: *vāṣiti* Z 11. 66; *-iyi*: *jsanīyi* Z 2. 200; *ramīyi* Z 24. 199; *hīsiyi* Z 22. 103.

The usual spelling in L.Kh. is the reduced form *-ī*. *-ī* has been noticed only once in O.Kh.: *saṃkhalī* D III. 1 8v2 KT 5. 69 (v. p. 130). (Note that O.Kh. *bī* Z 21. 15 is perhaps < **bidi* and belongs to (b) above.) L.Kh. *-ī*: *tsī* P 3513. 82v1 KBT 65; JS 3r4 (9); *parī* Ch c. 001. 211 KBT 76; S 2471. 106 KBT 94 (or ind.); *paśī* JS 9r1 (34); *mūñi* Hed. 23. 20 KT 4. 36; *vyqchī* JS 3r4 (9); *sāji* Ch c. 001. 210 KBT 76; *hambīrī* P 3513. 56v4 (Asm. 64); *hūrī* S 2471. 207 KBT 98; *huṣī* JS 2v3 (6); *hvāñī* Ch c. 001. 211 KBT 76.

O.Kh. *kātai'yā* H 147 NS 109 41r5 KT 5. 73 is probably < **kātī'yā* + **kai'yā*, cf. 3 pl. pres. *kātī'ndā* beside *kai'ndā*.

-iye is also found in L.Kh.: *yanīye* S 2471. 108-9 KBT 94; *vāṣī'ye* S 2471. 122 KBT 95; *hīsiye* P 2790. 120 KT 2. 114.

-iā, properly 3 sg. opt. mid., is found once in O.Kh.: *pīyā* Z 13. 72. It is found occasionally in L.Kh.: *vāṣī'ya*, *tsīya* StH 43 KT 2. 74; *vaṣīya* P 2801. 55 KT 3. 67.

(d) Miscellaneous:

-u in O.Kh.: *padajsu* Z 2. 112; *hauru* SS 33r2 KT 5. 335. These are the only forms noticed. They are probably variants of *-ā* (b).

O.Kh. *daira*, Z 5. 72 only, appears to have **-ira*. Although the context formally requires 3 sg., transition to the 3 pl. in general statements is common, so that *daira* may be a late spelling for **dairu*.

-e is not yet established as an opt. termination. In O.Kh. perhaps: *paname* Stein E 1. 7. 145v1 KT 5. 77; *vaṣte* Z 24. 48. In L.Kh.: *viṣte* Avdh. 8v4 KT 3. 3; *vāṣte* ibid. 8v5 KT 3. 3. These may be early examples of L.Kh. *-e* < *-āte* 3 sg. pres. ind. act. mid.

4. The first person plural

Not found.

5. The second person plural

-iru v. p. 203.

O.Kh.: *usthamjīru* Z 23. 99; *vasūjīru* Or 9609. 5r7 KT 1. 234 tr. *prasādaya*. *yanīru* Z 2. 96; 13. 4; 23. 1; Or 9609. 5r7 KT 1. 234 (act. or mid.).

6. The third person plural

-iru, *-īro* v. p. 203.

O.Kh. *-iru*: *kaljīru* Z 24. 379; *purorīru* Z 4. 63; *buysairu* Z 4. 63; *sūjsīru* Z 4. 49; *hvāñīru* Z 13. 105. *yanīru* Z 11. 75; 19. 38 (act. or mid.).

O.Kh. *-īro*: *patīro* Z 13. 79; *pīro* Z 13. 72; *vamasīro* Kha 1. 13. 141v3-4 KBT 4.

OPTATIVE MIDDLE

1. The first person singular

**-īne* v. 1 (c) p. 207.

L.Kh. only, *-īna*: *bvīna* Hed. 3. 10 KT 4. 22; *-īnai*: *gaisīnai* P 2958. 192 KT 2. 120.

2. The second person singular

Not found.

3. The third person singular

-iā < O.Ir. **-aita*, cf. Av. *-aēta*, O.Ind. *-eta*.

O.Kh. *-iā*: *ggihīyā* Z 13. 86, 89; *buvīyā* Z 13. 62; *byūhīyā* Z 13. 74; *mārīyā* Z 15. 18; *mirīyā* Z 13. 79; *ysaiyā* Z 24. 121; *hāmīyā* Z 13. 69, 103, 104, 107, 134; 23. 173.

Only one instance of act. -*īyā* with a mid. verb has been noticed, O.Kh.: *upevīyā* Z 8. 24, 25 (two occurrences). See pp. 201-2.

4. The first person plural

Not found.

5. The second person plural

-*īru*, -*īro* v. p. 203.

-*īru* is by far the most frequent spelling in O.Kh.: *kaśīru* Z 23. 99; *nvaśīru* Z 20. 52; *pyuvīru* Z 5. 13; *pyuvī'ru* Z 5. 1, 8; 10. 1; 23. 3; *pyūvī'ru* Z 24. 209; Or 9609. 5r7 KT 1. 234; *buvīru* Z 23. 93; *bvīru* Z 11. 71; *padīmīru* Suv. K. 32v7 KT 5. 110; *vajsāśī'ru* Z 24. 209; *vajśī'ru* Z 23. 99; *varāśīru* Z 23. 94; *vahīysīru* Z 24. 481; *ṣṭīru* Suv. K. 29r3 KT 5. 106; *hāmīru* Z 22. 108, 277; 23. 171, 173; 24. 213.

Other O.Kh. spellings are: -*īrā*: *pyuvī'rā* Z 6. 1; *vajsiti'rā* Z 23. 96; *hivīrā* Suv. K. 29v4 KT 5. 107; -*īri*: *pyuvī'ri* Z 5. 21; *buvīri* Z 22. 317; -*īro*: *thaṇjīro* Z 5. 1.

L.Kh. spellings: -*īrau*: *gyinīrau* Hed. 8. 4 KT 4. 26; *jvīrau* (fight) P 2781. 31 KT 3. 69; *paṇmarīrau* Hed. 20. 13 KT 4. 34; *pvi'rau* Hed. 20. 11 KT 4. 34. *yanīrau* Hed. 8. 1 KT 4. 26 (act. or mid.). -*īryau*: *hadārīryau* P 2834. 51 KBT 46.

6. The third person plural

-*īru*, -*īro* v. p. 203.

O.Kh. -*īru*: *ḍīru* Z 11. 73; 21. 25; *hāmīru* Z 13. 70, 113; -*īro*: *baysīro* Z 21. 29; *ysairo* Z 8. 25.

L.Kh. spellings: -*īra*: *hadārīra* P 2834. 37 KBT 46; -*īryau*: *pajāysīryau* P 3513. 80v4-81r1 KBT 64.

INJUNCTIVE

Active	Middle
1. sg. - <i>u</i>	1. sg.
3. sg. -(ā) <i>ta</i>	3. sg. -(ā) <i>ta</i>

1. First person singular active

-*u* < O.Ir. *-*am*, cf. Av. -*əm*, O.Ind. -*am*. Cf. Chr. B. Sogd. -*w* I. G., GMS, § 688, p. 108.

One certain example, O.Kh.: *parsu* Z 24. 435. In the case of present stems already palatalized, it is not possible to distinguish inj. from opt. (v. p. 207, 1 (b)).

2. Third person singular active

-*ta* must be from the mid. -*ta* generalized.

A. -*āta*, -*īta*. O.Kh. -*āta*: *kūśāta* Z 14. 98; -*īta*: *māñita* Z 22. 278 (v. S. Konow, NTS, vii, 1934, 16-17).

B. -*ta*: *tsūta* Suv. K. 32r5 KT 5. 110; -*da* (after -*n*): *jinda* Z 22. 278 (v. S. Konow, NTS, vii, 1934, 16-17). Act. or mid.: *paysānda* Suv. K. 34r3 KT 5. 112; *yanda* Z 2. 180; 5. 48; 14. 86; 20. 22; 22. 278.

3. Third person singular middle

-*ta* < O.Ir. *-(*a*)*ta*, cf. Av., O.Ind. -(*a*)*ta*.

A. O.Kh. -*āta*: *hāmāta* Suv. K. 35r6 KT 5. 113.

B. O.Kh. -*ta*: *nāsta* Z 3. 149; 24. 387; Kha 1. 13. 147r5 KBT 7; SS 36v1 KT 5. 337; *butta* Z 2. 25, 117; 8. 36; *hautta* Z 24. 437.

After -*ṣ* O.Kh. has -*ḍa*: *nijsaḍa* Z 14. 96; *pyūṣḍa* Z 5. 25; 8. 35; Suv. K. 34r5 KT 5. 112 tr. *ṣṛmuyād*; *hamjsaḍa* Z 13. 147; Suv. K. 32r6 KT 5. 110 tr. *okāmo bhavet*.

After -*ys* O.Kh. has -*da*: *pachīysda* Z 11. 4; *haraysda* Z 5. 88, 106. -*va* is found in O.Kh.: *darrauwa* H 147 NS 109 41v3 KT 5. 73.

IMPERATIVE

Active	Middle
2 sg. - <i>a</i>	2 sg. - <i>u</i>
3 sg. -(ā) <i>tu</i>	3 sg. - <i>āto</i>
2 pl. -(ā) <i>ta</i>	2 pl. *- <i>ta</i>
3 pl. - <i>āndu</i>	3 pl.

IMPERATIVE ACTIVE

1. The second person singular

-*a*, cf. Av., O.Ind. -*a*.

-*a* is frequent in O.Kh.: *uysdāya* Z 2. 84; *kṣama* Z 2. 132; 5. 45; *jina* Z 22. 192; *ttrāya* Z 24. 435; *ḍīsa* Z 12. 53; *nya* Z 5. 52; *pathīsa* Z 24. 456; *pulsa* Z 7. 41; 11. 4; *hamīha* Z 2. 95; *haura* Z 12. 10; and in L.Kh.: *uysdya* Avdh 18v4 KT 3. 10; *ttrāya* Avdh 20r1 KT 3. 11; *haura* Hed. 3. 16 KT 4. 22.

-*a* is absorbed in roots in *-*av*: *tso* Z 2. 70+; *tsau* Z 2. 144 < **čyava*; *naltsa* Z 5. 30; *buyso* Z 5. 50 < **vi-zāva*. The resulting -*o* is found weakened to -*u* already in O.Kh.: *tsu* SS 80v2 KT 5. 341.

-u, the mid. ending, is rarely found with act. verbs. O.Kh. has: *hamggalju* Z 12. 15, 29; *hamggāru* Z 21. 21.

L.Kh. has -e: *pa'a'se* JS 28v4 (126). -a has been lost in L.Kh. *yaṇ* Hed. 3. 16 KT 4. 22 < O.Kh. *yana*.

2. The third person singular

-tu, cf. Av., O.Ind. -tu.

A. -ātu in O.Kh. *āvulātu* Z 2. 101 (act. mid. X) and *sambajātu* Or 9609. 54r5 KT 1. 238 tr. *samṛdhyatu*. The latter is probably act., cf. 3 sg. opt. *sabajiyā* Or 9609. 4r1 KT 1. 233.

B. -tu in O.Kh. *pa'a'ttu* Z 2. 101.

O.Kh. -to (> -do after -n) is extended from the mid.: *jindo* Z 5. 11.

3. The second person plural

-ta, cf. O.Ind. -ta. See also p. 196, 5.

A. -āta in O.Kh.: *ājumāta* Dumaqu-0119. 89r1 KT 5. 263; *parrijāta* Z 11. 72; -ita in O.Kh.: *hatcañita* Z 22. 276; *hvāñita* Z 11. 72; 24. 491. -ita > -ya in L.Kh.: *padaimya* P 2786. 25-26 KT 2. 94. The particle *ra*, *rā* (< O.Kh. *ro*, *ru*) has become in L.Kh. attached to the 2 pl. imper. The following spellings have been noticed:

(i) -ara < -yara after palatals: *bāyara* P 2801. 41 KT 3. 67; *hagai'jara* P 2787. 183 KT 2. 108; *hausa'ra* P 2783. 186 (25) KT 3. 73.

(ii) -arā < -yarā after palatals: *ka'jarā* Hed. 20. 16 KT 4. 34; *paśarā* Ch 00269. 84 KT 2. 46; *bāyarā* P 2790. 33 KT 2. 111; *mūñarā* (remain) Ch 00269. 112 KT 2. 47; *hūñarā* Hed. 7v6 KT 4. 26.

(iii) -yara: *nāraumyara* P 2956. 55 KT 3. 39; *bāvyara* P 2022. 34 KT 3. 43 (or mid.).

(iv) -yarā: *cinḍyarā* P 2801. 20-21 KT 3. 66; *tvaśdyarā* Hed. 20. 12 KT 4. 34 (A/B); -yari: *hajsemyari* Domoko A 4. 5, 6 KT 2. 62; *ibid.* 8 KT 2. 63 (?).

(v) -yerā: *bāvyerā* P 2956. 55 KT 3. 39 (or mid.).

(vi) *-ira < *-yira < -yara in *bāyirai* P 2957. 148 KBT 39.

B. -ta in O.Kh.: *kei'ta* Z 22. 277; *haṅgrīsta* Z 24. 465; *haspīsta* Z 22. 270; *haspāsta* Z 22. 276.

-ḍa from pres. stems in -r: *hoḍa* Z 12. 27; 24. 414.

-da from pres. stems in -rr: *purda* Z 11. 71.

In L.Kh. the type A ending was extended to type B verbs:

(i) -yara: *gūsyara* P 2022. 34-35 KT 3. 43.

(ii) -yarā: *jsanyarā* P 2783. 234 (73) KT 3. 75; *tvaryarā* Or 11252. 16a8 KT 2. 22; *hauryarā* Hoernle 143a. 9 KT 2. 68.

(iii) -yari: *tvaryari* Hed. 20. 8 KT 4. 34.

C. -ta in O.Kh.: *puwa'tta* Z 24. 474.

D. -ya in O.Kh.: *daiya* Z 20. 50; *paiya* Suv. K. 29r5 KT 5. 107.

4. The third person plural

-āndu, possibly < *-andu (< O.Ir. *-antu, cf. Av., O.Ind. -antu)+ *-āndi (< O.Ir. *-ānti, cf. Av. -ānti, 3 pl. subj. act.).

-āndu only in O.Kh.: *parrijāndu* Kha 1. 214 a4 KT 5. 164.

O.Kh. has the weakened forms -āndu: *dyāndu* Z 14. 58; *skīmāndu* Z 5. 96; *sambajāndu* Or 9609. 54v3 KT 1. 238 (probably act.); *hamgrīsāndu* Z 23. 121, 146; *hīsāndu* Z 2. 202; and -ādu: *hamgrīsādu* Z 2. 70; *hvāñādu* Z 10. 35.

IMPERATIVE MIDDLE

1. The second person singular

-u < *-ahva, cf. Av. -aṇuha, O.Ind. -asva S. Konow, NTS, vii, 1934, 46. Extended from *yanu* Z 2. 132+ < *kṛnu (cf. O.Ind. *kṛnu* RV+) S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 57.

-u is by far the most frequent spelling in O.Kh.: *uysgärnu* Z 5. 51; *ggihu* Z 23. 105; 24. 435; *trāmu* Z 2. 131; *nāsu* Z 13. 66, 89; *nuvaštu* Z 7. 32+; *panamu* Z 6. 23+; *paphāñu* Z 5. 95; *parehu* Z 24. 247; *vahīysu* Z 23. 120; *vāju* Z 5. 30; *spāśsu* Z 21. 12, 21; *hāmu* Z 2. 188; 24. 208, 244. Contracted in *pyū* SS 27r1 KT 5. 333 (L.Kh. id. *Avdh* 7v2 KT 3. 2; *pū* S 2471. 101 KBT 94).

L.Kh. shows weakening to -ā (causing formal confusion with 2 sg. opt.): *anaṁḍisā* *Avdh* 20v4 KT 3. 11; *āphirā* Kha 1. 185. 1a6 KT 5. 155; *nāsā* JS 15v4 (66); *nvamthā* *Avdh* 19v5 KT 3. 10; *pajāysā* N 176. 22; -i: *nvamthi* *Avdh* 13r4 KT 3. 6.

O.Kh. may show extension of act. -a in *padīma* Z 19. 37; L.Kh. in *auysa* P 2025. 183 KBT 17.

2. The third person singular

-to < O.Ir. *-tām, cf. Av. -tām, O.Ind. -tām.

A. O.Kh. -āto: *hāmāto* Kha 1. 13. 139r3 KBT 3.

3. The second person plural

*-ta = 2 pl. act.

-yarā extended to type B verb (v. p. 212): *nāsyarā* P 2783. 234 (73) KT 3. 75.

PARTICIPLES OF THE PRESENT

1. -anda

< *-anta-, thematicization¹ of O.Ir. *-ant-, cf. Av., O.Ind. -ant.
-anda is comparatively rare, being replaced by -andaa (2). It has been noticed only with act. verbs. -anda is added directly to the pres. stem as follows:

- LW *tṛṣṭhanda-* Z 14. 1 < *tṛṣṭh-*
Ib *hvaranda-* Z 13. 94 < *hvar-*
Ic *nihujsanda-* Z 14. 27; Or 9609. 4r5 KT 1. 233 < *nihujs-*
IVa *hūsanda-* Z 4. 118+ < *hūs-*
Va *hvāñanda-* Z 12. 112 < *hvāñ-*
VIa *bāranda-* Z 22. 110 < *bār-*
VIb *māñanda-* Z 2. 4+ < *māñ-*

-anda occasionally coexists with -andaa: *sarbanda-* Z 2. 84+; Or 9609. 4r4 KT 1. 233 beside *sarbandaa-* Z 14. 26; *hūsanda-* Z 4. 118+ beside *hūsandaa-* Z 9. 9.

2. -andaa

*-ka extension of -anda 1, which it has largely replaced. -andaa was added directly to the pres. stem as follows:

- Ib *sūjsandaa-* Z 11. 55 < *sūjs-*; *bāysdyamdaa-* P 3513. 48r3 (Asm. 24)
IIb *avaṣṭandaa-* Z 11. 37; 22. 313, a-+paṣṭ-
IIIb *haysānandaa-* Z 12. 112; 24. 440 < *haysān-*
IVa *haspāsandaa-* Z 24. 642 < *haspās-*; *hūsandaa-* Z 9. 9 < *hūs-*
Va *hanamandaa-* Z 22. 233 < *hanam-*
Ve *byehandaa-* Or 9609. 36v7 KT 1. 237 < *byeh-*
VIb *bārūñandaa-* Stein E 1. 7. 145r5 KT 5. 77 < *bārūñ-*

In the case of *tsu-* Ib, -m- was inserted before -andaa: *tsūmandyau* Or 9609. 5r5 KT 1. 234; *tsūmamḍai* Si 7v3 KT 1. 12.

In the case of *āh-* Ia and *ś-* Ic, which usually have the expected inherited mid. part. -āna (3), -andaa has been added to -āna to reinforce it. Thus, beside *āna-* Z 14. 70+ (< **āh-āna-*), *ānaṃdaa-* is found already in O.Kh.: *Suv. K. 34v5 KT 5. 112 ānaṃcānu tr. nivāsinyas;* *ānaṃdā* SS 25r4 KT 5. 332. Beside O.Kh. *śāna-* Z 5. 47+, found also in L.Kh. as *sām* Hed. 23. 22 KT 4. 36; *JS 21r1 (89)*, L.Kh. has *śānaṃdā* Ch c. 00r. 871 KBT 136; *śānaṃdā* P 3513. 71r2 KT 1. 247.

¹ Av. has them. forms e.g. *jaiḍyantāi* Yt 5. 19+.

The addition of -andaa to -āna, which is mid., is in accordance with the general tendency to confuse act. and mid. outside the pres. ind. -andaa is found with pres. stems whose pres. is exclusively:

- (a) act.: *pajyandaa-* Z 11. 19 < *pajād-*; *bāysdyamdaa-* P 3513. 48r3 (Asm. 24); *byehandaa-* Or 9609. 36v7 KT 1. 237; *bremamdaa-* Z 2. 218; SS 24v1 KT 5. 332; *māñamdaa-* JS 17r4 (73) < 2. *māñ-*; *sarbandaa-* Z 14. 26; *sājamdaa-* P 3513. 53v4 (Asm. 49); *sūjsandaa-* Z 11. 55; *hūsandaa-* Z 9. 9.
(b) mid.: *bārūñamdaa-* Stein E 1. 7. 145r5 KT 5. 77; *gesamdaa-* JS 14v2 (61); *parauysamdaa-* P 3513. 57v1 (Asm. 67); JS 15r4 (64); *khoyasamdaa-* JS 33r2 (144); Si 150r3 KT 1. 94.

In L.Kh. there is some evidence for haplology with -anda(a) participles of pres. stems in -am and -an. See H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 120. *pajsadaa-* P 2022. 1 KT 3. 42 < **pajsamandaa-* (H. W. B., *Annali*, 1959, 127). This probably provides the *pajsam-* implied by *pajsamev-* (v. p. 65). *haphada* P 2956. 13 KT 3. 37 (v. *haphan-* p. 147). *hamjsamdaa-* Vajr. 9a3 KT 3. 21 tr. *samprasthita-* < **hamjsamandaa-*.

3. -āna

-āna continues the O.Ir. pres. pt. mid. *-āna, cf. Av., O.Ind. -āna. Still confined to the mid. in Kh., it had spread to the thematic presents, but was being displaced by -andaa (2).

O.Kh. examples: *jiyāna-* Z 24. 456; *jvāna-* SS 80r6 KT 5. 340; *jsāna-* Z 2. 85+; *dāyāna-* Z 9. 27; *dyāna-* *Suv. K. 35v7 KT 5. 113;* *pyūvā'na* H 147 NS 109. 41v2 KT 5. 73; *barāna-* *Suv. K. 32r6 KT 5. 110;* *vahīysāna-* H 147 NS 109. 41v3 KT 5. 73; *śāna-* Z 5. 47+; *ṣṭāna-* Z 2. 20+; *hāmāna-* Z 15. 93.

paphūjā Hed. 3v6 KT 4. 23 may be L.Kh. for **paphūjāna-* (H. W. B., KT 4. 73-74), but it is not yet known whether this verb is act. or mid. *mirām* P 2783. 219 (58) KT 3. 75 is L.Kh. for **mirāna-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 594.

4. -ānaa

*-ka extension of -āna (3). Cf. -andaa/-anda. But -ānaa is seldom extended to the act.

-ānaa coexists with -āna: *āna-* Z 14. 70+ beside *ānaa-* Z 23. 45; *jiyāna-* Z 24. 456 beside *ajānaa-* P 3513. 44v2 (Asm. 7); *dyāna-* *Suv. K. 35v7 KT 5. 113* beside *adyānaa-* H 144 NS 83b1 KT 5. 52.

- (a) mid.: *anamḍissānaa-* Kha 1. 82a1 a4 KT 5. 135; *āyimānaa-* P 3513. 54v2-3 (Asm. 53); *nvaṣṭānaa-* Kha 1. 52a1 a2 KT 5. 130; *buṣṣānaa-* Z 3. 61+.

(b) act.: *kūśānaa*- Kha 1. 110 a4 KT 5. 143; *byehaunai* P 3513. 83r3 KBT 65.

jūhānaa- Z 23. 25 < *jūh*- (act. mid. X). *alysānaa*- Z 13. 47+ 'youth' is probably a part. in origin (< **arz*- 'to grow' seen in Oss. D. *irāzun* according to H. W. B., TPS, 1945, 20-21); but no pres. occurs in Kh.

5. -amca

< *-*anta-či*- (-c- not -tc-), fem. of -*anda(a)* in O.Kh.: *āṇamkya* Or 9609. 4v6 KT 1. 233 tr. *vāsinī*; *khanamce* Iledong 023a4 KT 3. 134; *pūyamce* Z 20. 20; *bārūnamce* Or 9609. 5v1 KT 1. 234; *vāhaṇamce* Z 5. 92; *hūsamkya* Kha 0012a, 135r1 KBT 11.

In L.Kh. -*amcā* may be masc.: *sājamcā*, *hamberamcā* NSm P 3513. 47v4 (Asm. 22); *tsūmacā* P 3513. 50r1 (Asm. 32; not as Asm.); *hvāṇamcā* P 3513. 55r4 (Asm. 57); *be'saci* JS 10v4 (43); or fem.: *graṇamca* JS 17v2 (74); *tsunamce* Si 19v5 KT 1. 30 (+*utca*); *pajaca* P 2834. 36 KBT 46 (+*strriya*).

6. -āña

-*āña* is formed by adding -*ya* to a verbal noun in -*āna* according to S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 58. This verbal noun is known from the caus. in -*āñ*, S. Konow, *Primer*, p. 52. It seems to me more likely to have developed secondarily from the pres. pt. mid. in -*āna* (p. 215, 3). Thus, *dīyāña*- Z 5. 65 < *dāyāna*- Z 9. 27; *pyūvā'ña*- Suv. K. 35v3 KT 5. 113 tr. *śrotavyah* < *pyūvā'na*- H 147 NS 109. 41v2 KT 5. 73.

-*āña* forms a participle of necessity (gerundive) when attached to the pres. stem. This is by far the most common of the participles formed from the present stem. Forty-five different examples have been found in E; 18 in *Avdh* KT 3. 1-13; 25+ in Or 9609. KT 1. 232-41, and comparable numbers elsewhere, being especially numerous in the pre-scriptive medical texts. They correspond in translation most frequently to Sanskrit participles in -*tavya*, e.g. *āysānāña*- Or 9609. 36v3 KT 1. 236 tr. *samalaṃkartavyah*.

Examples according to pres. stem classes are:

- I b *padajsaña*- *Avdh* 9r5 KT 3. 3; *pyūvā'ña*- Z 12. 96.
- I c *dājsāña*- Or 9609. 5r6 KT 1. 234; *nyāña*- ibid. 36r1 KT 1. 236; *paṃjsāña*- *Avdh* 9v1 KT 3. 4.
- I d *nāsāña*- Hed. 17. 26 KT 4. 32.
- II b *ṣṭāña*- Z 2. 215.
- III a *hamgūnāña*- Si 148r2 KT 1. 92.
- III b *jānāña*- Z 16. 31; *paysānāña*- Z 4. 116; *murāña* Si 106r4 KT 1. 44.
- III d *bītañāña*- P 2893. 252 KT 3. 93.
- IV a *haspāsāña*- Z 12. 78+.

V a *bañāña*- *Avdh* 21v5 KT 3. 12.

V b *mañāña*- Or 9609. 36r7 KT 1. 236; *haysñāña*- Si 100r5 KT 1. 34.

V d *ttrāmāña*- Ch c. 001. 747 KBT 90; *narāmāña*- Hed. 17. 18 KT 4. 31.

V e *varāsāña*- Z 4. 65; *sājāña*- Z 23. 17.

VI b *āstañāña*- Hed. 17. 19 KT 4. 31.

-*āña* is also attached to loan-words, e.g. *raṣāña*- Z 11. 60 and causatives in -*ev*: *ṣamevāña*- Z 12. 82 and -*āñ*: *huṣṣāñāña*- *Avdh* 18r5 KT 3. 9. It is found with both act. and mid. verbs: act. tr. *sāj*-; act. intr. *haspās*-; mid. tr. *drjs*-, *nās*-; mid. intr. *panam*- Z 12. 16+.

-*āña* participles are construed with the subject in the G-D (dat. of standpoint; see R. E. E., BSOAS, xxviii. 1, 1965, 30, § III. 11 (b)), e.g. *kamaṣa hvandī parehāñu bihiyu* Z 11. 53 'before whom a man should restrain himself extremely'. With intr. verbs it is normally found in the old nt. -*u* < *-*am*: *niyāñu* Z 2. 221; 3. 30; *pathisāñu* Z 12. 133; *panamāñu* Z 2. 221; 12. 16; *ṣṭāñu* Z 2. 215; *haspāsāñu* Z 2. 229; 12. 78; 13. 18; 22. 201. With tr. verbs the pt. nec. agrees with a noun in the nom., e.g. *ttīye bodhisatvā nvaṣṭāñā ṣā satvā* Z 12. 11 'such a being is to be tested by that bodhisattva'. Intr. verbs have the same construction in the case of a 'cognate accusative' (see R. E. E., loc. cit., p. 25, § II. 2 (a) (i)): *parehāñi parāhi* Z 11. 24.

-*uñaa* is found in O.Kh. *tsuñaa*- Or 9609. 36v1 KT 1. 236; *patātsuñaa*- ibid. 36v4 KT 1. 237 (as if from **čyav*- ?), and L.Kh. *tsuñaa*- *Avdh* 8r4 KT 3. 3; Hed. 17. 25-26 KT 4. 32.

L.Kh. has the spellings: -*uñā*: *jehuñā*- Si 155v3, 4 KT 1. 102 (= O.Kh. *gyehāña*- Or 9609. 53v4-5 KT 1. 237-8); -*auñā*: *padīmauñā* Ch 00266. 147 KBT 27 = id. P 2025. 223 KBT 19 (= *padīmāñā* P 2957. 91 KBT 35).

7. -ya

-*ya* continues the O.Ir. pt. nec. *-*ya*, cf. Av., O.Ind. -*ya* (Barth., GIP, § 209. 12, p. 111). In Kh. it is no longer productive, being replaced by -*āña* (6).

The pt. nec. in -*ya* also corresponds to Sanskrit -*tavya*, e.g. *hvaña*- Or 9609. 53v6 KT 1. 238 tr. *uccārayitavyam*. As in the case of the other participles, a *-*ka* suffix may be added without change of meaning, see 8 -*yaa*.

-*ya* is added directly to the root: *niyaśsa*- Z 21. 12 < *nyas*-; *hvaña*- Z 11. 61+ < **hvan*- (pres. stems *hvañ*- Vc, *hvañ*- Ve). In most cases the root is lengthened: *icera*- Z 3. 24+ < **čārya*- (cf. *icāraṇa*- 'capable' Z 23. 35+) < **čar*-; *bera*- Z 5. 17+ < **bārya*- < **bar*- (cf. O.Ind. *bhārya*-); *ysera*- Z 5. 27+ 'pitiable' < **zārya*- (cf. B. Sogd. *z'ry* VJ)

< *zar-. perra- Z 12. 13+ if < *pārnya- as H. W. B., KT 4. 58 is so far unique.

8. -yaa

*-ka extension of -ya (7).

hveraa- Avdh 8v1-2 KT 3. 3 stands beside hvarāñña- Si 9r1 KT 1. 14. In Z 24. 42 hvīrā is thus 2 sg. pres. rather than pt. nec. as Leumann, 'E', p. 529 s.v. hvar-.

-yaa stands beside -ya in tceraa- Or 9609. 36r7 KT 1. 236 beside tcerā-; hvañāa- Z 23. 17+ beside hvañā-.

-yaa is added directly to the root: hvañāa- < *hvan-. In other cases the root is lengthened: tceraa-; pāchaa- Si 147v5 KT 1. 92+ < *pāčyaka- < *pač- (pres. stems pajs-, pach-); hveraa- < *hvāryaka- < *hvar- (pres. stem hvar-).

INFINITIVES

On the infinitive in Ir., see É. Benveniste, *Les Infinitifs avestiques*, Paris, 1935, especially pp. 101-12.

1. From the pres. stem

O.Kh. -ā, -i without palatalization added directly to the present stem forms the pres. inf. Derived < *-ah according to S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 59; *Primer*, p. 52; Dresden, p. 416, but Ir. has no inf. in *-ah (see Benv., p. 14). < O.Ir. *-ai, cf. Av. -ōi, O.Ind. -e; Sogd. -y (GMS, § 905, p. 135).

O.Kh. -ā, -i are attached to pres. stems as follows:

I b haurā Z 13. 71 < haur-

III b yanā Z 3. 67+ < yan-

IV a īsā Z 2. 99 < īs-

V b byūhā Z 23. 2 < byūh-

V e usthamji Z 13. 75 < usthamj-; dukhevā Z 2. 220 < dukhev-; bajeavā Suv. K. 32r7 KT 5. 110 < bajeov-; birāsā Z 14. 2 < birās-; bremā Z 5. 26+ < brem-; hamihā Z 2. 97 < hamih-; hvāñi Z 2. 64 < hvāñ-.

O.Kh. has also the spellings -u: pulsu Z 2. 159 < puls-; -e: jsīre Z 2. 124 < jsīr-. -ā is lost in O.Kh. hū' SS 35r2 KT 5. 336 < *haušai. L.Kh. has yañ Hed. 7. 8 KT 4. 25 < O.Kh. yanā Suv. K. 35r4 KT 5. 113; ka' P 2781. 141 (73) KT 3. 71 < *kašai.

2. From the ppp.

O.Kh. -te added to the ppp. forms an inf. functionally indistinguishable from that based on the pres. stem. Historically, -te < O.Ir. *-tayai as

S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 58. Cf. Av. -tē, -tayaēča. See also Benv., op. cit., pp. 69-70, 107-9. Note Sogd. past inf. with -y (GMS, § 922, p. 136).

The palatalization is as follows:

a > ī	over t	hvūte Z 2. 211, hvīye Z 5. 7+ < hvata-; jsīye Z 24. 442 < jsata-
	over š	nījsište Z 23. 171 < nījsašta-
	over nd	trīnde Z 24. 172 < tranda-; narīnde Z 22. 276 < naranda-; padīnde Z 23. 3+ < padanda-
ā > e	over t	nete Suv. K. 35r7 KT 5. 113 < nāta-; pamete Z 2. 83 < pamāta-; paššete Z 22. 106 < paššāta-; paretd SS 77v3 KT 5. 339 < parāta-
	over š	kešte Kha 1. 133. 3a4 KT 5. 149 < kāšta-; speštā Z 21. 18 < spāšta-
au > vai	over tt	kšamvaittä Z 2. 126 < kšamautta-
st > št		gīšte Hed. 7. 9 KT 4. 25 < gīsta-; juštā Z 23. 105 < *justa-; ttuvāsti Z 23. 53 < ttuvāsta-; pravāste MT bii 0066 a1 KT 5. 387 < pravāsta-; pātāste Z 12. 13 < pātāsta-; bāste P 5538a 24 KT 2. 126 < bāsta-; hvašti Hed. 7v 6 KT 4. 26 < hvasta-

In the case of the ppp. in -āta, which cannot show palatalization,¹ the inf. becomes formally indistinguishable from the 3 sg. pf. tr. m.: āysāte Z 5. 96+ < āysāta-; jāte Z 7. 2 < jāta-; ggārāte SS 77v5 KT 5. 339 < ggārāta-; hušāñāte Or 9609. 53v4 KT 1. 237 < hušāñāta-

As in the case of the pf., in L.Kh. -āta > -ya, so that the inf. is -ye: varrtye Hed. 7. 8 KT 4. 25; cemdye Hed. 11. 5 KT 4. 28.

Note that -ñ- remains unpalatalized in: tsute Z 7. 26; pyūšte Z 14. 97; 24. 487; byūtti JS 2r4 (5); yude Avdh 5r5 KT 3. 1; -au- in: haškaunde Avdh 5v1 KT 3. 1; haude Hed. 21. 4 KT 4. 34.

An inf. based on the ppp. may coexist with one based on the pres. stem: tsute Z 7. 26 beside tsei Suv. K. 32v3 KT 5. 110 (< *čyavai); yāde Z 8. 49 beside yanā Suv. K. 35r4 KT 5. 113.

3. tvaṃdanu

O.Kh. tvaṃdanu in: tvaṃdanu jsāte Z 11. 38; 22. 296; tvaṃdanu tsute SS 21v2 KT 5. 331 (= Kha 1. 58a2 a5 KT 5. 133); H 142 NS 87. 171v2 KT 5. 81; later, tvaṃdanā tsuñai Or 6402 b 2 10r1 KT 5. 14.

¹ nvithye in P 5538a 57, 65 KT 2. 128, 129 if inf. < nuvañth-, as H. W. B., AM, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 25, implies therefore a pres. III d nvimth- 'remove' (nuvañth- 'be removed').

L.Kh. *tvamdam tsue* P 3513. 6or4 KT 1. 242. ? *dvaṃdam* MT a i 0044 at KT 5. 386.

hvaramcaññā tvanā tsuāmdā Vajr. 5a3 KT 3. 21 tr. *pradaḥṣiñikṛtya*; *hvaramcaññā tvamdanā tsuñai Vajr.* 29b1 KT 3. 26 tr. *pradaḥṣiñiyāś*. There is no need to read *tvamdanā* in 5a3, as *tvānā* would be the regular inf. of a pres. stem *tvān-* < **ati-van(d)-*. This would help support the form *tvamdanu*.

-*tanu* inf. < **-tanam* AS < **-tana-*, cf. OP -*tanaīy* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 59; *Primer*, p. 52. The form is unique; see Benv. p. 105. Toch. *tvamdam* is a LW from Kh. according to S. Konow, *NTS*, xiii, 1945, 207. Note also comparison with B. Sogd. *čyṭṣnt* (W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, xi. 4, 1946, 724).

PERFECT TENSE

Paradigms of the tr.: S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 57; *Primer*, p. 50; tr. and intr.: Leumann, N, p. 48; 'E', p. 387; Dresden, pp. 415-16; Herzenberg, pp. 109-12. The last three authors include non-existent forms in their paradigms.

The pf. tr. formative was derived from **-ta-vant* by E. Leumann, *Zur nordar. Spr.*, pp. 115-16 and -*tavant* is well known in Indian and even thought by some to be Indo-Iranian (see M. Leumann, *Der altindische Typus kṛtavān*, in *Mélanges* . . . Pedersen, 1937, 115-24). The phonological development would, however, be exceptional (**-āva-* > -*au-*, not **-ā-*).

If the ending **-tandā mā* implied by the L.Kh. spellings, -*taṃdūm* etc. for 1 pl. pf. intr. m. is not simply analogical in origin (e.g. -*tāmā*: -*tāndā*¹ mā = **-tamā*: **-tandā mā*), then the element -*ānd* is not confined to the tr. pf.

The 3 sg. tr. f., type *hvatātā*, may be by haplology < **hvatatātā* with the abstract suffix -*tāti*. Haplology occurred in *bitandāti*- Z 11. 30+ 'perplexity' < *bitanda*-+*-tāti*.

In *Primer*, § 80, p. 50, S. Konow describes the pf. as 'formed with the suffix *tānt*, with nominative singular *te*, fem. *tātā*, plural *tāndā*'. But in *Saka Studies*, p. 36 he had described the formation as containing 'the present participle of the base *ah*, to be, being added to the past part'. Certainly, the -*t-*, as seen clearly in the pf. intr., is the -*t-* of the ppp. In both pf. tr. and intr., the enclitic forms of the verb 'to be' are found: pf. tr. and intr.: 1 sg. m. f. -*mā*; 2 sg. m. f. -*ī*; 1 pl. m. f. -*mā*; 2 pl. m. f. -*sta*. Possibly we have here as S. Konow suggested in *Saka Studies*, the pres. pt. Perhaps -*āndā* < **-ānti* nt. pl. < **-ant*, hence the same

¹ -*tāndā* could be explained as < -*ta*+(*h*)*antah*, the masc. being used for the fem. also (I. G.).

form for m. and f. **-ānti* would be secondary for **-anti* as in O.Ind. *mahānti*, *paśumānti*; cf. also Barth., *GIP*, § 229. 2a, p. 133. The 3 sg. m. -*e* might therefore be < **-ants* as NSm < **-ant*, cf. *hve*', *hva'nd-*. -*tātā* could be brought into the same system < ppp. f. -*tā*+**-atī* f. < **-ant* (cf. O.Ind. NSf *mahatī*). But all is quite hypothetical.

The two types of conjugation in the pf. have been described as transitive and intransitive. Similarly in Sogd. we find a distinction between the intr. pret. from ppp. with **ah-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 861, p. 128) and the tr. pret. from ppp. with *δ'r-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 877, p. 130).

According to S. Konow, *Primer*, § 80, p. 50, the pf. tr. is used with 'such intransitives as have a stronger active sense'. I have puzzled over this expression for some years now, but I have come to the conclusion that it is meaningless. All that can be said is that the pf. tr. was clearly more distinctive formally and was consequently expanding at the expense of the pf. intr. Similarly in Sogd. *δ'r-* is occasionally found with intr. verbs (I. G., *GMS*, § 877, n. 2, p. 130).

(a) intr. verbs with pf. tr.: *paranāreṇtāndā* SS 24r5 KT 5. 332; *jutāndā* Z 13. 124 < *juv-* 'live'; *tsutāndi* Z 2. 24+ < *tsu-* 'come'; *buḍāndi* Z 5. 35 < *bar-* 'ride'; *braudaimā* H 142 NS 48 etc. r1 KT 5. 71 < *brem-* 'weep'; *hanaṣṭaimā* Z 2. 133 < *hanaṣṭ-* 'fail'; *himyai* (2 sg.) JS 8v3 (32); 21r1 (89) < *him-* 'become; be'; *huṣṣātāndā* sta Z 22. 245 < *huṣṣ-* 'grow'; *hūtātā* Z 13. 55 < *hūs-* 'sleep'; *mūndāmdā* P 2741. 60 KT 2. 89 < *māñ-* 'remain'.

(b) tr. verbs with pf. intr. are unknown, unless we include *bud-* (e.g. *bustāmā* Z 14. 60) 'be aware, understand'.

ttrām-, which is both tr.+acc. 'cross' and intr.+loc. 'enter', has the pf. intr. in both uses: *tātō bisvo* *ttranda* Z 3. 51 'they have entered these dwellings'; *vāmu* . . . *ttranda* sta Z 22. 109 'you have crossed the ocean'.

In some cases, however, the distinction between pf. tr. and pf. intr. continues a difference in meaning. Thus, *parretemā* Z 22. 227 'I have delivered' < *parrīj-* and *parrātāmā* D III. 1 8v5 KT 5. 70 'I have been delivered' < *pars-*. See also *burṣ-* pp. 101-2.

Examples of the relationship between the pres. stem and the pf. are:

A. Perfect transitive

1. tr. act. pres.: *ggān-*, *grūs-*, *jsan-*, *dai-*, *ttrāy-*, *pai-*, *puls-*, *jān-*, *sāj-*, *haur-*, *hvar-*, *hatcañ-*
2. intr. act. pres.: *tsu-*, *māñ-* (remain), *brem-*, *juv-* (live), *hūs-*
3. tr. mid. pres.: *thamj-*, *drjs-*, *nās-*, *pañjs-*, *pajāys-*, *padīm-*, *pyūṣ-*
4. intr. mid. pres.: *ggiḥ-*, *bar-* (ride)
5. tr. act./mid. pres.: *yan-*

B. Perfect intransitive.

1. tr. act. pres.: —
2. intr. act. pres.: *nād-*, *pat-*, *sad-*

3. tr. mid. pres.: *bud-*
4. intr. mid. pres.: *kaśś-, did-, panam-, panaśś-, bays-, mār-, śt-, hām-*
5. tr./intr. act. pres.: *narām-*
6. tr./intr. mid. pres.: *ttrām-*

PARADIGM

PERFECT TRANSITIVE

Masculine	Feminine
SINGULAR	
1. <i>-t-aimä</i>	1. <i>-tāmā</i>
2. <i>-t-ai</i>	2. <i>*-t-ātā</i>
3. <i>-t-e</i>	3. <i>-tātā</i>

PLURAL

1. *-t-āndä mā*
2. *-t-āndä sta/-t-ānda*
3. *-t-āndä*

PERFECT INTRANSITIVE

Masculine	Feminine
SINGULAR	
1. <i>-t-āmā</i>	1. <i>*-t-amä</i>
2. <i>-t-ī</i>	2.
3. <i>-t-ä</i>	3. <i>-t-a</i>

PLURAL

1. **-t-andä mā*
2. *-t-a sta*
3. *-t-a*

PERFECT TRANSITIVE

1. 1 sg. pf. tr. m.

O.Kh. *-t-aimä* < *-te imä*; cf. *ggiste imä Avdh 5r5 KT 3. 1* beside *gistemä imä 16r1 KT 3. 8*; *yude imä 5r4 KT 3. 1* beside *yudemä imä 17r1 KT 3. 9*.

O.Kh. *-t-aimä*: *dät-aimä Z 5. 109+*; *jsat-aimä Z 24. 445+*; *parst-aimä Or 9609. 3v4 KT 1. 232*; *yid-aimä Z 2. 124+*; *hvata-aimä Z 5. 113+*. Later: *dyaimä Kha 1. 135a3 a4 KT 5. 381*; *namasyaimä ibid. b2*.

O.Kh. has also *-temä*: *jsat-temä Z 24. 434*; *dyt-temä Z 22. 286*; *bāraṣtemä Kha 1. 13. 137v3 KBT 2*; *byodemä Z 22. 284*. L.Kh.: *yudemä Avdh 19v1 KT 3. 10*; *hämymä Avdh 19v2 KT 3. 10*.

-teimi has been noticed only once, O.Kh.: *diteimi Z 22. 316*. *-tāmā*, with further weakening resulting in confusion with the pf. intr., is not yet established: *yādā mā H 144 NS 69. 467v2 KT 5. 50*; *jsidā mā Kha 1. 13. 141r5 KBT 4*. L.Kh. has *-teme*: *yudemä Avdh 6v4 KT 3. 2*.

In L.Kh. the final vowel may be lost: *-tem*: *pasteṃ Hed. 21. 4 KT 4. 34*; *byaudem Ch 00269. 58 KT 2. 44*; *yudem P 2741. 24 KT 2. 88*; *hveṃ P 2741. 42 KT 2. 89* (< **hvatem*); *-tim*: *pastim Hed. 21. 3 KT 4. 34*; *hamgvim P 2741. 89 KT 2. 90*.

The nasal may be lost as well as the final vowel in L.Kh.: *-ti*: *hvi JS 38r3 (166)* < *hveṃ*; *-te*: *yade Hed. 7. 11 KT 4. 25*; *nimaṃdrrye JS 2r2 (4)*; *-tai*: *yudai P 3513. 56v2 (Asm. 63)*; *yudai, caidyai P 3513. 67r4 KT 1. 245*. On *-tai*, v. H. W. B., *KT 4. 63 ad 3. 2*.

2. 2 sg. pf. tr. m.

O.Kh. *-tai* < *-te i*.

O.Kh. *-tai*: *jsatai Z 24. 497*; *thiyai Z 5. 89+*; *dritai Z 24. 512*; *nātai Z 24. 436*; *nṛhiyai Z 2. 178*; *braṣtai Z 3. 22*; *yādai Z 3. 22*. L.Kh.: *thiyai JS 13r2 (53)*; *nātai JS 23v3 (102)*; *naṣphūstai Avdh 21r3 KT 3. 11*; *yudai JS 4v3 (14)*; *Hed. 3. 10 KT 4. 22*. L.Kh. with reduced ppp.: *hvai JS 5r1 (15)*; *17r2 (72)* < *hvatai*; *jai JS 20r3 (85)* < *jitai*.

O.Kh. has reduced *-tei*: *paśṣātei Z 19. 21*; *-te*: *paśṣāte Z 5. 42*.

-te is common in L.Kh.: *pyūṣte JS 4r3 (12)*; *byaude JS 4v4 (14)*; *ahamaṇe Avdh 21r3 KT 3. 11*. *-ti* is also found: *haudi JS 14v3-4 (61)*.

3. 3 sg. pf. tr. m.

O.Kh. *-te*. See p. 221.

O.Kh. *-te*: *dāte Z 5. 40+*; *nāte Z 2. 63+*; *parrāte Z 4. 10+*; *parste Z 2. 101+*; *purde Z 24. 242*; *yide Z 13. 69+*; *sile Kha 1. 13. 137v1 KBT 2*; *hvate Z 5. 19+*. O.Kh. has once at least *-ye* < *-āte*: *carye Z 13. 63* = *carāte Z 13. 9+*. L.Kh.: *jye Hed. 7v3 KT 4. 26*; *thiye JS 16v1 (69)*; *paśāte JS 24v1 (106)*; *haude Hed. 15 1b KT 4. 29*.

O.Kh. *hvete SS 35r1 KT 5. 336*; *hvetā SS 84r1 KT 5. 342* are pseudo-archaic due to an attempt to write *hvate Z 5. 19+* when the pronunciation was *hoe Z 2. 71, 145*; *Stein E 1. 7 145v3 KT 5. 77* (L.Kh. *JS 8v4 (33)*).

O.Kh. occasionally has *-tā*: *naljondā Z 1. 188*; *pajāṣtā Z 5. 110*; *13. 83*; *paśṣātā Z 5. 39*; *11. 30*; *siyā Z 16. 53*; *24. 430*; *hatcastā Z 23. 15*; *-ti*: *pajāṣti Z 24. 271*. L.Kh.: *byaudi JS 9v4 (38)*; *yudi JS 15r4 (64)*; *haudi Hed. 19. 9 KT 4. 33*; *hvaḍi JS 10v2 (42)*.

L.Kh. has further reduced *-ta*: *pasta JS 39r3* < *parste*; *nūjsūṣta P 4099. 402 KBT 133* (= *nūjsaṣṣe Z 9. 24*); *bāsta JS 20v2 (87)*.

O.Kh. has twice only *-ā* < *-āte*: *ahāvāysā Z 5. 95* (beside *ahāvāysāte Z 2. 60*; *23. 120*); *pamā Z 5. 31*.

4. 1 sg. pf. tr. f.

O.Kh. *-tāmā* < **-tātā mā* according to Dresden, p. 415.

O.Kh. *-tāmā*: *dātāmā* Z 5. 106; 24. 197; *pyūṣtāmā* N 90. 35; *yondāmā* Z 19. 21.

L.Kh. has further reduced *-tām*: *pādām* P 2834. 53 (sic) KBT 47; *pyūṣtām* P 2834. 23 KBT 45 and *-tā*: *ysā* P 2834. 47 KBT 46 < **ysātāmā*.

5. 2 sg. pf. tr. f.

< **-tātā ī* I would expect **-tātī*. What is Dresden's **-tātā-ī*? The forms given imply **-tātā* only. I have not found Herzenberg's *dātātāi* (p. 111).

L.Kh. *-tāyā* < **-tātā*: *pyūṣtāyā* P 2781. 124 (56) KT 3. 70; *hwāyā* P 2781. 64-65 (132-3) KT 3. 71.

6. 3 sg. pf. tr. f.

O.Kh. *-tātā*, v. p. 220.

O.Kh. *-tātā*: *ggārātātā* Z 13. 76; *jātātā* Z 5. 39; *padāṃdātā* Z 3. 15; *yidātā* Z 23. 104; *hvatātā* Z 2. 82+. With ppp. in *-āta*: *nātā* Z 23. 106 (< **nātātā*); (?) *nāte* Z 21. 27; *paṣātā* Z 23. 170; *vātā* Z 24. 216.

-tā < *-tātā* in L.Kh.: *kūysdā* P 2781. 115 (47) KT 3. 70; *gūdā* P 2781. 134 (66) KT 3. 71; *darvā* ibid. 127 (59) KT 3. 70; *namasyā* Ch c. 001. 1035-6 KBT 142; *pyūṣtā* P 2834. 43 KBT 46; *braṣtā* P 2834. 41 KBT 46; *yudā* JS 8r3 (30). With reduced ppp.: *dāsā* JS 8r4 (31); *nvāsā* P 2834. 46 KBT 46; *ysā* ibid. 32; *hwā* ibid. 23 KBT 45. With ppp. in *-āta*: *nā* JS 8v1 (31).

L.Kh. *-ta* < *-tā* is probably an error: *gviḍa* Ch 00266. 160 KBT 27 (= *gviḍā* P 2025. 242 KBT 19 = id. P 2957. 105 KBT 36).

7. 1 pl. pf. tr.

O.Kh. *-tāndā mā*, v. p. 220.

O.Kh. *-tāndā mā*: *dātāndā mā* Kha 1. 13. 144r5 KBT 5; *pyūṣtāndā mā* ibid. 144v1; *byaudāndā mā* H 142 NSB 4 r5 KT 5. 78.

L.Kh. *-tāndūm*: *cimdyāndūm* P 2031. 19 KT 2. 84; *paṣāndūm* Ch 00269. 81 KT 2. 46; *yidāndūm* Hed. 7v4 KT 4. 26; *-tāndū*: *tsvāndū* Hed. 3v9 KT 4. 23; *paṣāndū* P 2786. 66 KT 2. 95; *-tādūm*: *nimaṃdryādūm* P 2788. 4 KT 2. 109; *dāsāndūm* Hed. 3v6 KT 4. 23.

8. 2 pl. pf. tr.

O.Kh. *-tāndā sta* (v. p. 220) and abridged *-tānda*.

O.Kh. *-tāndā sta*: *jsidāndā sta* Z 23. 107; *huṣṣātāndā sta* Z 22. 245; *-tāndī sta*: *pyūṣtāndī sta* Z 22. 243, 335; *yidāndī sta* Z 22. 108; *vūlstāndī sta* Z 22. 239.

Once only, O.Kh. *-tāndā*: *tsutāndā* Z 24. 211 (but context already 2 pl.).

O.Kh. *-tānda*: *jātānda* Z 22. 109; *tsutānda* Z 2. 96; *padāḍānda* Z 22. 239; *parostānda* Z 22. 237; *paṣānda* Z 22. 242; *pānda* Z 22. 237; *yādānda* Z 22. 219+; *hūdānda* Z 22. 220. L.Kh.: *pastāmda* Hed. 7. 9 KT 4. 25; *yudāmda* Hed. 20. 16 KT 4. 34; *haṣtāmda* Hed. 7. 9 KT 4. 25.

9. 3 pl. pf. tr.

O.Kh. *-tāndā-*, v. p. 220.

O.Kh. *-tāndā*: *ākṣuttāndā* Z 24. 220; *jsatāndā* Z 5. 2+; *tsutāndā* Z 5. 35; *dātāndā* Z 3. 17+; *yādāndā* Z 4. 6; *spāṣṣāndā* Z 21. 17; *-tāndī*: *bastāndī* Z 23. 21; *braṣtāndī* Z 13. 18; *yidāndī* Z 2. 25; *ysātāndī* Z 22. 308; *hvatāndī* Z 2. 20. With contracted ppp.: *hvāndā* SS 20v4 KT 5. 330. With ppp. in *-āta*: *nāndā* Z 5. 6+ < **nātāndā*; *ysāndā* Z 5. 101; *nāndī* Z 5. 111; *paṣāndī* Z 2. 8+.

L.Kh. has the corresponding forms with *-m-*: *-tāmdā*: *byodāmdā* JS 21v1 (92); *yudāmdā* JS 7v1 (27); 19r1 (81); *ysyāmdā* Hed. 2. 3 KT 4. 21; *haudāmdā* Avdh 19v1 KT 3. 10; *-tāmdī*: *pastāmdī* Hed. 3. 5 KT 4. 22. With reduced ppp.: *dāsāmdā* P 3513. 46r1 (Asm. 13); *hvāmdā* P 2801. 36 KT 3. 66; P 2741. 103 KT 2. 91.

-tānde has been noticed in O.Kh.: *uysdātānde* Stein E 1. 7. 145v4 KT 5. 77. L.Kh. has *-tānde*: *paṃtsyānde* JS 24r2 (104); *buḍānde* JS 36v1 (159); *haudānde* Hed. 16. 6 KT 4. 30. With reduced ppp.: *jsānde* JS 30v4 (134).

The final vowel is reduced to *-a* in L.Kh.: *-tāmda*: *tsvāmda* P 2786. 55 KT 2. 95; *pyūṣtāmda* P 3513. 84v4 KBT 66; *yudāmda* JS 9v3 (37). With reduced ppp.: *hvāmda* S 2471. 129 KBT 95.

All these spellings occur without the nasal in L.Kh.: *-tāda*: *ba'stāda* P 4099. 124 KBT 119 (= *bastāndī* Z 23. 21); *hvāda* S 2471. 139 KBT 95; *-tādā*: *pajistādā* Hed. 2. 5 KT 4. 21; *buḍādā* JS 13v4 (57); *haudādā* Hed. 7v4 KT 4. 26; *hvādā* Hed. 2. 6 KT 4. 22; *-tādī*: *tsvādī* Hed. 6. 6, 9 KT 4. 24; *byondādī* Avdh 19r4 KT 3. 10; *-tāde*: *kuṣṭāde* JS 28r2 (122).

L.Kh. has *-au-* for *-ām-* as in *khaṣṭauda* P 2025. 197 KBT 18 (= *khaṣṭāmdā* P 2957. 80 KBT 35).

PERFECT INTRANSITIVE

1. 1 sg. pf. intr. m.

O.Kh. *-tāmā* < *-tā mā*.

O.Kh. *-tāmā*: *panaṣtāmā* H 147 NS 111. 43v3, 4 KT 5. 75; *parrātāmā* D III. 1 8v5 KT 5. 70; *bustāmā* Z 2. 241; 14. 60; Kha 1. 13 142v4 KBT 5; *satāmā* ibid. 142v1.

O.Kh. shows labial assimilation¹ in *-tumä*: *ätumä* SS 24v5 KT 5. 332 (= *ätämä* H 142 NS 48 etc. r6 KT 5. 71); *jjaštumä* SS 83r6 KT 5. 341; *pastätumä* SS 24v4 KT 5. 332 (= *pastätämä* H 142 NS 48 etc. r5 KT 5. 71); *bustumä* SS 84r1 KT 5. 342; *-tümä*: *ätümä* Kha 1. 135a3 b4 KT 5. 381; *pastätümä* ibid. a4.

O.Kh. *hämätämä* Z 5. 29, 46; SS 24r2 KT 5. 331; H 144 NS 55 44v6 KT 5. 76 (cf. L.Kh. *himyemä imä* Avdh 16r2 KT 3. 8) may be due to dissimilation or may be pf. tr. (v. p. 221).

L.Kh. has *-tum*: *ätum* Hed. 7. 9 KT 4. 25; *piškästum* Avdh 13v4 KT 3. 6; *-tüm*: *kaštüm* Hed. 11. 3 KT 4. 27; *Avdh* 7r4 KT 3. 2; 19v3 KT 3. 10; *pastätüm* Avdh 7r4 KT 3. 2; *piškistüm* Avdh 13v3 KT 3. 6; *-tū*: *pastāvū* P 3513. 77v3 KBT 62.

2. 2 sg. pf. intr. m.

-tī < *-tā i*.

O.Kh. *-tī*: *āstī* Z 23. 115; *ttrandī* Z 22. 258; *panatī* Z 22. 263; *bustī* Z 2. 53+; *vātī* Z 24. 246; *satī* Z 22. 191, 261, 285. L.Kh.: *ttramdi* JS 23r2 (99); 24r3 (105); *pastī* JS 17v3 (75); *muḍī* JS 15v3 (66); *satī* JS 7r3 (26).

-tā, *-ti* are not yet established. *nvastā* JS 18v3 (79) and *ysuṣṭi* JS 35r3 (153) are cited by Dresden, p. 416; but *nvastā* could be ppp. NSm and *ysuṣṭi* is 2 sg. pf. tr. m.

3. 3 sg. pf. intr. m.

O.Kh. *-tā* = NSm ppp.

O.Kh. *-tā*: *ātā* Z 2. 99+; *iṣṭā* Z 20. 48; 24. 252; *trandā* Z 5. 102; *dāstā* Z 24. 217+; *panatā* Z 22. 195+; *pastā* Z 5. 29; *pastātā* Z 2. 78+; *bustā* Z 2. 231; *vātā* Z 8. 19+; *sastā* Z 2. 96; *hämātā* Z 5. 109+. *vei* Z 23. 22 < *vātā*.

O.Kh. occasionally has *-te* (under the influence of the pf. tr.): *trande* Z 24. 274; *panate* Z 8. 21; *vāte* Z 2. 7+. L.Kh.: *himye* JS 16r4 (69).

-ta in L.Kh.: *ṇaista* Ch 00266. 194 KBT 29 (= *ne'stā* P 2957. 132 KBT 38).

-tā is often lost in L.Kh.: *ā* Hed. 20. 1 KT 4. 33; JS 5r3 (17) < *ātā*; *pana* Ch c. 001. 217 KBT 76 < *panatā*.

4. 1 pl. pf. intr. m.

O.Kh. **-tandā mā*, v. p. 220, to be inferred from L.Kh. *-tamdūm*. **-tamā* might logically have been expected, and Leumann accordingly

¹ Hardly < nt. ppp. + *mā* as S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 57.

reconstructed *āstamā* as an example (N 48). Dresden (p. 416), whose table derives from Leumann, has *-amā* in the table but *-a(m)dū(m)* as examples. Leumann's (unattested) *āstamā* appears again in Herzenberg, p. 110. **-tamā* does not exist.¹ For *-tamdūm*, see H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 594; *Languages of the Saka*, p. 146.

L.Kh.: *-tamdūm*: *āvamdūm* P 2790. 34-35 KT 2. 111; *gvaštamdūm* Or 8212. 162. 59 KT 2. 4; *ttramdamdūm* P 2790. 25 KT 2. 111; *-tamdū*: *baustamdū* P 2786. 63 KT 2. 95; *-tadū*: *nṛadadū* Ch 00269. 111 KT 2. 47; *baštadū* Or 8212. 162. 134 KT 2. 8; *haryadū* P 2786. 184 KT 2. 99.

5. 2 pl. pf. intr. m.

O.Kh. *-ta sta* < NPm ppp. + *sta*.

O.Kh. *-ta sta*: *ttranda sta* Z 22. 109; *vāta sta* Z 23. 102; *ṣṭuta sta* Z 22. 237.

6. 3 pl. pf. intr. m.

O.Kh. *-ta* = NPm ppp.

O.Kh. *-ta*: *āta* Z 13. 92; *ttrandu* Z 3. 51+; *naraṇda* Z 2. 104+; *nita'sta* Z 3. 6; *panata* Z 24. 407; *parrāta* Z 2. 242; *pasta* Z 20. 63+; *pastāta* Z 23. 135; *sata* Z 24. 206; *vāta* Z 1. 41+; *hämāta* Z 3. 32; 22. 334; 23. 3. L.Kh.: *ttramda* P 2741. 73 KT 2. 90; *niramda* ibid. 84; *naramda* JS 21r4 (91); *panava* S 2471. 133 KBT 95; *hamya* JS 7r2 (25).

Rare are O.Kh. *-tā*: *panatā* Z 22. 104; *-ti pathiyi* Z 22. 122.

L.Kh. *-te*: *hamye* JS 9v2 (37).

7. 1 sg. pf. intr. f.

O.Kh. **-tamā* < NSf ppp. + *mā*.

One example only, L.Kh.: *hamya* P 2834. 54 KBT 47. < **hamyam* < **hämätamā*.

8. 3 sg. pf. intr. f.

O.Kh. *-ta* = NSf ppp.

O.Kh. *-ta*: *āta* Z 5. 23+; *dāsta* Z 5. 36; *na'sta* Z 2. 98; *panata* Z 24. 215; *panaṣṭa* Z 4. 29; *vāstāta* Z 5. 39; *sasta* Z 4. 4; *hämāta* Z 16. 14; 24. 193, 216, 221, 230. L.Kh.: *baṇda* JS 18r2 (77).

The auxiliary is also found in O.Kh.: *sata stā* Z 23. 22.

9. 2 pl. pf. intr. f.

O.Kh. *-te sta* < NPf ppp. + *sta*.

O.Kh. *-te sta*: *vāte sta* Z 22. 241, 242; *ṣṭute sta* Z 22. 241.

¹ *vāta mā* in Z 3. 70 is not an example.

10. 3 pl. pf. intr. f.

O.Kh. -te = NPf ppp.

O.Kh. -te: *trande* Z 24. 269; *dāste* Z 4. 14; *narande* Z 2. 232; 13. 109; *SS* 84v3 *KT* 5. 342; *paste* Z 5. 105; *panašte* Z 23. 24; *pastāte* Z 20. 5; *birašte* Z 2. 232; *vahāšte* Z 11. 32; *vāstāte* Z 24. 45; *saste* Z 4. 14.

PREVERBS¹

1. Khotanese has most of the preverbs found in Old Iranian (for Avestan, see Jackson, § 750, p. 209; for Old Persian, Kent, § 206, p. 70) and in Old Indian (see Whitney, § 1077, p. 396). Of the rarer preverbs *api*, *anu*, *antar*, not in Sogdian (I. G., *GMS*, p. 102) or OP (Kent, loc. cit.), Kh. probably has **anu* (v. § 25). In addition to the usual preverbs, some of uncertain origin are found in Kh.: *ga-*, *tca-*, *bā-*, *bāys-*, *ša-*, *sam-*.

2. The Kh. preverbs are: I. *ā-*; II. *us-*, *uys-*; III. *ga-*; IV. *ggu-*; V. *tī-*; VI. *tca-*; VII. *na(l)-*, *naš-*; VIII. *nī-*; IX. *pa(tā)-*; *pa-*; X. *par-*; XI. *pra-*; XII. *ba-*; XIII. *bā-*; XIV. *bāys-*; XV. *bi-*; XVI. *va-*; XVII. *vi-*; XVIII. *sam-*; XIX. *hā-*; XX. *ham-*.

Historically, some of these are of several different origins.

3. As in the related languages, preverbs may be combined. The following compound preverbs are found in Kh.: I. *gu-ja-*; II. *nuva-*; III. *pa-ja-*; IV. *parā-*; V. *ša-*. See also on the simple preverbs *tca-* and *pra-*.

A. SIMPLE PREVERBS

4. I. *ā-* < I. I. **ā-* (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *ā-*).

Correspondences: *āta-* Z 2. 51 < **āgata-*, cf. Av. *agata-*, Man. Sogd. **γt-*, Parth. **gd-*; O.Ind. *āgata-*; *ākšuv-*, cf. NP *āšuftan*; *ājum-*, cf. B. Sogd. **y'm-*; *āyāna-* 'mirror' Z 4. 100 < **ādaj(a)na-*, cf. B. Sogd. **δ'yn'k* (H. W. B., *Dumézil Vol.*, p. 10); *āyauys-*, cf. Av. *ā.yaoz-*, Parth., B. Sogd. **ywz-*; *āysāta-* Z 3. 64, cf. Av. *āzāta-*; *āyv-* < **ā-tap-*, cf. Av. *ā.tap-*; *ārih-* < **ā-raiθ-*, cf. B. Sogd. **r'yδ*; *āvun-*, cf. Av. *āfrinā-*, Parth. **fryn-*, Man. Sogd. **fryn-*.

ā- usually undergoes no modification, but in some words it contracts with a following labial to *au-*, *o-*. Examples are: *oys-* < **ā-vaz-* (Av. *ā.vaz-* uncertain; O.Ind. *ā.vah-*); *orašta-* Z 23. 92 < **āfrašta-*, cf. Av. *ā.fras-*; *orga-* *JS* 6v3 (23), *aurga-* *JS* 7r4 (26) < **ā-barga-*, cf. Av. *barəg-*. Not so treated are: *ābei'sa-* Z 17. 13, *ābeistā* Z 24. 500 < **ā-varts-* (see Dresden, p. 469 s.v. *ābe'sa-*); *āvun-* < **ā-frina-*, see above.

āhalj- is modified in L.Kh. to: (i) *a'haij-* P 2786. 162 *KT* 2. 98; (ii) *ihe'j-* P 2956. 8 *KT* 3. 37; (iii) *ehe'j-* P 2025. 212 *KB* 18; (iv) *aihaj-*

¹ 'A special study on the Khotanese preverbs is an urgent desideratum', W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, xxviii. 2, 1965, 246, n. 29.

Ch 00266. 139 KBT 26. Historically, probably $\tilde{a} > e$ -, $ai > i > a$ - (H. W. B.).

5. II. *us*-, *uys*- < O.Ir. **us*-, **uz*- (cf. Av. *us*-, *uz*-).

Correspondences: *uska* Z 15. 126 adv., cf. Av. *uskāt*, *usča*; O.Ind. *uccā*; *ustama*- Z 11. 41 'last', cf. Av. *ustāma*-; O.Ind. *uttama*-; 2. *uysdīś*-, cf. Skt **uddeśayati* (Turner 1999); *uysgār*-, cf. B. Sogd. *sy'r'yn*-; *uysnata*- Z 17. 2, cf. O.Ind. *unnata*-; *uysbāy*-, cf. Av. *uzvādaya*-.
us- occurs only before voiceless, *uys*- before voiced sounds:

us-+*k*- *kh*-; *t*- *th*-; *p*- *ph*-
uys+*V*- *g*- *d*- *b*- *n*- *m*-

But note *usbā* *Suv*. K. 63v7 KT 5. 115, which may be < **uysbāyātā*; and *usbrute māte* H 142 NS 29 etc. 611v7 KT 5. 92 (v. *brūsc*- p. 107).

Examples of *us*-: *uskalj*-, *uskhajs*-; *ustar*-, *usthamj*-; *uspaśd*-, *usphan*-.

Examples of *uys*-: *uysan*-; *uysgun*-; *uysdem*-; *uysbāy*-; *uysnata*-; *uysmalsta*- Z 5. 31.

L.Kh. spellings of *us*-: (i) *as*-: *aspaśd*- Si 19r3 KT 1. 30 for *uspaśd*- P 3513. 21v3 KBT 56; (ii) *is*-: *isthamj*- Si 146v4 KT 1. 90 for *usthamj*- Z 24. 514; (iii) *usa*- (anaptyctic resolution of cluster; or graphic?): *usakhīysdie* S 2471. 109 KBT 94 = *uskhqysde* *ApS* 2b3 KT 5. 244; (iv) *es*-; *esthamj*- Si 151v5 KT 1. 98 for *usthamj*- Z 24. 514.

L.Kh. spellings of *uys*-: (i) *ays*-: *aysdem*- Si 146v5 KT 1. 90; (ii) *iys*-: *iysgin*- Or 6397. 1 (v. KT 5. 5) 6 KT 2. 66; (iii) *ūys*-: *ūysdīś*- Ch ii. 004. 1v1 KBT 144; (iv) *eys*-: *eysbrījs*- Si 151v4 KT 1. 98.

6. III. *ga*-

ga- was thought to be a L.Kh. replacement of older *va*- (v. § 19) (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 22). *ga*- is found in L.Kh.: *gatcasta*- (v. p. 28), cf. O.Kh. *vatcasta*- Z 24. 249; *ganīh*- JP 56v1 KT 1. 147 < **nai-d/θ*- (H. W. B., loc. cit., 21-24). But *gganīh*- now occurs in O.Kh. *gganīhāte* Z 19. 66.

7. IV. *ggu*- < I. I. **vi*- (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *vi*-).

Kh. has *ggu*-, *bi*- (§ 18), and *vi*- (§ 20), all from O.Ir. **vi*-. *bi*- is not found before *m*-, but *ggu*- occurs before *m*- in *ggumāta*- Kha 1. 211 113r3 KT 5. 164; *ggumālsta*- Z 21. 11; *ggumerāñ*-. Similarly in ZP *gu*- before *m*- is found beside *vi*- (v. *GIP*, i. 310).

Correspondences: *ggumāta*- < **vi-māta*-, cf. B. Sogd. *wm't*-; Parth. *wm'dn*, MPe *gum'y*- (H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 76; I. G., *GMS*, § 215, p. 33); *gušprīs*- inch. < **vi-sparg*-, cf. Parth. *wyspryxt*; *gguhad*-, cf. Parth. *wyxs*-. On *ggumerāñ*- < **vi-māraya*-, see p. 30.

Other examples: *gujsar*- p. 29; **gujsabalj*- § 24; *gurva*- JS 18r1 (76) < **vi-ruxta*- (Dresden, p. 473 s.v. *gurvai*).

In some words, **vi-pa*- **vi-va*- seem to have resulted in *gva*- instead of *byū*- (§ 18): *gvach*- < **vi-pač-ya*-; *gvays*- < **vi-vaz*-; *gvar*- < **vi-var*-, see *gvīr*-, *gver*-.

gva- could be < **vi-ā*- in *gvaścānda* Hed. 3. 6; *gvešce* Hed. 3. 11, see H. W. B., KT 4. 68 (and note O.Ind. *vyāsthāpayati*).

If *ggūch*- 'deliver' is < **vi-āuč-ya*-, we have an instance of the treatment before a vowel.

L.Kh. spellings are: (i) *gū*-: *gūmaly*- Si 122r1 KT 1. 50 for **ggumal*- < **vi-mard*-; (ii) *gau*-: *gausprīs*- P 2896. 45 KT 3. 95.

8. V. *tī*- < I. I. **ati*- (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *ati*-).

Formal correspondences are rare: *ttuvar*- < **ati-bar*-, cf. Av. *aiti.bar*-; O.Ind. *ati-bhṛ*-. L.Kh. *ttajsar*- in *ttajśāda*- JS 13v4-14r1 (57), if < **ati-čar*- (as Dresden, p. 475 s.v. *ttajśāda*-), can be paralleled by O.Ind. *ati-car*-.

The spellings *ttā*-, *tī*- are found rarely, both in O.Kh.: *ttātsaiyi* Z 13. 27; *ttātsaiyi* Z 13. 28 < **ati-čyav*-; *ttirāndā* Kha ix. 13a1. 40v5 KT 5. 184 < **ati-ram*-; *ttāhvaittā* Z 13. 21, 22 < **ati-hvah*-; and in L.Kh.: *ttajser*- *Avdh* 18r2 KT 3. 9 < **ati-jāraya*- (?).

tī- may be reduced to *tt*-, *t*- before *r*- or *v*- both in O.Kh. and in L.Kh. O.Kh.: *trām*- Z 2. 90 beside *ttrām*- Z 2. 132; *trāy*- Z 12. 4 beside *ttrāy*- Z 24. 435 < **ati-rad*-; *tvāy*- Z 6. 19 < **ati-vad*-; *tvamdanu* Z 11. 38 (see p. 219). L.Kh.: *trāy*- JS 38r3 (166) beside *ttrāy*- JS 5v4 (19); *tvāśd*- Hed. 20. 7 KT 4. 34 beside *ttrāśd*- Or 11252. 18a3 KT 2. 23 (*ttr*- here only).

Before a labial (*m*- or *v*-), *tī*- may by assimilation become *ttu*-: *ttumalsta*- Z 13. 83 < **ati-mard*-; *ttuvar*- Z 22. 156; *ttuvāy*- Z 24. 239.

In L.Kh. *tta*- is found for *tī*- in *ttajśāda*- JS 13v4-14r1 (57), if correctly interpreted. *ttra*- for expected *ttu*- is found in *ttrame'ste* JS 4r2 (11), *ttramaste* P 2781. 84 (16) KT 3. 69 for expected **ttume'ste* = O.Kh. *ttumalste* Z 13. 83 (see Dresden, p. 475 s.v. *ttume'ste*). This spelling, if not a purely graphic error, awaits explanation.

L.Kh. forms like *trvāy*- Si 20r4 KT 1. 32, *ttrvāy*- P 3510. 8. 2 KBT 52, *ttrūāy*- P 3513. 36r2 KBT 60 probably represent a conflation of O.Kh. *trāy*- and *tvāy*-, which resemble each other in meaning and form.

9. VI. *tca*- < **patiśā*, cf. Av. *paitiša*; cf. Tq *tsa*-.

This preverb is rare and of uncertain origin. Oss. *cā*- and Paštō *ca*- are probably connected, but their origin also is obscure (v. H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 7-8). Derivation from **hačā*- (Morg., *EVP*, 17), cf. Av. *hačā* adv., prep. is possible. Kh. has *jsa* < **hačā* as a postposition, and *tī*- < **ati*- with *tt*- not *t*-. Derivation from **ati*-, suggested long ago (H. W. B., *BSOS*, vi. 1, 1930, 67-68), is not possible phonologically; and Kh. already has *tī*- < **ati*- (§ 8). Derivation from **patiśā* (cf. Av.

paitiṣa IS as adv., *AIW*, 836) is possible (H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 7-8). For loss of *-a-*, H. W. B. cf. Kh. *pra-* < **parā-* (v. § 14). **tš-* [tʃ] coming together would like O.Ir. **č-* [tʃ] have resulted in Kh. *tc-* [tʃ]. H. W. B. points also to Oss. D. *dzubandi* 'Gespräch, Erzählung' beside B. Sogd. *pčβ'nt*. Formally, one could also compare Av. *uša* adv. 'nach oben; fort, weg' (*AIW*, 407). For **-sč-* > *-tc-*, cf. Kh. *hatcañ-* < **frasčandaya-*. But see below.

Three words have *tca-*: *tcabalj-* Z 24. 643; *tcarsua-* Z 10. 25+; *tcārampha-* Z 24. 250. It occurs also in the compound preverbs *gujsa-* (§ 24) and *pajsa-* (§ 26). Beside *tcabalj-* (cf. Tq *tsawarg-*), we find also the ppp. *tcabrīya-* Z 2. 44+ and the inch. *tcabrīs-* Z 24. 520. *tcabalj-* 'break up' is from **brag-*, IE **bhreg-* (not **bhreg-* as Pok. p. 165). Comparison with Lat. *frangō* is found already in S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 184. Ir. has **brag-* also in B. Sogd. *'nβrytk. tcarsua-* has *tca-*+*rsua-* < **ruxšuka-* < **rauk-* 'to shine' (Av. *raok-*, *raoxšna-*) (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 184). *tcārampha-* 'stick' may have *tca-*+**ārampha-* < **ā-ramb-*, cf. O. Ind. *ālamba-* 'support, prop' and *rambhā-* 'staff, support'. Kh. has also **pārimph-* (p. 81) 'to establish' < **pati-ramb-aya-*. Comparison with B. Sogd. *ptr'β'k* 'stick' heavily favours *tca-* being related to **pati-* (I. G.).

tca- appears in L.Kh. as *tcā-* in *tcābrī* P 2741. 104 KT 2. 91.

10. VII. *na(l)-*, *naš-* < I. I. **niš-* (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *niš-*)/**niž-* (cf. Av. *niž-*).

Correspondences: *našphāñ-*, cf. Sarikolī *nalfon-* (v. p. 52); *nei'hvah-*, *nei'hvasta-*, cf. B. Sogd. *nšy(')wst-* (v. p. 60).

**niš-*, **niž-* is treated as follows:

(i) *na-* before *r-*

One word only, O.Kh. *narām-* 'go out' Z 4. 96+. L.Kh. spellings are: (a) *nā-*: *nāraum-* P 2956. 55 KT 3. 39; (b) *nī-*: *nīrām-* Si 156r3-4 KT 1. 104; (c) *ne-*: *nerām-* Si 140v5 KT 1. 80; (d) *nai-*: *nairām-* P 4099. 70 KBT 16.

(ii) *nal-* before *js-*, *ts-*

For *nal-* < **niš-*, cf. Sarikolī *nal-*. *nal-* is actually found so spelled only in O.Kh.: *naljsem-* < **niž-jāmaya-*; *naltsu-* < **niš-čyav-*. *nal-* in *naltsu-* is spelled *na-*, *ne-* in L.Kh.: *naṣū* Ch 00266. 112 KBT 25 = *neṣū* P 2025. 173-4 KBT 17 = *neṣve* P 2957. 62 KBT 33.

**niš-* probably resulted in *nal-* also before *tc-* as the spellings in L.Kh. indicate. Thus, **niš-sčamb-* appears in L.Kh. nominal and verbal forms with the following spellings of the preverb: (a) *na'-*: *na'tcīphe* Si 15v3 KT 1. 24; (b) *nī-*: *nītcampha* P 2893. 24-25 KT 3. 83; (c) *ne-*: *netcampha* P 2893. 28 KT 3. 83; (d) *na-*: *naticph-* Si 129v4 KT 1. 62 (tr. *sel-to*);

(e) *na'-*: *na'tcapha* JS 9r3 (35) (MS. *na/na'tcapha*); (f) *nī-*: *nītcīph-* Si 16v3 KT 1. 26. See **naltcīmph-* p. 49.

**niš-* may also have resulted in *nal-* before *sk-*. L.Kh. has *neskaudq* Si 128v3 KT 1. 60 (tr. *chag-pa*; *bhaṅga-*) < **niš-skap-* (IE **skēp-* Pok. 930-3) rather than < **ni-skap-* as *s* not *š* indicates. Cf. *pal-* < **pari-* before *s-* (§ 13).

**niž-* may also have resulted in *nal-* before *ys-*. L.Kh. has *na'ysvārai* P 4099. 70 KBT 116; *na'ysvāre* ibid. 205 KBT 123 < **nalysv-* (p. 49) < **niž-zav-*. *nī'ysānā* Avdh 13r1 KT 3. 6 may belong here, but the word is of uncertain meaning and origin.

nal- was thus probably found before *js-*, *ts-*, *tc-*, *sk-*, *ys-*.

(iii) *naš-* before *k-* *kh-* *g-*; *t-* *th-* *d-*; *p-* *ph-*.

(a) before *k-*, *kh-*: *naškaj-*, *naškan-*; (b) before *g-*: only in L.Kh. *naša'gai'sta* Or 8212. 162. 40 KT 2. 3 for **našgai'sta* < **niž-garts-*; (c) before *t-*, *th-*, *d-*, which may be assimilated to *t-*, *th-*, *d-* by Sanskritization: *naštos-* < **niš-tap-*; *naštṛrīta-* H 142 NS etc. 611v5 KT 5. 92 < **niš-θrak-*; *našdam-* < **niž-dam-*. Unassimilated are O.Kh.: *naštīta* (nominal prefix, v. p. 247, 5) *Suv. K.* 6517 KT 5. 116 (tr. *durvarṇāḥ*) (LW < Ind. I!); *našdraunjsa-* *jsera-* Z 22. 125 < **niž-dram-*; (d) before *p-*, *ph-*: *našpūsta-* Z 2. 94; *našphan-* < **niš-fan-*.

L.Kh. spellings of *naš-*: (a) *nāš-*: *nāšphāne* Vajr. 34a3 KT 3. 27; (b) *niš-*: *ništauda* P 3513. 68v4 KT 1. 246 (for O.Kh. *naštauda-* Z 5. 49); (c) *neš-*: *nešphana* P 4099. 87 KBT 117. In L.Kh. the consonant cluster was sometimes simplified by anaptyxis: *našakhasta-* P 4649. 1 KT 2. 124, *naša'gai'sta* Or 8212. 162. 40 KT 2. 3, *naša'gaista* Ch 00270. 13 KT 2. 49. Here only do we find **niš-* and **niž-* distinguished in the spelling.

(iv) *nir-* before *m-*

One word only: *nārmān-* Z 4. 30+ 'to create magically'. As BHS uses *nirminoti*, *nirminati* in exactly this technical sense (v. F. Edgerton, *Dict.*, s.v. p. 302), an original **našmān-* may have been influenced by BHS. No example of the treatment of **niž-* before *m-* is available. *našmāvā* P 2787. 73 KT 2. 104 only is probably an error for *naštāvā* (H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. xi. 2, 1965, 113). *nārmān-* cannot be a direct borrowing from BHS as can be seen from its conjugation IIIB, type B (v. p. 55). *nārmīndi*, *nārmānīndi* are like *āsyīndi*; *hamāndā*, *hamānīndā*. *hamān-* < **fra-may-* (v. p. 147) shows the same verb root.

(v) *nei'-* before *hv-*

One word only, O.Kh. *nei'hvah-*, *nei'hvasta-* < **niž-hvah-* (v. p. 60).

L.Kh. spellings of *nei'-* are: (a) *na-*: *naḥvasta* P 4089a 16 KBT 21; (b) *nī-*: *nīhvasta* P 2896. 5 KBT 12 (= *nehvasta* P 2025. 86 KBT 14; Ch 00266. 47 KBT 22); (c) *ne-*: *nehveste* P 2025. 213 KBT 18; (d)

ne'-: *ne'hvast* <ā> P 3513. 82r1 KBT 64; (e) *nai*-: *naihvasta* Ch 00266. 189 KBT 29 (MS. *naimasta*) (= *nakhvasta* P 4089a 16 KBT 21); (f) *nai'*-: *nai'hvastai* Ch ii 004. 1v2 KBT 144; (g) *ne'*-: *ne'hvettā* P 3513. 28r1 KBT 58.

11. VIII. *ni*- < I. I. **ni*- (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *ni*-).

Only exact correspondences are reliable, especially where *ni*- is modified to *nu*-, as *nu*- could continue O.Ir. **anu*-.

Correspondences: *nīsaš*-, cf. Yidgha *nīšāš*-, Munjī *nījāš*-, *nātauda*- Z 5. 49 < **ni*-*tap*-, cf. O.Ind. *ni*-*tap*-, *nād*-, cf. Man. Sogd. *nyδ*-, *nimalys*-, cf. B. Sogd. *nm'rz*-, Parth. *nmrz*-, *nāmājs*-, cf. Yidgha *nə'miš*-, B. Sogd. *nymz'y*; *nātā'y*- H 142 NS 61. 47r3 KT 5. 29 < **ni*-*šādaya*-, cf. Av. *nīšādaya*-, MPe *nš'y*-, Man. Sogd. *nšyy*-, *nuvad*- < **ni*-*pad*-, cf. Av. *nī*-*pad*-, B. Sogd. *nyδ*-, *nuhamj*- < **ni*-*θanjaya*-, cf. Parth. *nhynj*-, MPe *nhynz*-, NP *nihaxtan*; *nyas*- < **ni*-*kas*-, cf. Oss. D. *nikkāsun*; *nyūd*- < **ni*-*vart*-, cf. O.Ind. *ni*-*ort*-, *nvāšš*-, cf. Oss. D. *niūūsun*.

O.Kh. has *ni*- or *nā*- (rarely *nyi*-) before any consonant. This may become *nu*- before *m*- or *v*- by labial assimilation. *ni*- may be reduced to *n*- before *y*- and *nu*- to *n*- before *v*-.

(i) *ni*-, *nā*-, *nyi*- in O.Kh.

Examples: *nāhujs*- Z 5. 79; *nihujs*- Z 14. 27; *nyihujs*- SS 85v5 KT 5. 343 < **ni*-*baug*-, *nājsađa*- Z 6. 57; *nīsaš*- Z 2. 73; *nāhvarr*- Z 12. 93.

L.Kh. spellings are: (a) *na*-: *anahvarda*- P 3513. 78r1 KBT 63; (b) *nī*-: *nījsvāña* P 4099. 150 KBT 120; (c) *nū*-: *nījsūšta* P 4099. 402 KBT 133 (= O.Kh. *nājsađe* Z 9. 24); *nūhvarāre* P 4099. 147 KBT 120; (d) *ne*-: *nejsađa* Si 140v1 KT 1. 78; (e) *nai*-: *naiškalīda* S 6701. 18 KT 3. 137.

(ii) *nu*- before *m*-, *v*- in O.Kh.

Only exact correspondences are reliable, see above. O.Kh.: *nuvatte* Z 4. 72 < **ni*-*pad*-, *numaša* H 142 NS 29 etc. 611r2 KT 5. 91 beside *nimalša* Z 2. 85 < **ni*-*marz*-, v. *nimalys*-. Other instances of *nu*- in O.Kh. are: *nuvaṃthātā* Z 24. 117; *nuvalysde* Z 17. 18.

In one instance O.Kh. has *nu*- < **ni*- before *h*-, the reason being unknown. This is O.Kh. *nuhamjindā* Kha 0013c6 b4 KT 5. 125 < **ni*-*θang*-.

(iii) *n*- before *y*-, *v*-

O.Kh. *nyas*-, *nyūd*-, *nvāšš*-, above.

(iv) *nṛ*-

nṛ- (= **nri*-) is found in O.Kh. forms derived < *nihalj*- (p. 57) < **ni*-*θrak*- as a result of the mobility of *-r*-. Thus, *nṛhiya*- Z 2. 81+

ppp-, < **ni*-*hriya*- < **ni*-*θraxta*-, *nṛhišš*- Z 12. 128+ caus., < **nihrišš*- caus. of inch. **nīθris*-.

L.Kh. spellings are: (a) *na*-: *naiše* P 3510. 7. 2 KBT 52; (b) *nī*-: *nīhiya* P 3513. 62v1 KT 1. 243; (c) *nū*-: *nīhiša* P 2787. 122 KT 2. 106; (d) *nī*-: *nīhiyai* P 2022. 9 KT 3. 42 (= *tcabrriyi* P 2956. 61 KT 3. 39).

In L.Kh., the pres. stem of O.Kh. *nihalj*- has been influenced analogically by these forms as shown by the following spellings: (a) *na*-: *nahej*- Si 100v5 KT 1. 34; (b) *na'*-: *na'hej*- Si 12r5 KT 1. 18; (c) *nī*-: *nīhej*- Si 10r4 KT 1. 14; *nīha'*- Si 8r3 KT 1. 12; (d) *ne*-: *nehej*- Si 138r5 KT 1. 76; (e) *ne'*-: *ne'hej*- Si 130r4 KT 1. 62.

12. IX. *pa(tā)*-; *pa*- < O.Ir. **pa*- (cf. Av. *pa*-); **pati*- (cf. Av. *paiti*-, OP *pati*-); **apa*- (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *apa*-).

On O.Ir. **pa*-, see Benv., Oss., pp. 98-103; on **pati*-, see Barth., ZAIW, pp. 179-88.

Correspondences for **pa*-, **pati*-, *pacas*- < **pati*-*čaxs*-, cf. Oss. I. *fādsāxs*-, *pajād*-, cf. Av. *paiti*.*jaidya*-, *pajāys*-, cf. Man. Sogd. *pčy'z*-, *pajud*-, cf. B. Sogd. *pty'wδ*; *paṃjs*- < **pa*(*ti*)-*muča*-, cf. Av. *paiti*.*šmuxta*-, Parth. *pdmwč*-, MPe *pymwč*-, B. Sogd. *ptm'yñč*-, *pattav*-, cf. B. Sogd. *pttpy*-, *patāmar*-, cf. Av. *paiti*.*šmar*-, *patālt*- < **pa*-*kṛta*-, cf. B. Sogd. *ptkrnt*-, *pathamj*- < **pa*-*θang*-, cf. Parth. *pdhynj*-, Man. Sogd. *pδδyñč*-, *pader*-, cf. Av. *paiti*.*dar*-, Man. Sogd. *pδδ'r*-, Chr. *pd'r*-, *pabañ*-, cf. Parth. *pδbstg*; *paysān*-, cf. Av. *paiti*.*xāna*-, B. Sogd. *ptz'n*-, *paštuta*- Z 23. 27, cf. Parth. *pδystrod*; *pasad*-, cf. Parth. *psynd*-, NP *pasandīdan*, B. Sogd. *pts'ynt*-, **paspar*- in ppp. *paspuđa*-, cf. Arm. LW *patspar*-, *pāskal*-, cf. B. Sogd. *ptškrδ*; *pyūš*- < **pati*-*gauša*-, cf. B. Sogd. *pty'wš*-, *prūa*- H 142 NS 49v5 KT 5. 26 < **pati*-*raupa*-, cf. Man. Sogd. *ptr'wp*- (H. W. B., BSOAS, xiii, 1951, 920-6; KT 4. 73; Liebenthal Vol., pp. 1-2).

Correspondences for **apa*-, *panašš*-, *panašta*-, cf. Av. *apanasya*-, *apanašta*-, *panāšš*-, cf. B. Sogd. *pn'yš*-, *pašš*-, cf. B. Sogd. *psp'*-, *pasūj*-, cf. B. Sogd. *ps'wč*-, *puva'd*-, cf. Av. *apa*.*had*-(?).

While it is possible to establish the existence of **pati*- because of the effect of *-i* on the stem initial, it is not possible to prove its absence as the influence of the simplex may have played a part. Thus, we have **pati*- in *pacas*-, *pajād*-, *pajāys*-, *pajud*-, *paštuta*-, *pāskal*- as indicated by *-c*- for *-tc*-, *-j*- for *-js*- (not certain in *pajād*-), *-št*- for *-st*-, *-šk*- for *-sk*- (uncertain, cf. *škim*- etc.). On the other hand, in *paspar*- with *-sp*- not *-sṣp*- (cf. Man. Sogd. *pšpr*-) we may still have **pati*- with **spar*- due to the simplex (cf. Arm. LW *patspar*-). Similarly, *pathamj*- with *-th*- not *-tḥ*- as in *paštuta*- may have been influenced by *thamj*-. The most probable case of **pa*- is in *pastāta*- Z 2. 78 < **pa*-*stāta*- beside the pres. stem *pašt*- < **pati*-*hišta*-.

The spellings attested for **pa(tā)*- are:

(i) *patā-* before *ts- m- v- r- hv-* in O.Kh.

Examples: *patāts-* *Suv. K. 67v1 KT 5. 118*; *patāmamth-* *Z 13. 73*; *patāvoutta-* *Z 2. 12*; *patārotta-* *Or 9609. 24r3 KT 1. 235*; *patāhvānaa-* *Z 22. 92*.

(ii) *pat-* before vowel in O.Kh.

One example only, O.Kh. *patīs-* *Z 2. 98*.

(iii) *pan-* before *d-* in O.Kh.

One example only, O.Kh. *pandīs-* *Z 4. 59*. Cf. (iv).

(iv) *paṃ-* before *ts-, m-* in L.Kh.

O.Kh. *patāts-* (v. (i)) > L.Kh. *paṃts-* *JS 14r1 (57)* > L.Kh. *pats-* *JS 13v1 (55)* (v. (v)); O.Kh. *patāmar-* (v. (ii)) *Z 23. 133* > L.Kh. *paṃmar-* *P 2781. 111 (43) KT 3. 70* > L.Kh. *pamar-* *Ch 00266. 102 KBT 24* (v. (v)).

(v) *pa-*

This is the most frequent form, found before all consonants both in O.Kh. and in L.Kh. Some examples: *pakūt-*, *pacas-*, *pachīys-*, *pajāys-*, *pattav-*, *pathamj-*, *padajs-*, *panam-*, *paphan-*, *pabañ-*, *paṃāta-* *Z 2. 100*, *paysān-*, *pasad-*, *pahvā'ñ-*.

(vi) *pā* before *r-, ś-, s-*

Before *r-* the development was **pati-r-* > **patar-* (cf. *-i-* > *-a-* in *narām-*) > **paar-* (I. G.) > **pār-*, as in some cases O.Kh. also attests *patā-*. Thus, *patārotta-* *Or 9609. 24r3 KT 1. 235* beside L.Kh. *pāraūṭṭa-* *Si 4v4 KT 1. 8*; *patārah-* *Suv. K. 34v7 KT 5. 112* beside L.Kh. *pārah-* *P 3513. 79r3 KBT 63*. Other examples of *pā-* before *r-* are: *pārajs-*, *pārañj-*, **pārīmph-*.

Before *ś-* and *s-*, in uncertain words, *pā-* may derive from O.Ir. **pāti-*. Thus, *pāsārā-* *Z 22. 254+*, cf. Lith. *pažāras* (H. W. B.), and *pāstuṅga-* *Z 13. 71*; *24. 168* (et.?). *pāstuṅga-* and *pārṣṣa-* 'antidote' *Z 24. 213* < **pāti-raxša-* (H. W. B.), not being verbal forms, may simply show lengthening of the vowel before a consonant group as in *āstaa-* 'bone', *āljs-* 'sing'.

(vii) *pā-*, rarely *pi-*, in O.Kh. before *ch- js- t- šk- s- h-*.

pā- is not likely to continue the rare preverb **pi-* (O.Ind. *pi-*, v. Mayrh. ii, p. 267), and in the case of *pāskal-* we have a strong indication of original **pati-* in B. Sogd. *piškrδ*.

Examples of *pā-*, *pi-*: *pāchaṣṭa-* *Z 14. 70, 71*; *pājsaṣ-* *Z 23. 161*; *pātem-* *Z 5. 6+*; *pāskal-* *Z 14. 36*; *pāsaā-* 'sunbeam' *Z 20. 47*; *24. 189* (if *pā-* is preverb); *pāhad-* *Z 24. 414*; *pihasti* *Z 24. 319*.

O.Kh. *pārsta-*, ppp. < *prih-*, shows *a* > *ā* due to following **i* (< **rista-*).

L.Kh. spellings are: (a) *pe-*: *pesaly-* *Si 121r1 KT 1. 48*; (b) *pai-*: *paiškala* *P 2787. 167-8 KT 2. 107*; (c) *pya-*: *pyahasta-* *JS 14r2 (58)*.

(viii) *pāt-* before a vowel in O.Kh.

Cf. (ii), p. 236. Only examples are O.Kh. *pātāy-*, *pātāl-*. In these words, *pāt-* > *py-* in L.Kh.: *pyāy-*, *pyāl-*. See p. 82.

(ix) *pu-* before *v-* in O.Kh.

O.Kh. *puvāta-* 'cool' *Z 22. 155* < **pa(ti)-vāta-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix, 1, 1937, 76; *puva'd-* *Z 24. 474* may have **apa-*. O.Kh. has *punūka-* *Z 5. 1* 'attentive', which is perhaps < **pa(ti)-nauda-ka-*, cf. O.Ind. *nuddati*. *pu-* will then be due to *-ū-* following.

(x) *pū-*

In O.Kh. *pū-* has been noticed only in *pūy-* and *pūhei'tā*. H. W. B. points also to *vū-*, *bū-*. The reason for *pū-* is unknown. L.Kh. *pūmūda* *StH 53 KT 2. 75* 'withered' (H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. ii, 1, 1951, 32) may have L.Kh. *pū-* for *pu-* (ix) before *m-*.

(xi) *p-* before *y-, v-*

Before *y-*: *pyūṣ-*; *pyan-* < **pa-kan-*; *pyūmj-* < **pati-vang-*.

Before *v-*: *pva'matā-* *Z 23. 18* < **patigauśāmātā-*; *pva'ta-* *Si 16v2 KT 1. 26* (tr. *bsil-ziñ*).

13. X. *par-* < O.Ir. **pari-* (cf. Av. *pairi-*; OP *pari-*; O.Ind. *pari-*).

Correspondences: *parbav-*, cf. Av. *pairi.bav-*, O.Ind. *pari-bhū-*; *parvach-* < **pari-pačya-*, cf. O.Ind. *paripacyate* 'be cooked; ripen'; *pajsem-* < **pari-jāmaya-*, cf. Av. *pairi.gam-*.

It is difficult to believe that *parā-* is preserved in *parāpāchūm* *N 175. 39*. *parāpāch-* is there used in the technical sense of BHS *paripācayati* (v. F. Edgerton, *Dict.*, s.v.). Cf. also *satvapariṣākā* *P 2893. 13 KT 3. 82* with BHS *paripāka-* (Mvy 7140). **parvach-* (cf. *parvach-*) has evidently been influenced by *paripāc-* of BHS.

parrij- was derived < **apa-raičaya-* by P. Tedesco, *BSL*, 1924, 59-60. This is possible, as the invariable spelling with *-rr-* in O.Kh. may be due to the simplex *rrij-*. Similarly, *parrus-* may have *-rr-* due to *rrus-*. Having in mind Av. *paiti.raēk-* etc. (v. Benveniste, *Oss.*, p. 99), one might think of **pati-*, but *parrij-* means 'deliver', *paiti.raēk-* 'leave behind'; and the treatment of **pati-* before *r-* appears to be different (v. § 12). It would seem best to accept the suggestion made by H. W. B. that we have here **pari-*. This would account both for the meaning of both words and for *-rr-*.

(i) *par-* before *k- ch- n- b- m- r- v-*.

Examples: *parkūn-* Si 100r2 KT 1. 34; *parchās-*; *parnai-*; *parbav-*; *parmihā-* Kha 1. 13. 134v1 KBT 1; *parvach-*.

(ii) *pal-* before *tc- js- ś- s-* in O.Kh.

Cf. *nal-* § 10 (ii).

Examples: *paltcana-* Z 24. 422; *paltcīmph-*; *paljsata-* Z 17. 26; *paljsārgga-* Z 23. 25; *paljsem-*; *palśārā* Godfrey 3b5 KT 3. 126 'evening'; *palsārā* H 143 NS 87v2 KT 5. 42 'garland'.

(iii) *pa'-, pe-, pe'-, pai-, pai'-* in L.Kh.

In L.Kh., *par-* is usually retained: *parvašte* Si 138v1 KT 1. 76 etc., while *pal-* is confined to O.Kh. But in two words, *par-* seems to have been treated like *pal-* in L.Kh.: *pa'niḍa-* Hed. 7v5 KT 4. 26 if < **pari-nar-* (H. W. B., KT 4. 88); *pe'me'sta-* JS 24v1 (106) < **pari-marx-* (rather than **pari-mard-* as Dresden, p. 480 s.v. *pe'me'sti*).

The following spellings are found in L.Kh. in words with *pal-* in O.Kh. (v. (ii)): (a) *pa'-*: *pa'sārā* P 3513. 45r2 (Asm. 9) tr. *mālya-*; *pa'jse* JS 34r3 (149); *pa'jsāmdāmdā* StH 41 KT 2. 74; (b) *pe'-*: *pe'sārā* P 3513. 72v2 KT 1. 248; *pe'jsata* P 3513. 59v4 KT 1. 242; (c) *pe-*: *peśā'* P 2834. 17 KBT 45; (d) *pai'-*: *pai'jsaim-* P 2787. 114 KT 2. 105; (e) *pai-*: *paijsādai* P 2787. 131 KT 2. 106; *paiśā'* P 2925. 43 KT 3. 101.

14. XI. *pra-* < O.Ir. **parā-* (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *parā-*).

Correspondences: *parauiys-* < **parā-vaz-*, cf. B. Sogd. *pr'wyz-*, *pr'wšt*; *parāth-* < **parā-daṭha-*, cf. Av. *para.daṭha-*; *pārān-* < **parā-kan-*, cf. B. Sogd. *pr'kn-*, Parth. *pr'gnd*; *puror-* < **parā-bar-*, cf. OP *parā-bar-*, Av. *para.bar-*.

(i) *par-, pār-*

When the final vowel of **parā-* contracted with the following sounds, the vowel of the first syllable was either retained as *-a-* or modified by labial assimilation to *-u-* (ii) in O.Kh. *pārān-* shows weakening of this *-a-* to *-ā-* already in O.Kh.

Examples: *parauiys-*, *parāth-*.

(ii) *pur-*

One example only, O.Kh. *puror-* Z4. 63.

L.Kh. spellings of (i) *par-* and (ii) *pur-* are: (a) *par-*: *parauiys-* JS 15r4 (64); (b) *pīr-*: *pīror-* Si 14r3-4 KT 1. 20 tr. *sel-to*; (c) *pīr-*: *pīrauda-* JS 11r3(44); *pīrān-* P 2787. 90 KT 2. 104; (d) *per-*: *peroda-* JS 27v1 (120).

(iii) *pra-*

Cf. Paštō *pra-* < **parā-* (H. W. B., TPS, 1945, 8).

O.Kh.: *prakṣauttāndā* N 158. 34; *prahāl-* Z 22. 192; *prrahauna-* Z 2. 63; *prahausta-* Z 2. 63. L.Kh.: *prravāsta* P 2787. 133 KT 2. 106; *prrahauna* P 3513. 72r3 KT 1. 248.

L.Kh. has also the following spellings: (a) *para-*: *parausta* P 2781. 83 (15) KT 3. 69; *parabyūta-*¹ JS 15v1 (65); (b) *pari-*: *paribyūttā* Si 5r3 KT 1. 8 tr. *ldog-ste*; (c) *prri-*: *prrivāsti* P 2741. 75 KT 2. 90; (d) *prre-*: *prrehis-* Si 152v4 KT 1. 98 (v. (v)).

(iv) *pru-, pro-*

pru-, pro- for *pra-* (iii) found in O.Kh. only, and only in the following: *pruhona-* Z 5. 31; *pruhošta-* Z 23. 169; *pruhausta-* Z 2. 78; 3. 82; *prohauy-* Or 9609. 36v2-3 KT 1. 236.

(v) *pr-*

pr- (= **pri-*) for *pra-* (iii) is found in O.Kh. only, and only in the ppp. of *prahāl-* 'open': *prhīya-* Z 5. 87; 22. 100; *prhīta-* Z 22. 263.

L.Kh. spellings are: (a) *prri-*: *prrihīya-* P 2741. 101 KT 2. 91; (b) *prri-*: *prrihīya-* P 4649. 9 KT 2. 124.

pru- (iv) and *pr-* (v) are evidently due to vowel assimilation.

15. XII. *bā-* < I. I. **upa-* (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *upa-*).

This rare preverb remains doubtful for lack of an exact correspondence. It has been noticed in three words only in O.Kh.: *baješs-* Z 13. 112; *baštarr-* Z 22. 136; *bahūšta-* Kha 1. 309a1. 43r3 KBT 9 (late, here only). Intervocalic **-p-* does not normally result in Kh. *b*, but it may do so in the preverbs *bā-* (§ 16) and *bāys-* (§ 17). The etymology of *baješs-* is obscure. It may not contain a preverb at all (v. p. 92). In the sense of 'carpet' (cf. Kh. *baštargyā-* Z 2. 49, probably 'carpet') and the like, *upa-* is found both in O.Ir. and in O.Ind.: Av. *upa.stərəna-*, O.Ind. *upastārana-*. But **star-* is found with various preverbs in later Ir.: **abi-*: Par. *wīranō* (IIFL, i. 297); **upa-*: Paštō *brastən* (EVP, 16); **pati-*: Bal. *pastark* (Morg., AO, xx. 290); **pari-*: B. Sogd. *prštrn* (Vf); **vi-*: MPe *wyšttr-*, NP *gustar-* (Verbum, p. 206). Without preverb is Waxī *stranš* (IIFL, ii. 541). Derivation from **abi-* or **vi-* would explain *-št-*; but see on *puva'd-* p. 85.

L.Kh. spellings of *baješs-* are: (a) *bi-*: *biješs-* P 2801. 55 KT 3. 67; (b) *bī-*: *biješs-* P 2956. 3-4 KT 3. 36; (c) *be-*: *beješs-* JS 35v2 (155).

16. XIII. *bā-* < O.Ir. **apāk-*

bā- is found only in *bāhūj-* Z 23. 154 'to hold in the hand' and in *bāthamj-* JS 5v2 (18) 'pluck'. Derivation < **ava* or **upa*+*ā* has been suggested (Dresden, p. 481 s.v. *bāthamj-*). But as Kh. has also *bāys-* (§ 17), it seems more likely that *bā-* stands beside *bāys-* like NP *bā-/bāz-*, ZP *apāk/apāč* (v. Lazard, § 655, p. 413). Similar, < **upāk-* H. W. B., JRAS, 1961, 55.

¹ Apparently < **parā-vi-*, but evidently secondary as the phonology shows.

17. XIV. *bāys-*

bāys- is found only in *bāysdai-* 'look at'. Derivation of *bāys-* < *bā-* + *uys-* has been suggested (H. W. B.). But see § 16. Note also the NP *bā dīd* (ŠN), v. Lazard, § 663, p. 417. *bāysdai-* < **bāys-* + *dai-* is like *drysyde* < *drjys-* (v. p. 194).

18. XV. *bi-* < O.Ir. **abi-* (cf. Av. *aibi*, *aiwi*; OP *abi-*; O.Ind. *abhi-*) and < O.Ir. **vi-* (cf. Av.; O.Ind. *vi-*)

Correspondences for **abi-*: *byāta-* Z 3. 128 < **abi-yāta-*, cf. Parth. *'by'd*, MPe *'y'd* (BBB, pp. 106, 108 s.v.; Ghilain, p. 83); *byāna-* Z 24. 647 'bridle' < **abi-dāna-*, cf. Av. *aiwi.dāna-*, B. Sogd. *βyδ'n* (I. G., GMS, § 90, p. 12) (H. W. B., *Dumézil Vol.*, p. 11; *Donum Nyberg*, pp. 6-7); *byeh-* < **abi-āp-*, cf. Av. *avi apaya*, MPe *'y'b-*, B. Sogd. *'βy'p-* (Vf); *bārūn-* < **abi-rauxšnaya-*, cf. Av. *aiwi.raočaya-* and *raoxšna-*; *buva'd-* < **abi-šad-*, cf. Av. *aiwišasta-*.

Correspondences for **vi-*: *bitar-*, cf. B. Sogd. *wytr-*; *binam-*, cf. Av. *vī.nāma-*; *binās-*, cf. Av. *vī.nānāsā*, MPe *wn'h-*; *birays-*, cf. Parth. *wyr'z-*; *birāt-* < **vi-riš-*, cf. O.Ind. *virīṣṭa-*; *buysai-* < **vi-zav-*, cf. Man. Sogd. *wyz'w*, Parth. *wzwd*; *buvan-*, *buwān-*, cf. Av. *vikānaya-*, Parth. *wyg'n-*, MPe *gwg'n-*; *byajs-* < **vi-tāca-*, cf. MPe, Parth. *wđč-*, B. Sogd. *wytwyt-*; *byāj-* < **vi-tāčaya-*, cf. Parth. *wđč-*; *byav-* < **vi-tap-*, cf. Parth. *wyt'b-*, B. Sogd. *wyt'p-*; *byūs-* < **vi-vas-*, cf. Av. *vī.usa-*, Man. Sogd. *wyws*, Chr. *wyws-*.

(i) *bā-*, *bi-*

bā- is found in O.Kh. only and is rare: *bātcūss-*; *bārūn-* Or 9609. *27v4 KT 1. 236; *bārāh-* Kha 1. 13. 142v1 KBT 5. *bi-* is frequent before all sounds in O.Kh. and in L.Kh.: *bitam-* Z 2. 131; *binam-* Z 22. 128; *biysān-* Z 4. 114; *birays-* Z 22. 195; *bihijs-* Z 22. 113. L.Kh.: *birays-* Si 4r2 KT 1. 6; *biysamj-* Si 156v1 KT 1. 104.

L.Kh. spellings are: (a) *ba-*: *baysamj-* Vajr. 7a1 KT 3. 21; (b) *bī-*: *bīysīs-* JS 17v2 (74); (c) *be-*: *berāš-* Si 139r4 KT 1. 78; *besaij-* JS 29v1 (128).

(ii) *bu-*¹ before a labial in O.Kh.

Cf. *pū-* § 12 (ix), p. 237.

buysai- Z 4. 95 < **vi-zav-*; *burūwān-* < **vi-raup-*; *buršta-* Z 13. 136 < **vi-ruxšta-*; *buva'd-* Z 23. 139; *buvan-* Z 24. 391; *buškuta-* Z 20. 46; *busūa-* Z 19. 18.

L.Kh. spellings are: (a) *bi-*: *bisūna* Ch 00268. 194 KBT 68; (b) *bū-*: *būsūna* Ch 00277. 11v1 (38) KBT 71.

¹ Cf. W. Eilers and M. Mayrhofer, *Festschrift Franz Hančar*, 1962, 81, n. 99.

(iii) *b-* before *y-* *r-* *v-* in O.Kh.

byana- Z 3. 67 beside *biyana-* Z 22. 309; *brūn-* Z 2. 84 beside *bārūn-* Or 9609. *27v4 KT 1. 236; *bva'd-* Z 14. 92 beside *buva'd-* Z 23. 139.

Other examples: *byāta-* Z 3. 128; *byūj-* Z 11. 54; *byūs-* Z 5. 32; *brāh-* Z 22. 115; *bvan-* Z 22. 331.

(iv) *bū-*

Cf. *pū-* § 12 (x), p. 237.

bū- is found only in O.Kh. *būššāta* Z 23. 142+ < **abi-srišā-* (H. W. B., cf. Paštō *šəl* 'stair', Oss. D. *asinā* 'ladder' < **ā-srišna-*, v. EVP, 78). In L.Kh. words *bū-* may be written for *bu-* as in *būšvāṇa*, v. p. 103.

19. XVI. *va-* < I. I. **ava-* (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *ava-*)

Correspondences: *vaysān-*, cf. Av. *ava.xan-*, Yidgha *v'zān-*; *vaysgasta-* Z 5. 37 < **ava-zgad-*, cf. B. Sogd. *'wzyδ-* (Vf); *vavat-* < **ava-pat-*, cf. Av. *avapastōiš*, B. Sogd. *'wpt-*; *vašt-* < **ava-hišta-*, cf. B. Sogd. *'wšt-*; *vasuta-* Z 4. 57 'pure' < **ava-suxta-*, cf. B. Sogd. *'wsuwt-* 'pure' (Vf) but Av. *upa.suxtō* Yt 10. 127 'blazing'; *vahiys-* < **ava-haiza-*, cf. Man. Sogd. *'wxz-*, MPe *'wxyz-*.

Spellings other than *va-* are rare. L.Kh. has *virāš-* P 2958. 120 KT 2. 117; *viārāš-* ibid. 135 KT 2. 118.

The spelling *vū-* is found rarely in O.Kh., cf. *pū-* § 12 (x), p. 237. *vūyāta-* contains *vūy-* < **ava-day-*, and *vūmūva* Z 14. 50; 20. 37, 40 is ppp. < **ava-mav-* according to H. W. B.

vū- is further reduced to *ū-* in a few words: *ūy-* = *vūy-*; *ūmij-* < **ava-maig-*, cf. *nāmājs-*; *ūmāta-* < **ava-mita-* (v. p. 19).

20. XVII. *vi-* < I. I. **vi-* (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *vi-*)

This preverb is very rare. Kh. has *ggu-* (§ 7) and *bi-* (§ 18) < O.Ir. **vi-*. *vibram-* Z 5. 26+, although never spelled with *-bh-*, is probably a LW from NWPkt (for loss of aspiration, see *Khar. Docs.*, § 24, p. 9), as it has the ppp. in *-āta*: *vibramāta-* Z 5. 28. *vimūha-* Z 10. 30+ may also be a LW from NWPkt rather than Ir. < **vi-muxθa-* (H. W. B., BSOS, ix. 1, 1937, 72), although **mauk-* is found in Kh. *paṃjs-*. *-kš-* (BHS *vimokṣa-*) does not normally result in *-h-* in NWPkt (v. *Khar. Docs.*, § 48, pp. 18-19), but the *Dhp* has *aveha* (169) < *apekš-* (v. Brough, § 52, p. 102). In *vāyau* Z 19. 20 may be concealed **vi-dab-*, cf. Parth. *wdyb-* (Ghilain, p. 81), MPe *wyyb-* (*Verbum*, p. 173) or **vi-dav-*, cf. Av. *vī.dav-*, Oss. D. *idāun* (v. Benv., Oss., p. 14). *vūv-* is perhaps < **vi-bā-* (p. 124). *virāva* Z 22. 121 is of uncertain meaning and origin, but it appears to have *vi-*. *vistāta-*, however, as ppp. < *vašt-* and with *-st-* not *-št-* probably contains **ava-*. *virasañi* in Ch 1. 0021b, 1r8 KBT 153 (so read) probably contains the preverb **vi-* with 1. *rrus-* 'shine' (H. W. B.).

21. XVIII. *sam-* (?)

samkhal- D III. 1. 8v2 *KT* 5. 69 'smear; pollute' (v. p. 130) appears Ir. in its inflection: 3 sg. pres. *samkhiltā*, ppp. *samkhilsta-*. The verbal base is evidently **xard-*, which can be compared with Yaghn. *xīrd-* etc. *ham-* is expected, however, in Ir. (v. § 23). I can suggest only that **hamkhal-* has been influenced by BHS *samkirati* 'soils'.

Here may be mentioned the LW *pasamaṇḍ-* with unexplained *pasa(m)-* and *hasamīṭh-* of unknown origin.

22. XIX. *hā-* < O.Ir. **frā-* (cf. Av. *frā-*, OP *fra-*; O.Ind. *prā-*)

On *hā-*, see O. Hansen, 'Das sakische Präverb *ha-*', *OLZ*, 1935, 6, 350-5, where some exact correspondences are found. Note that only here does **fr-* > *h-* instead of *br-* in Kh. **pro* beside **prō* is ascribed to IE (Pok., p. 813), although the distribution of the forms is dependent upon rhythmical tendencies in the individual languages (see Mayrh. s.v. *prā*, Ernout-Meillet s.v. *prō*). According to Benv. *BSOS*, ix. 3, 1938, 508-10, Avestan distinguishes *fra-* 'devant' from *frā-* 'fort-, weg-'.

Correspondences: *hatcañ-* < **fra-sčandaya-*, cf. Av. *frascīndaya-*; *hanam-* < **fra-nam-*, cf. Av. *frānāma-*, MPe *prnm-*; *hanaśš-*, cf. Parth. *frnšg*; *haysān-*, cf. Parth. *frz'ng*; *haysñ-*, *haysnāta-*, cf. Av. *frasnaya-*, *frasnāta-*; *haškīm-*, cf. Av. *frascīmbaya-*; *hašpalgy-*, cf. Av. *fraspārəya-*; *hāmura-* Z 19. 86, cf. NP *farāmōš*; *hārsta-* < **frārusta-*, cf. Av. *frāurusta-*; *harrūñ-*, cf. Man. Sogd. *frwvq* (p. 150); **hahvah-* < *fra-hvah-*, cf. B. Sogd. *βryw'y-*; *hot-* < **fra-vat-*, cf. Av. *frāvat-*, Parth. *frwd-*; *haur-* < **fra-bar-*, cf. Av., OP *fra-bar-*; *hausta-*, cf. Parth. *frwšt*.

The final vowel of the preverb contracts with a following vowel: **hēi-* < **fra-iša-*, cf. Man. Sogd. *fryš-*. The final vowel contracts to *-au-* with initial **va-* in *hot-* and **ba-* in *haur-*.

No other modification of *ha-* is found,¹ unless *hām-* contains *ha-*. *hām-* is found more than 200 times in Z but *him-* does not occur once. It is, however, occasionally found in O.Kh.: H 147 NS 108. 40r2 *KT* 5. 72; H 147 NS 109. 41r3 *KT* 5. 73 etc. L.Kh. has *ham-* *JS* 32r2 (140)+; *him-* *JS* 1v4 (2)+; *hem-* *JS* 28v3 (125)+. If, on the other hand, Waxī *hūmū-* 'to be' is compared (*IIFL*, ii. 524), **fra-* is excluded, as Waxī has *ra-*, *re-* < **fra-* (*IIFL*, ii. 467).

23. XX. *ham-* < O.Ir. **ham-* (cf. Av., OP *ham-*; O.Ind. *sam-*)

Correspondences: *hamjsam-*, *hamjsem-*, cf. Av. *hanjasa-*, *hanjamana-*, Man. Sogd. *'n̄jmn*, *'n̄cmn*; *hamthris-*, cf. B. Sogd. *'ntr'ys-*; *hamdajs-*, cf. ZP *handāk*; *haṇdauda-* Z 22. 285 < **ham-tafta-*, cf. Av. *ham.tapta-*;

¹ If *hudūtā* in Z 19. 53 is < **fra-dav-* (H. W. B.), we have an instance of vowel assimilation.

handār-, cf. MPe *hn'r-* < **ham-dar-*; *haṇdrañj-*, cf. Av. *handraxta-*, Parth. *'ndrynj-*; *hambañ-*, cf. Parth. *'mbst*, B. Sogd. *'n̄β'st*; *hambūh-*, cf. Parth. *'murd-*; *hambir-*, *hamber-*, cf. Man. Sogd. *'mbyr-*, Parth. *'mb'r-*, MPe *hmb'r-*; *hambus-*, cf. Parth. *'mbwy-*; *hambrih-* < **ham-raiθ-*, cf. Av. *ham.raēθwaya-*.

(i) *ha-*. This spelling is rare in O.Kh.: *habirsta-* Z 24. 264; *haber-* Z 24. 180; but common in L.Kh.: *habair-* P 2787. 168 *KT* 2. 107; *habujs-* Ch c. 001. 960 *KB* 139.

(ii) *han-* is found rarely in O.Kh. and only before *d-*: *haṇdauda-* Z 22. 285; *handajāñ-* Kha 1. 13 142v4 *KB* 5; 145r4 *KB* 6; *handaj-* Kha 1. 58ar b4 *KT* 5. 132.

(iii) *ham-* is found only before vowels: *hamara-* Si 144v3 *KT* 1. 86 (tr. *chigs*) < **ham-āra-*; *hamīda-* Z 24. 479 ppp. < **hamir-* < **ham-ar-ya-*. Note that *hamrraštu* Z 6. 17+ beside O.Kh. *hamarašta-* Z 23. 35 probably has **hama-* 'all', not *ham-* preverb (H. W. B.).

(iv) *ham-* is by far the most frequent spelling in O.Kh. and in L.Kh. It is found before all consonants except *r-*: *hamkhīys-* Z 19. 79; Si 7r3 *KT* 1. 10; *hamggalj-* Z 22. 297; *hamjsaš-* Z 2. 83+; *hamdār-* Z 12. 63; *hamphuta-* Stein E 1. 7 145v2-3 *KT* 5. 77; *hamtharka-* Avdh 11v5 *KT* 3. 5.

(v) *-am-*

anamkhāšta- Or 9609. 4v6 *KT* 1. 233 (tr. *anekair*); Z 13. 97+ is clearly < **a-ham-khāšta-*, cf. *hamkhīšta-* Z 23. 366. *anandīš-* Z 12. 114 could be denominative **a-ham-dāis(a)ya-*, but it may be due to assimilation < *aramdīš-* H vii. 150. 1v2 *KT* 5. 99 (with *-r-* changed to *-n-*). Av. *arəm* has been compared (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 117 s.v. *aramdis*).

-(a)m- is also found in words containing the suffix **ham-kāra-* e.g. *bašdamggāra-* 'evil-doing' Z 13. 70, cf. Man. Sogd. *'βjng'ryy* (v. I. G., *GMS*, § 1126, p. 172).

B. COMPOUND PREVERBS

24. I. *gu-ja-*

< **vi-* (§ 7) + *tca-* (§ 9). Only in L.Kh. **gujsabali-*, *gujsabrīs-*. The spellings found are: (a) *gu-ja-*: *gujsabrīya* Ch 00266. 49 *KB* 22; (b) *gu-jse-*: *gujsabrīya* *JS* 35r1 (153); (c) *gū-ja-*: *gujsabrīsiḍa* P 2025. 57 *KT* 3. 47. Cf. also *pa-ja-* § 26.

25. II. *nva-*

< **any-ā-*? This preverb is found only in *nuvašt-* Z 1. 51+, *nvašt-* Z 12. 11 'to examine'. 'E', p. 452 has '*ni-vastay*' presumably *ad hoc*.

ni-upa-stā- and *anu-upa-stā-* are suggested by S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 162 s.v. In *NTS*, xi. 1939, 58, S. Konow suggested *anu/ni-pati-stay*. No *ny-upa-* is found at all in O.Ind. *anūpasthā-* 'to approach in order' is semantically satisfactory, but phonologically doubtful. **anu-ā-stā-* (H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. i, 1949, 42) can be supported by O.Ind. *anvāsthāna-* (Monier-Williams, p. 1313) 'attainment'. *nvaṣṭa* 'easy' *Si* 139r1 *KT* 1. 76 tr. *sla-ba* is probably also connected, but the exact form is not clear.

26. III. *pa-jsa-*

< **pa-* (§ 12) + *tca-* (§ 9). Cf. also *gu-jsa-* § 24. This preverb has been found only in **pa-jsa-balj-*: O.Kh., *pajsaba'jīndi* Stein E 1. 7. 149r1 *KT* 5. 78; L.Kh., *pajsabrrīyāmdā* P 2781. 156 (88) *KT* 3. 72.

27. IV. *parā-*

parājsqñā *Avdh* 13r4 *KT* 3. 6, of uncertain meaning and origin, appears to have a preverb *parā-*. < **parā-ā-* (?), as *pra-* is found already < O.Ir. **parā-* (§ 14).

28. V. *śa-*

? < **adi-ā-* H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. i, 1949, 42. This preverb is rare. It has been found only in the following: *śatcampha* *JS* 28v2 (125) < **adi-ā-sčamba-* (v. Dresden, p. 474 s.v. *tcamph-*); *śaphīḍa* P 2786. 196-7 *KT* 2. 99, *bāḍa-śīpherā* P 2741. 70 *KT* 2. 90 (v. Dresden, p. 489 s.v. *haphāra-*) v. **adi-ā-far-*. Two words may show the uncompounded preverb: *śveri* P 2741. 42 *KT* 2. 89 < *śver-* < **adi-vāraya-* (H. W. B., loc. cit., p. 41) and O.Kh. *śūh-*, if < **adi-aud-* (IE **audh-* Pok. 75) (H. W. B.). O.Kh. has *śūh-* once only in Z 22. 96. L.Kh. has *śūh-* *Si* 122v1 *KT* 1. 50+. There remains the difficulty pointed out by H. W. E., loc. cit., that *śa'-* is expected in L.Kh. *śatcampha* etc.

NOMINAL PREFIXES

1. The following seven nominal prefixes are found in Kh.: I. *a-*; II. *ggu-*; III. *duš-*; IV. *naṣi'-*; V. *bi-*; VI. *ha-*; VII. *hu-*. Of these Av. has six: *a-*, *vi-*, *duš-*, *vi-*, *ha-*, *hu-*. Av. has *niš-* only as a preverb, but it is found as a nominal prefix in O.Ind.

2. *a-*

(i) As in Av. and O.Ind., Kh. has *a-* before consonants, *an-* before vowels:

a-+C-: *akā'matā-* Z 6. 51; *aggamjsa-* Z 2. 6; *adāta-* Z 24. 45; *abasta-* Z 22. 158; *avyūṣṭa-* Z 2. 117; *aṣṣadda-* Z 15. 4; *ahotana-* Z 12. 117.

an-+V-: *anārta-* Z 2. 133; *anāspetu* Z 24. 247; *anaursa-* Z 6. 32; *aneṣṭavana-* Or 9609. 24r4 *KT* 1. 235 tr. *asārakah*.

(ii) *an-* (with unmotivated *-n-*) is occasionally found in L.Kh.: *anūtca* P 2739. 27 *KT* 2. 85; *anau'sa* P 4099. 168 *KB* T 121.

(iii) Although *a-* is usual before all consonants including *h-* (e.g. *ahamdrūṣṣā-* *Suv.* K. 33v1 *KT* 5. 111 tr. *avigraha-*), *anamkhāṣṭa-* Z 13. 97+ is found as the opposite of *hamkhāṣṭa-* Z 23. 366. See § 23 (v), P. 243.

(iv) Instead of *an-* before vowels, *a-* is occasionally found both in O.Kh. and in L.Kh.: *a-uysānānu* H 144 NS 83b3 *KT* 5. 52; *a-uysānetā* H 142 NS 76. 19v3 *KT* 5. 103 (= N 153. 17-18); *a-uysnoratete* Kha 1. 13. 135v3 *KB* T 2. This *a-* may be modified in the usual way (see (v), (vi)): *i-ṣedai* Ch 00268. 39-40 *KB* T 101 (= *a-v-ṣedai* P 3513. 4r3 *KT* 3. 113 (H. W. B.)).

(v) Already in O.Kh., *a-* is occasionally modified. Thus, we find *i-*: *ihivia-* Z 12. 64; *ihivia-* H 142 NS 29 etc. 611v2 *KT* 5. 91, due to early vowel assimilation. *a-* is attested in this word only in L.Kh.: *ahīye* Ch 1. 0021b. b41 *KB* T 154 (H. W. B.). *u-*: *udyānaina* *Suv.* K. 31r7 *KT* 5. 109 (tr. *adṛṣyabhih*) beside *adyāneina* *Suv.* K. 32v1 *KT* 5. 110 (tr. *adṛṣya-*).

(vi) L.Kh. spellings of *a-*: (a) *ā-*: This spelling is found only in *āhvaraa-* 'sour' (cf. *hvarra-* Z 19. 29 'sweet'), which is always spelled with *ā-*. The form is not found in O.Kh., but it may have been the same. Cf. also O.Ind. *ā-* for *a-* (Whitney, § 1121c, p. 412). Examples: *āhvarai* *Si* 5r2 *KT* 1. 8; *āhvari* *JP* 99r2 *KT* 1. 181; (b) *i-*: *iṣada* P 2798. 167 *KB* T 43; *iḥīye* *Si* 1v4 *KT* 1. 2; *imaṅgīlyi* P 2958. 75 *KB* T

41; (c) *e-*: *eharṣṭā Si* 147r3 *KT* 1. 90 tr. *rgyun-tu* (cf. *aharṣṭā Si* 146v5 *KT* 1. 90 tr. *rgyun-tu*).

(vii) Both in O.Kh. and in L.Kh., *a-* may or may not cause the following consonant to be treated intervocalically.

(a) voiceless: *kh- gg- ts- p- rr- ṣṣ-* (O.Kh.) + *c- tt- ph-* (L.Kh.): *kh-*: *akhijāndei* Kha 1. 58a1 b3 *KT* 5. 132 (O.Kh.); *akhajāmdai* P 2957. 110 *KBt* 36 (L.Kh.); *gg-*: *aggamja-* Z 2. 6+ (in Z, only so; 19 ×); *aggūnaa-* Z 6. 8+ (in Z, only so, 6x) (both O.Kh.); L.Kh.: *agamja-* P 3510. 9. 2 *KBt* 53; *agūnaa-* P 3513. 19r2 *KBt* 56; *c-*: *acimḍya* P 3513. 50r3, 4 (Asm. 33); *tt-*: *attisā'* P 2957. 25 *KBt* 31; *attūṣima* Ch 1. 0021a, a 2-3 *KT* 2. 53; *ts-*: *atsāṣṭo* Z 20. 10 (O.Kh.); *atsūmaviṣa* P 3513. 39v2 *KBt* 61 (L.Kh.); *p-*: O.Kh.: *apadimāmata* Kha 1. 56. 1 b2 *KT* 5. 131; *apātāyāme* SS 85v5 *KT* 5. 343; L.Kh.: *apaysāmda-* Si 1 bis r1 *KT* 1. 2; *apaphanāme* P 3513. 63v3-4 *KT* 1. 243; *ph-*: *aphārā* P 2781. 94 (26) *KT* 3. 69; *rr-*: O.Kh.: *arrimajsa-* Or 9609. 4r3 *KT* 1. 233; L.Kh.: *arimajsa-* P 3513. 69r3 *KT* 1. 246; *ṣṣ-*: *aṣṣadda-* Z 15. 4 (O.Kh.); L.Kh.: *aṣadī* S 2471. 184 *KBt* 97 = *aṣadīna* ApS 11b2 *KT* 5. 246.

(b) voiced: *k/g/t- js- ṣ- v-*:

k/g/t-: O.Kh.: *akā'matā-* Z 6. 51; *agāṣṭa-* Kha 1. 13. 144v1 *KBt* 5; *atāṣṭa-* Or 9609. 5r4 *KT* 1. 234; L.Kh.: *akāṣṭa-* P 3510. 10. 10 *KBt* 53; *agāpya* JS 38v1 (167); *js-*: *ajsera-* Z 24. 438 (O.Kh.); *ṣ-*: *a-ṣarrāmata* Kha 1. 13. 139v1-2 *KBt* 3 (< *ṣṣarr-* Z 7. 24); *aṣumuḍa-* Or 9609. 5r4 *KT* 1. 234; *v-*: O.Kh.: *avurda-* Suv. K. 35r1 *KT* 5. 113; *avaysānda-* Z 2. 117; L.Kh.: *avaurda-* P 3510. 7. 3 *KBt* 52; *avaysāmda-* Ch 00277. 9v1 (31) *KBt* 71.

(viii) In one word only, *a-* is followed by a hiatus-filler before an initial vowel: O.Kh.: *a-t-īsaṃdai* H 143 NS 65+144 NSB 11. 8r1 *KT* 5. 68; L.Kh.: *a-t-īsaṃdai* Ch c. 001. 735 *KBt* 90; *a-v-īsadai* P 3513. 4r3 *KT* 3. 113. See (iv).

(ix) The function of *a-*. *a-* is used to form adjectives and nouns. Adjectives are most frequently formed by using *a-* with the ppp. e.g. *abasta-* Z 22. 158; *arrusta-* Z 7. 22; *avaphanda-* Z 19. 18; *avathīya-* Z 22. 322; *avamāta-* Z 1. 47; *avyūṣṭa-* Z 2. 117; *ahvata-* Z 6. 55. It is found also with the pres. part. adj. in *-andaa*: *avaṣṭandaa-* Z 11. 37; *atīsaṃdāa-* H 143 NS 65+144 NSB 11. 8r1 *KT* 5. 68, and with the pt. nec.: *ajsera-* Z 24. 438. Abstract nouns are usually formed by prefixing *a-* to an abstract noun: *akā'matā-* Z 6. 51; *adāta-* Z 24. 45; *aṣkaugye* Z 6. 26. With the further addition of a suffix, these may become adjectives: *adātīa-* Z 22. 91; *adyematīje* Z 6. 7; *arrimajsa-* Or 9609. 4r3 *KT* 1. 233. Sometimes they become adjectives without the addition of a suffix: *anārṛa-* Z 2. 133; *aviha-* JS 14r1 (58). An adjective may be

formed also with a common noun and a suffix: *abisāta-* Kha 1. 119. 71v4 *KT* 5. 146. Occasionally a common noun is formed by prefixing *a-* to a common noun: *ahva'ndā* SS 61r4 *KT* 5. 338; or an adjective by prefixing *a-* to an adj.: *ahotana-* Z 12. 117.

3. *ggu-*

< O.Ir. **vi-*, see § 7, p. 230. Two examples only have been noticed. *ggu-* is used as a reversal prefix to form an abstract noun with an abstract noun: *gguhamamggatātā* Z 3. 66; *guhamān* < *g* > *atete* Kha 1. 13. 135v4 *KBt* 2; L.Kh., *gūhamagauṇa* P 4099. 168-9 *KBt* 121; and to form an adj. with a ppp.: O.Kh., *gguvaṭhuta-* Z 2. 43 (< *paṭhuta-* Z 15. 4).

4. *duṣ-*

< O.Ir. **duš-/duž-*, cf. Av. *duš-*, *duž-*. *duṣ-* is found in three words in O.Kh.: *duṣḍarrau-* Z 2. 57+; *duṣpāta'* - Z 7. 26+; *duṣhāmamkya* Kha 1. 13. 139v2 *KBt* 3. In L.Kh., only *duṣpya* P 3513. 71r2 *KT* 1. 247 (tr. *durbala-*) is found. Elsewhere the consonant cluster has been simplified by anaptyxis with the result that **duž-* has been generalized. Examples: *duṣa'caidye* P 3513. 63v1 *KT* 1. 243; *duṣa'tsūmā* P 3513. 64v1 *KT* 1. 244 tr. *duṣcaritām*; *duṣi'byau* < *da* > Kha 0013d2 b4-5 *KT* 5. 126; *duṣa'yudya* P 3513. 67r2 *KT* 1. 245; *duṣa'hoa* P 3513. 63v1 *KT* 1. 243; *dūṣa'busta* Vajr. 38a3-4 *KT* 3. 28.

For **duš-* in Indian loanwords, see H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xi. 4, 1946, 791. Kh. has the isolated form *duṣṣchata* Suv. K. 65r7 *KT* 5. 116 tr. *svalpasthāmāh*, and three treatments: (a) Ir. forms as above, e.g. *dūṣa'rīlī* P 4099. 67 *KBt* 116; (b) O.Ind. *duṣ-*, *dur-*, e.g. *duṣkara-* Z 5. 13 < BHS *duṣkara-*; *durbhikṣa-* Z 22. 137 < BHS *durbhikṣa-* (Mvy 8284). These are attested in L.Kh. spellings also: *daṣkari* P 5538a 4 *KT* 2. 125; *dārabaiḥṣa* Ch 1. 0021b. b52 *KBt* 155; *dūrabīha:kṣā* P 2898. 7-8 *KT* 2. 117; *daurabaiḥṣa* S 2471. 279 *KBt* 100; (c) NWPkt *dru-*: *drubikṣinaina* Kha 1. 214a r4 *KT* 1. 250. *dru-* is < *dur-* generalized like Kh. **duž-* above. Thus, Kh. has < *du* > *rśśīlvī* Kha 1. 206a2 b2 *KT* 5. 162; *dūrśī'laṇa* P 4099. 286 *KBt* 127 where Skt has *duḥṣīla-* or *duṣṣīla-*, NWPkt *druṣīla-* (Dhp 329).

5. *naṣi'*

< O.Ir. **niž-*, cf. Preverbs, § 10, p. 232. For **niž-* as a nominal prefix in Ir., H. W. B. cf. Arm. LW *nždeh* (HAG, p. 203). On *nždeh*, see A. Meillet, *BSL*, 23, 1922, 108; P. Tedesco, *BSL*, 25, 1925, 151.

In L.Kh. **niž-* was generalized as a nominal prefix like **duž-* (§ 4): *naṣa'be'vai* JP 47v1 *KT* 1. 139 tr. *nurvaṣau* (= *nirvaṣo*); *naṣi'rīma* P 3513. 48r1 (Asm. 22) tr. *vimalām*; *naṣi'rīma* P 2787. 26 *KT* 2. 102; *naṣarrīma* P 4099. 91 *KBt* 117.

6. *bi-*

< O.Ir. **vi-*, cf. Preverbs, § 18, p. 240. O.Kh. *bijūndaa-* Z 24. 411 'lifeless', cf. Av. *vī.fva-*.

7. *ha-*

ha- < O.Ir. **ha-*, cf. Av. *ha-* in *ha-xaoša-*, is probably not found in Kh., as *hamāṅga-* Z 2. 5, *hamāṅga-* Z 4. 89+, *hamagga-* Z 3. 54+ means 'equal', not 'like', and is therefore better taken < **hamanaka-* (as Dresden, p. 489 s.v.), cf. Av. *hama-* 'same' rather than < **ha-mānaka-* (as S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 27), cf. O.Ind. *samāna-* (< **sa-*+*māna-*, v. J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, ii. 2, p. 275), ZP *homānāk* 'like' (H. W. B.).

8. *hu-*

< O.Ir. **hu-*, cf. Av. *hu-*; O.Ind. *su-*. *hu-* can cause the following consonant to be treated intervocalically: O.Kh., *huvaraustu* Kha 1. 205. 35r3 *KT* 5. 161; L.Kh., *hūvamāva* JP 44v4 *KT* 1. 137 (both -v- < -p-). *hutsuta-* Or 9609. 5r7 *KT* 1. 234 (tr. *svāgatam*) is the only example noticed of *hu-* followed by a voiceless sound.

hu- is frequently prefixed to the ppp. e.g. *hubyauda-* Kha 1. 13. 144r5 *KBT* 5; *hubasta-* JS 7v2 (28); *huysānautta-* Or 9609. 4v3 *KT* 1. 233; *huyuda-* Vajr. 12a3 *KT* 3. 22 tr. *sukaram*; *husū'sta-* P 3513. 74r4 *KT* 1. 249. It is found also with the pres. pt. adj.: *hubārūñandaa-* H 143a NSB 6v1 *KT* 5. 85, and with other adjectives: *hunusthura-* Or 9609. 4v4-5 *KT* 1. 233 tr. *sudārūṇa-*.

hvāha- Z 22. 136+ may be < **hu-pāṭha-* (S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 13; H. W. B., *TPS*, 1961, 135) and *hvāta-* Z 24. 520 may be < **hu-vāta-* (H. W. B.).

The L.Kh. spelling *hau-* has been noticed in *hauyuda-* Vajr. 11b4-12a1 *KT* 3. 22 tr. *sukaram*; and *hū-* in *hūvasve* P 3513. 50v3 (Asm. 35).

NOMINAL INFLECTION

1. General characteristics

KHOTANESE nouns show two numbers, singular and plural, with traces of a third, the dual. It has three genders, masculine, feminine and neuter, but the neuter has almost disappeared. In the oblique cases of the plural, there is no longer any distinction of gender. There are six cases: nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive-dative, instrumental-ablative, and locative. Nominal declension can be conveniently divided into two classes, as in Avestan (see Jackson, § 219, p. 62): the vocalic and the consonantal. The vocalic class can be further subdivided into primary and secondary, i.e. uncontracted and contracted (< **-aka* etc.). A secondary **-aka* class developed similarly in Sogdian (I. G., *GMS*, §§ 1252 ff., pp. 187 ff.).

2. Number

The dual tended to disappear in IE languages. In Khotanese, it is found only in slight traces. It does not occur in adjectives or in pronouns. Several words that are historically dual have received plural terminations. Thus, *d(u)va* 'two' < IE **d(u)uō* has G(P) *dvīnu* < IE **d(u)u-oi-*+*-nu* from the regular GP in Kh. Kh. *uvā* 'senses' corresponds with the Avestan dual *uši* but it has oblique terminations like those for 'two': G-DP *uī'nu*, I-AP *uvyau*'. Similar, no doubt, was *suwā* 'lungs', cf. Av. *suši*, but only L.Kh. LP **svī'yā-* is found in the oblique cases, and this appears to indicate **svī'yā-* < **sušikā-* (cf. *strī'yā-*). *pā* 'feet' could be derived from an old dual (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 40), but all the forms of *pāa-* are identical with the rest of the words in the same declension. Kh. *mārāpātara* 'parents' must originally have been a dual *dvandva*, but it too has received plural endings. The ending of the I-AP *-yau* would show a trace of the dual if a contamination of the IP **-aibiš* (OP *-aibiš*) and the IDAbI dual **-ābyām* (O.Ind. *-ābhyām*), but a different explanation is possible.

3. Case

The Kh. case-system is essentially that of O.Ir., O.Ind., and IE. The number of cases has, however, been reduced from eight to six by conflation of the genitive and dative and of the instrumental and ablative. These cases have here been simply called G-D and I-A, following earlier writers, because the G-D and the I-A do in fact have the syntactic functions of the cases conflated. On the syntax of the cases

in Kh., see now R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 24-33. Conflation of I and Abl. took place also in Latin, but there the form retained was that of the Abl. always, whereas in Kh. the ISm, but the AblSf, were retained because of their distinctiveness. Conflation of G and D is found in OP, where the G has assumed the functions of the D (Kent, § 168, p. 57).

The most notable feature of the Kh. case-system is the identity in form of the VPm and the I-APm in *-yau*. This shows remarkable similarity with the frequent use of the IS *vohū mananhā* as VS in Avestan (Reichelt, § 427, p. 223). It should be observed that Kh. had *-a* VS < **-a* beside *-a* IS < **-ā*.

An important feature of the Kh. case-system is the complete absence of distinction between N and A in the plural. Everywhere the old NP form has prevailed. In Avestan, the NP is more often used for the AP than the reverse (Barth., *GIP*, i, § 378. 14, p. 213). From the time of the oldest Kh., there is a strong tendency to use the NS for the AS and occasionally the reverse, probably due in part to the structural pressure from the NAP.

As a result of a number of sound-changes, L.Kh. is perceptibly moving towards a simplified system, which it never reaches in the surviving corpus. This is: Sg. NVAG-DL *-a*; I-A *-a jsa*; Pl NA *-a*; G-D, L *-ā*; I-A *-ā jsa*.

4. Nominal declensions

The division between vocalic and consonantal classes is already blurred by the time of the oldest Kh. Most of the forms have been thematicized. Only the distinction between NS and the other forms tended to remain firm, e.g. between NS *hve* 'man' and *hvand* 'forms'. But in the *n*-decl. (nt.), we find both the thematic NS, e.g. *tcei'mā* 'eye' and the inherited NS, e.g. *nāma* 'name'.

In the vocalic class, there was a tendency for forms to be transferred to the *ā*-decl. Thus, no *u*-decl. is found in Kh., but we have NS *pasā* 'sheep' (SS 77r6 KT 5. 339) from an old *u*-stem, cf. Av. *pasu-*. In addition to G-DP *ggarīnu* 'mountain', we find G-DP *ggarānu* from an old *i*-stem, cf. Av. *gairi-*. Fem. *i*-stems of O.Ind. were usually transferred to the *ā*-decl. in Kh. Thus, Kh. *ggatā*, LW < O.Ind. *gati-* f., has NSf *ggata* Z 23. 117. A similar treatment of *i*- and *u*-stems is found in Paštō (see Morg., *NTS*, xii, 1942, 93).

In L.Kh., as a result of the weakening of short final vowels, the primary vocalic declensions tended to be confused. Consequently, gender distinction was largely lost.

5.

I. THE VOCALIC CLASS

A. PRIMARY

1. The *a*-declension

It will be convenient in treating of the various declensions to begin by giving a table showing a selection of the oldest forms. This is sometimes followed by a more detailed table showing the variety of spellings and their distribution. See detailed table for the *a*-declension on p. 252.

The words belonging to this decl. are all masc. (or originally nt.).

SINGULAR			PLURAL		
N	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ā</i> (nt.) <i>-u</i>	NA	<i>-a</i>	(nt.) <i>-e</i>
V	<i>-a</i>		V	<i>-yau</i>	
A	<i>-u</i>				
G-D	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ā</i>	G-D	<i>-ānu</i>	
I-A	<i>-āna</i>		I-A	<i>-yau</i> , <i>-yo</i> (+ <i>jsa</i>)	
L	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-o</i> <i>-i</i> <i>-a</i>	L	<i>-uso</i>	<i>-uvo</i>

6. NS

(i) no ending

Because of the loss of final short vowels in L.Kh., the NS termination sometimes disappeared. Thus, *dā* NS 'the Law' JS 13v1 (55) < *dātā*. This is particularly common in the case of words ending in *-m*, *-n*: *āysam* 'seat' JS 11v1 (45) < *āysana-*; *āvam* 'desire' P 3513. 47r2 (Asm. 18) < *āvama-*; *pajsam* 'honour' Avdh 8v2 KT 3. 3 < *pajsama-*; *brammanam* JS 12r2 (48) < *brammaṇa-*; *maran* 'death' Kha vi. 4. 1a2 KT 3. 130 < *marana-*; *vyaysam* 'disaster' Hed. 17. 20 KT 4. 32 < *vyaysana-*; *śāsam* 'śāsana' P 3513. 47r4 (Asm. 19) < *śāsa'na-*; *samāhām* 'meditation' P 3513. 43v2 (Asm. 1) < *samāhāna-*.

(ii) *-a*

This ending is rare in O.Kh.: *Prādyautta* Z 23. 136; *jāna* 'meditation' Z 11. 32. In L.Kh., however, it is very common. It is due to the development of final short vowels to [ə] in L.Kh. Examples in L.Kh.: *ba'ysa* 'Buddha' Hed. 23. 13 KT 4. 36; *gara* 'mountain' JS 12v3 (51); *satva* 'being' JS 14v1 (59).

(iii) *-i*

This is the expected form < O.Ir. **-ah* (IE **-os*), cf. Sogd. *-y* (P. Tedesco, *ZII*, iv, 1926, 126). It is found both in O.Kh.: *balysi* 'Buddha' Z 1. 39; *bādi* 'time' Z 1. 37; *lovi* 'world' Z 2. 21, and in L.Kh.: *bāti* 'wind' Si 122v2 KT 1. 50, but it is rare in L.Kh.

		SINGULAR				
	O.Kh. only	O.Kh.+L.Kh. rare L.Kh. = rare O.Kh.			L.Kh. only	
N	-r	-i	-ä	-a	no ending	
		-u	-e			
V	-a				-ä	
	-r				-e	
A	-u	-i	-ä	-a	no ending	
	-r				-e	
	-o					
G-D	-u	-i	-ä	-a	no ending	
	-r			-e	-ye	
I-A		-ina	-a	-ana	-ani	-äni
		-äna	-ena		-ine	-aina
		-na			-nä	-ni
					(-na) jsa	
L	-i	-a	-aä		-aä	
	-u	-iä	-iä		-aä	
	-o	-ä	-ie		-iä	
	-io	-ä			-e	
	-o'	-ä			-ä	
		PLURAL				
NA	-aä	-ä	-a	-i	-ye	
	-u	-e	-aä		-ia	
V			-yau			
G-D	-aänu	-änu	-äna		-ä	-äni
	-änu		-äni		-äna	-äni
					-aäna	-aäni
					-yau	-aäni
I-A		-aänu			-äni	
		-yau			-yäni	
		-yo				
L	-aänuo'		-vā		-uā	
	-aänuo				-vā'	
	-u'				-aänuā	
	-uo					
	-utuo (num.)					
	-uovo'					
	-uto	-uvo	-uvo'			
	-vo	-vo'				
	-o	-o'				

(iv) -ä

-ä alternates freely with -i from the time of the oldest Kh. This spelling for the NS is very common both in O.Kh.: *dukhā* 'woe' Z 2. 9; *balysā* 'Buddha' Z 1. 41; *padamā* 'wind' Z 20. 3, and in L.Kh.: *bārā* 'rain' JS 14v1 (60); *raysā* 'taste' Si 4r5 KT 1. 8; *satvā* 'being' JS 6v1 (23).

(v) -u

The ending -u is expected for the NSn < O.Ir. *-am (IE *-om), cf. Sogd. -w. Similarly, the ASm has -u < O.Ir. *-am.

In O.Kh., *ysāru* is frequently found, e.g. Z 13. 59, for the NS of *ysāra* '1000' (cf. Av. *hazāra* n.). Other traces of the neuter are *ysamthu* 'birth' Z 5. 13+, cf. Av. *zāθa* n., and *ārru* 'fault' Z 23. 93, cf. Av. *arəna*-, O.Ind. *ṛnam* n.

Already in O.Kh., however, there is evidence of the development of -u to [ə]. Thus, we not only find NS *ysamthi* 'birth' Z 5. 109 instead of *ysamthu*, but there are a considerable number of old masculines with NS in -u: *udvīyu* 'disgust' (O.Ind. *udvega*- m.) Z 20. 48; *uysnoru* 'being' Z 13. 14; *Pryadarśanu* Z 6. 46; *balysu* 'Buddha' Z 2. 110; *Mahindraysenu* Z 24. 404. *praysātu* 'faith' NS is found in SS 34v4-5 KT 5. 336 but *praysātā* NS in N 21. 4 = H 147 NS 109. 41v2 KT 5. 73, a variant of the same text.

In L.Kh. P 3513. 62r3 KT 1. 243: *sa ysamtha ysārū kūlā* (tr. *jātisatā jātisahasrakotyāḥ*), *ysārū* could represent either *ysāru* or *ysārā* with u 'and'.

(vi) -r

As -r in Kh. is the equivalent of -ri, this is really the same as -i (iii). It is found chiefly in Indian proper names ending in a consonant + -ra: *Badr* Z 2. 47 < O.Ind. *Bhadra*-; *Śakṛ* SS 20r4 KT 5. 330 < *Śakra*-; *Samantabhadr* Z 1. 188; *Vasumattṛ* Z 7. 42 < *Vasumitra*-.

(vii) -e

As -ä and -e alternate in a number of circumstances in the oldest Kh., this ending may be no more than a spelling variant for (iv) above. Its use, however, suggests it may be older in origin. Its frequent use with names of animals in the JS has been noticed (Dresden, p. 408): *aśe* 'horse' JS 27v1 (120); Hed. 8. 2 KT 4. 26; *aśṇake* 'dove' JS 34r2 (149); *kurme* 'tortoise' JS 30v3 (134); *gode* 'lizard' JS 27v4 (122). This use is found also in O.Kh.: *sahe* 'hare' Z 13. 23. Two other categories of words are found with NS -e: words for people and abstract nouns derived from the ppp. Thus, *ba'yse* 'Buddha' JS 36v2 (159); 38r4 (166); *dahe* 'man' Z 6. 42; *Aysāte* Z 2. 21; *khīṣṭe* 'drink' Avdh 9v1 KT 3. 4; Ch c. 001. 871 KBT 136; *cā'yanārmāte* 'the magic-created' Z 6. 53 as noun; *jīvāte* 'life' Z 24. 236, 237; *Sampuspāte* Z 22. 215; *skyāte* 'time' Z 1. 37; *satve* 'being' JS 38v3 (168).

The use of -e for the NS of words for people recalls the cons. class: *pāte* 'father'; *brāte* 'brother'; *naḍe* 'man'; *rrāyse* 'ruler'; *rre* 'king'; *hve* 'man'. However, *pāte* and *brāte* themselves require explanation. As -e in NPf derives from *-āh, it is possible that the -e of *pāte* does so too. If so, we probably have to analyse the form as **pītā-h*. The addition

of **-h* in the *r*- and (m.) *n*-decl. may be by analogy with the radical *ā*-decl. I prefer this explanation to looking outside Ir. to the Greek *-as*-decl. (E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, i, pp. 558 ff.), although an explanation of this kind is tempting in view of the 3 sg. pf. tr. m. ending *-e*; but see p. 221.

The use of *-e* with the ppp. in *-āta* is due to dissimilation of *-ātā* to *-āte*, see pp. 192, 194, 198.

7. VS

As the N is used instead of the V in all the IE languages (Brugmann ii. 2. 1, § 123, pp. 132-4), we can expect to find eventually all the spellings listed for the N as well as the inherited VS (i).

(i) *-a*

The commonest spelling of the VS, < O.Ir. **-a* (IE **-e*). Examples: *Badra* Z 2. 91; *balysa* 'Buddha' Z 2. 58; *ŚŚāriputra* Z 6. 3. See also § 3, p. 250.

(ii) *-ā* = § 6 (iv). *Avalokiteśvarā* *Avdh* 21r3 KT 3. 11.

(iii) *-r* = § 6 (vi). *Badr* Z 2. 101.

(iv) *-e* = § 6 (vii). *ba'yse* 'Buddha' JS 27r4 (119).

8. AS

(i) *no ending*

Because of the loss of final short vowels in L.Kh., the AS termination sometimes disappeared; cf. § 6 (i). Examples: *dā* 'law' AS P 3513. 48r3 (Asm. 23) < *dātu*; *āva* 'desire' P 3513. 76v4 KBT 62 < *āvama*-; *thau* 'cloth' Hed. 15. 1b KT 4. 29 < *thauma*-; *hū* 'sleep' JP 84v5 KT 1. 169 < *hūna*-. The loss of the termination in L.Kh. is found also in some instances of sandhi: *pāysvīrā* 'on the breast' JS 20v4-21r1 (89) beside O.Kh. *pāysu vīri* Z 2. 132.

(ii) *-a*

See § 6 (ii). This spelling is rare in O.Kh.: *pārṣṣa* 'antidote' Z 24. 213, but common in L.Kh.: *āsa* 'horse' Hed. 8. 3 KT 4. 26; *ādara* 'respect' JS 13v2 (56).

(iii) *-i*

= NS § 6 (iii). *-i* is also the ending of G-DS, so that one might think of a partitive G, but the *-ā* decl. has AS *-a* (= NS) not *-ye*. The weakening of final short vowels has caused loss of distinction between NS and AS. On the structural pressure of the NAP, see § 3, p. 250. O.Kh.: *arṭhi* 'meaning' Z 23. 11; *ātāsi* 'sky' Z 2. 83; 9. 3; *balysi* 'Buddha' Z 2. 83, 125+; *hori* 'gift' Z 2. 92. L.Kh.: *pūri* 'son' P 3513. 43v3 (Asm. 2).

(iv) *-ā*

= *-i* (iii). Common in O.Kh.: *kālā* 'time' Z 24. 117; *dātā* 'the law' Z 5. 12; 23. 9; *prāhaunā* 'garment' Z 2. 63; *balysā* 'Buddha' Z 2. 123; *rūvā* 'form' Z 3. 14; *satvā* 'being' Z 22.166; *sthavārā* 'elder', Z 23. 120, and in L.Kh.: *āmuhā* 'dwelling' JS 15v4 (66); *nasā* 'share' JS 14v2 (60); *hūnā* 'sleep' JP 84v5 KT 1. 169.

(v) *-u*

This is the expected spelling for the inherited AS < O.Ir. **-am* (IE **-om*) cf. Sogd. *-w* (P. Tedesco, *ZII*, iv, 1926, 131). O.Kh. only: *arṭhu* 'meaning' Z 1. 189; *khāysu* 'food' Z 2. 26; *ggaru* 'mountain' Z 2. 2; *balysu* 'Buddha' Z 2. 50+; *bāysu* 'wood' Z 4. 8.

(vi) *-r*

= NS *-r* § 6 (vi). *mahāsamudr* 'ocean' SS 35r1 KT 5. 336 (= *mahāsamumḍrru* N 21. 9 = H 147 NS 109. 41v5 KT 5. 74).

(vii) *-e*

= NS *-e* § 6 (vii). O.Kh. *praysāte* 'faith' Z 2. 143 (cf. § 6 (v)). L.Kh.: *jīye* 'life' JS 13v1 (55); *samudrre* 'ocean' JS 34r4 (150).

(viii) *-o*

= *-u* (v). O.Kh. only: *arahādo* 'arhat' Z 24. 497; *kalyāṇamāttro* 'spiritual adviser' Z 23. 9; *pājsamo* 'honour' Z 5. 87; *paramārtho* 'supreme meaning' Z 23. 10; *satvo* 'being' N 22. 4 = H 147 NS 111. 43v1 KT 5. 75.

9. G-DS

(i) *no ending*

Because of the loss of short final vowels in L.Kh., the G-DS termination was sometimes lost. Cf. § 6 (i); § 8 (i). Examples: *āysam* 'seat' JS 20v4 (89); *dā* 'the Law' P 3513. 57v4 (Asm. 69); JS 19r4 (82); *braṇmaṇ* 'brāhmaṇa' JS 20r3 (86); *vīvā* 'vipāka' P 3513. 73v1 KT 1. 248. Loss of the termination in L.Kh. occurs also in some instances of sandhi: *kṣīr-myāṇā* 'in the midst of the land' JS 5v4 (19).

(ii) *-a*

-a for *-i* (iii) as in NS § 6 (ii). Rare in O.Kh.: *balysa* 'Buddha' Z 6. 4. In L.Kh. common: *pūra* 'son' Or 8212. 162. 110a KT 2. 7; *bahya* 'tree' JS 29r4 (128); *viysa* 'lotus' Hed. 23. 13 KT 4. 36; *Śakrra* JS 20v3 (88); *hasta* 'elephant' JS 35v3 (156).

(iii) *-i*

This spelling is usual in O.Kh.: *ttarandari* 'body' Z 2. 17; *ŚŚādūvani* Z 2. 22, but rare in L.Kh.: *dūsi* 'doṣa' Si 4v5 KT 1. 8.

In 1912, E. Leumann proposed to derive the G-DS *-i* < LS **-ai* (*Zur nordar. Spr.*, p. 48), and this is still phonologically possible. But as this derivation is semantically unsatisfactory, and as a LS in *-i* < O.Ir. **-ai* is found in Kh., P. Tedesco's derivation from O.Ir. GS **-ahya* has been accepted since 1926 (*ZII*, iv. 130). It has been accepted also for Sogd. *-y* (I. G., *GMS*, § 1177, p. 178).

It seems to me, however, difficult phonologically to assume **-ahya* > *-i*, and this explanation seems to leave out of account the G-DSm ending *-ye* for *a*-stem adjectives. This may be due to generalization of original **-āyāh*, but it must have absorbed **-ahya* to have become the masc. ending. In view of other evidence for the influence of the consonant stems on the thematic decl., it seems simplest to assume that *-i* is also due to the cons. stems, where both original GS **-ah* and DS **-ai* would regularly have resulted in *-i*. The O.Ir. them. DSm **-āi* would probably, by itself, have resulted in *-ī*, one stage behind the development of **-ai*. But under the influence of the cons. stems, the combined result would be *-i*. It is possible that the secondary declensions show a trace of an earlier G-DS *-ī*. Thus, in the *ua*-decl. the NS is *-ū* < **-uki*, the G-DS *-uī* < **-ukī* and in the *au*-decl. the NS is *-au* < **-āvi*, the G-DS *-uai* < **-āvi*.

(iv) *-ā*

= *-i* (iii), cf. § 6 (iv). This spelling is common both in O.Kh. and in L.Kh. O.Kh.: *kṣaṇā* 'moment' Z 1. 187; *balysā* 'Buddha' Z 1. 34; *hūnā* 'dream' Z 3. 13. L.Kh.: *bāḍā* 'time' JS 3v1 (9); *brāhā* 'back' JS 18r1 (76).

(v) *-u*

The use of *-u* for the G-DS is due to the development of *-i* and *-u* to [ə] and the confusion of NS *-i* and AS *-u*. See §§ 6 (v); 8 (iii). It is found occasionally in O.Kh. only: *kṣaṇu* 'moment' Z 2. 116; 23. 367; *dātu* 'the Law' Z 22. 91; *balysu* 'Buddha' Z 2. 107; *marānu* 'death' Z 24. 222.

(vi) *-r*

= *-ri*, the same therefore as *-i* (iii). See § 6 (vi). Examples: *Badr* Z 2. 102; *Śśakr Avdh* 15r3 KT 3. 7.

(vii) *-e*

= *-e* is a spelling variant of *-i* (iii), *-ā* (iv). See §§ 6 (vii); 8 (iii), (iv), (vii). Some instances are due to dissimilation of *-ātā* to *-āte*.

Rare in O.Kh.: *jīvāte* 'life' Z 4. 43; 6. 48; *śśāyaysane* 'the Śākya race' Z 24. 188. Common in L.Kh.: *āvāte* 'sky' JS 33v3 (147); *jīye* 'life' JS 20v1 (87); *beṇhye* 'tree' JS 29v1 (129); *hye* 'welfare' P 3513. 46v1 (Asm. 15); *Avdh* 11v1 KT 3. 5.

(viii) *-ye*

L.Kh. only, rare. This spelling is found in words with the suffix *-āka*, which are virtually adjectives. *-ye* is in fact the G-DSm termination of the *a*-decl. of adjectives. This spread has no doubt been influenced by the use of *-ye* beside *-ā* in the *nd*-decl., originally pres. participles. Examples: *dijśākye* 'holder' JS 22v1 (96); *piroṛākye* 'remover' JS 7r4 (26).

10. *I-AS*(i) *-a*

In Avestan, IS *-ā* < IE **-ō/-ē* is found beside AblS *-āṭ* < IE **-ōd/-ēd*. Both these endings might be expected to result in Kh. *-a*. In fact, the only trace of *-a* is in adverbs. Thus, we find *uska* 'above' beside *uskāna* in O.Kh. (Z), which reminds one of Av. *uskāt* beside *usca*.

paramārtha 'supreme meaning' in Z 9. 14 corresponds with *paramārthana* in a L.Kh. version of the same verse (P 4099. 390 KBT 133), but it is probably LS, as Kh., like Avestan, uses both L and I of respect. See now R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 33, § V. 3.

(ii) *-ana*

L.Kh. spelling for *-ina* (iv), *-āna* (v). Examples: *virśa'na* 'heroism' JS 7v4 (29); *khīṣṭana* 'drink' Ch c. 001. 871 KBT 136; *dastana* 'hand' S 2471. 183 KBT 97; *bijāṣana* 'sound' S 2471. 129 KBT 95; *horana* 'gift' JS 32v4 (143).

In O.Kh., *-ana* is found only in *nitcana* adv. 'outside' and possibly *durāna* 'afar' Z 5. 37. *nitcana* and *nātcana* both occur six times in E. *nitcāna* has been noticed only in L.Kh.: P 3513. 14r4 KBT 54. *nitcana* may, however, be < **nisānāt*.

(iii) *-ani*

L.Kh. only, = *-ana* (ii). *giha'ni* 'help' Kha 1. 221. 31 KT 3. 130.

(iv) *-ina*

-ina is found both in O.Kh.: *arthina* 'meaning' Z 6. 18; *ggūnina* 'colour' Z 3. 48; *virśina* 'heroism' Z 16. 46; and in L.Kh.: *cakrrina* 'wheel' P 3513. 51v4 (Asm. 40). In the vicinity of *r* or *s*, it is sometimes spelled *-iṇa* due to Sanskritization: *ggūttrina* 'gotra' Z 13. 30; *ttamdrina* 'weariness' Z 4. 72 (*r* = *ri*); *sūtrina* 'sūtra' Z 6. 1.

In 1912, E. Leumann suggested that the ending *-ina* was associated with the *n*-decl. (*Zur nordar. Spr.*, pp. 5-6). In 1926, P. Tedesco compared O.Ind. ISm *-ena* with Kh. *-ina* and derived both from an I. I. **-aina* and likewise the New Iranian forms in *-an* (*ZII*, iv. 131). In *Saka Studies*, 1932, 41, S. Konow proposed to see in *-ina* the GS

followed by a particle **na*, which he compared with Av. *anā*. In 1963, C. Hauri, in a thesis on the ending *-ena* of O.Ind., adopted Meillet's view of 1896 that the I. I. ISm ending was **-anā*, the *-e-* of *-ena* being due to *-ebhiḥ* (*Zur Vorgeschichte des Ausgangs -ENA des Instr. Sing. der A-Stämme des Altindischen*, pp. 10–11). According to Hauri, Kh. *-ina* is derived from I. I. **-anā*, *-i-* being due to *-yau* of the IP (op. cit., p. 38).

From O.Ir. **-aina*, Kh. **-ina* would be expected. In a trisyllabic word, this **-i-* could be shortened, cf. *āyāna*- Z 'mirror' < **ā-daina*- etc. *ttina* would then be from **ttina* by analogy with words of more than two syllables in the IS. Thus, Hauri's objection to Tedesco's proposal cannot stand (op. cit., p. 37). The oblique sing. *-en*, *-an* in Yidgha-Munjī is more likely to be derived from **-ana* (IIFL, ii. 123), as is the oblique sing. in Waxī, where **-ai-* > *-i-* (IIFL, ii. 481). But the treatment of vowels in the Pamir languages is not fully understood (see IIFL, ii. 88, 476). The derivation from O.Ir. **-aina* cannot be excluded. However, the existence of an IS ending **-anā* seems certain from ŌP *tyanā*, Av. *kana* etc., and this renders an ending **-aina* undesirable, especially as **-anā* seems old.

In proposing to derive Kh. *-ina* from the GS followed by the postposition **na*, S. Konow seems to have been influenced by two factors: the use of group-inflection in Kh. (*Saka Studies*, p. 41) and the variation between *-na* and *jsa* (GGA, 1912, 561).

Av. *anā* occurs three times only—with the accusative (AIW, s.v.). In OP, *anā* is found twice, but not as a preposition (Kent s.v.). Moreover, *-na* is not used in Kh. with personal pronouns nor in the plural nor, except in L.Kh., with the fem. All these factors weigh heavily against the assumption of a postposition **na* with the GS. The derivation of *jsa* from **hačā*, by contrast, does not provide the same difficulty. In Av. and OP¹ *hačā* frequently governs the Abl, a case which in Kh. coalesced with the I.

The use of group-inflection in the ISm is no doubt due to analogy with the ISf (so Hauri, op. cit., p. 36) and so also is the treatment of *-na* as a postposition. Variation between *-na* and *jsa* (e.g. *daina* 'fire' Z 11. 55; JS 6r3 (21) but *dai jsa Si* 128r5 KT 1. 60) is found only in L.Kh., where the terminations of the *a-* and *ā-*declensions have been largely confused with the result that the distinction of gender has begun to disappear.

In referring to the *n*-decl., E. Leumann long ago pointed the way to a solution. In O.Ind., the *a*-decl. has a NAPn in *-āni* and a GPmfn in *-ānām* due to the influence of the *n*-stems. In Av. also the *n*-stems influenced the *a*-decl. (Barth., GIP, i, § 229. 2, p. 133). In Kh., the

¹ See now W. P. Schmid, 'Zur Konstruktion von altpers. *hačā*', IF, 69, 3, 1964, 213–17.

n-decl. is in process of fusing with the *a*-decl. Thus, *pāta*'- 'strength' has both *pāta*' Z 13. 141 and *pāta'ni* Z 3. 26 as NAP in O.Kh. In the NS both *-ā* (from the *a*-decl.) and *-a* (from the *n*-decl.) are found: *tcei'mā* 'eye' Z 6. 5; *nāma* 'name' Z 2. 3.

In Kh., from the time of the earliest texts, *-a-* in a word of more than two syllables in medial position is subject to weakening. In L.Kh., it is frequently lost altogether. Thus, in O.Kh. we find *hvatana*- 'Khotanese' Z 23. 4 beside *hvatāna*- Z 5. 114 (see p. 1); *uysnata*- 'high' Z 17. 2 beside *uysnāta*- Z 22. 145; *bvemate* 'knowledge' Z 3. 140 beside *bvemāte* Z 2. 4; *ratana*- 'gem' Z 4. 13 beside *ratāna*- Z 22. 142.

Kh. *tcei'māna* 'eye' Z 6. 17+ thus derives regularly < O.Ir. **čaśmanā* (cf. Av. *čaśman*- n.). Thence *-āna* spread to the *a*-decl.:

tcei'mā:tcei'māna = *balysā:balysāna*.

From this we see why Av. and OP have *-anā* but Kh. only *-ina*: Av. and OP did not have the extensive trisyllabic weakening of Kh.

(v) *-āna*

= *-ina* (iv). Common in O.Kh.: *kiḍāgānāna* 'evil deed' E 1. 7. 19v3 KT 5. 388; *padamāna* 'wind' Z 20. 3, and in L.Kh.: *parāhāna* 'śīla' P 3513. 47r1 (Asm. 17); *puñāna* 'merit' ibid. 57v4 (69); *ysaṃthāna* 'birth' JS 21r1 (90). In the vicinity of *r* or *ṣ*, it is sometimes spelled *-āṇa* due to Sanskritization. Examples: *vaiṣāṇa* 'garb' Z 2. 11; *ārrāṇa* 'fault' Suv. K. 34v4 KT 5. 112.

(vi) *-āni*

L.Kh. only, = *-āna* (v). *gūtteriāni* 'gotra' Ch 1. 0021b. b2 KBT 151.

(vii) *-ine*

L.Kh. only, = *-ina* (iv). *tcephine* 'tumult' JS 34v1 (150).

(viii) *-ena*

= *-āna* (v). In O.Kh., *-ena* is frequent with *dāta*- 'appearance' Z 2. 4+ and *jīvyena* 'life' is found in H 144 NS 55. 44v5 KT 5. 76. It is due to dissimilation of *-ātā-* to *-āte-* (> *-ye-*); see § 6 (vii). In L.Kh., *-ena* is common in all circumstances: *jīyena* 'life' JS 12v1 (50); *paceḍena* 'course' JS 35r4 (154); *virše'na* 'heroism' JS 30r3 (132); *hastavālena* 'elephant-keeper' JS 4r2–3 (12).

(ix) *-aina*

L.Kh. only, = *-ena* (viii). *jīvaina* 'life' JS 18r2–3 (77).

(x) *-na*

As a result of trisyllabic weakening of words in *-ina* (iv), *-na* is found commonly both in O.Kh.: *Kaṃsadāysna* Z 5. 2; *kṣīrna* 'land' Suv. K. 32r5 KT 5. 110; *padamna* 'wind' Z 2. 43; *marayna* 'death' Z 6. 30;

ṣṣamanna 'monk' Z 2. 19; and in L.Kh.: *kīrna* 'deed' JS 11VI-2 (45); *garna* 'mountain' JS 5VI (18); 17V3 (75); *bāḍna* 'time' JS 19V2 (83); *dāna* 'the Law' P 3513. 47r1 (Asm. 17). In the vicinity of *n*, it is sometimes spelled *-ṇa*: *grahaṇṇa* 'grasping' Z 7. 14.

(xi) *-nā*

L.Kh. only, = *-na* (x). *gīhnā* 'help' MT c. 0020. 3 KT 5. 222.

(xii) *-ni*

L.Kh. only, = *-na* (x). *gīhni* 'help' Ch 1. 0021b. b25 KBT 153.

(xiii) *jsa*

On the use of *jsa* in L.Kh., see also *-ina* (iv). In L.Kh., *jsa* and *-na* preceded by an indeterminate vowel were used interchangeably. Thus, with O.Kh. masculines, we find in L.Kh.: *gūtera jsa* 'gotra' Ch 1. 0021a. a1-2 KT 2. 53 beside *gūtterāni* Ch 1. 0021b. b2 KBT 151 (quoted H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 4, 1942, 898); *aṃgā jsa* 'limb' Si 7V3 KT 1. 10 beside *aṃgna* JS 6V4 (24); *dasta jsa* 'hand' P 2781. 128 (60) KT 3. 71 beside O.Kh. *dastāna* Z 11. 20; *dā jsa* 'the Law' Ch 1. 0021a. a8 KT 2. 53 beside *dāna* P 3513. 47r1 (Asm. 17); *bāḍā jsa* 'time' P 3510 d VI KT 3. 110 beside O.Kh. *bāḍāna* Z 5. 101; *satsāra jsa* 'saṃsāra' Ch ii. 004. 2r2 KBT 144 beside O.Kh. *saṃtsāra* Z 19. 91. Similarly, with O.Kh. feminines, we find: *parṣi jsa* 'assembly' P 3513. 49V4 KT 1. 225 (Asm. 31) beside *parṣa'na* P 2893. 16 KT 3. 83.

In L.Kh., *-na* and *jsa* are even found rarely together (H. W. B.). Thus, *ñena jsa* P 2893. 237 KT 3. 92 beside *ñye jsa* Si 9r3 KT 1. 14+ 'curds', cf. Yidgha *ñiya* (H. W. B., *BSO(A)S*, viii. 1, 1935, 131; xxi. 1, 1958, 43); *saṃdvainā jsa* Si 125V5 KT 1. 56+ beside O.Kh. *sandā-vātāna* Z 4. 73 < *sandāvātā*-, cf. BHS *saṃnipāta*-.

11. *LS*(i) *-a*

This spelling is common both in O.Kh.: *kṣīra* 'land' Z 23. 121; *Suv.* K. 65V2 KT 5. 116; *kṣetra* 'field' Z 3. 111; *grvica* 'particle' Z 3. 111; *ṣambvīya* Z 23. 146; and in L.Kh.: *kṣīra* 'land' JS 2VI (5); *āsa* 'sky' JS 19VI (83); *samudrra* 'ocean' JS 16r3 (68).

O.Ir. **-ayā* (Av. *-ayā*) resulted in Kh. *-īa* (ii). In many instances, the effect of palatalization was no longer apparent, e.g. when the stem vowel was itself a palatal (*kṣīra*- etc.). Hence, *-a* was felt to be an ending of the LS. It is particularly common in loanwords.

(ii) *-īa*

< O.Ir. **-ayā*, cf. Av. *-ayā* (IE **-eḡ-ā*). The effects of palatalization are as follows:

1. *a > ī* before *ḍ st mth m r*

pacīda N 75. 35; *Si* 9V4 KT 1. 14 < *pacāda*- 'course'; *dīsta* Z 2. 86+ < *dasta*- 'hand'; *ysimtha* *Avdh* 5r3 KT 3. 1 < *ysamtha*- 'birth'; *pajśima* *Avdh* 18r4 KT 3. 9 < *pajśama*- 'honour'; *gīra* *Hed.* 9. 2 KT 4. 27 < *gara*- 'mountain'.

2. *ā > e* before *ḍ t m rm r h*

beḍa P 3513. 61r1 KT 1. 242 < *bāḍa*- 'time'; *lovadeva* *ApS* 1b4 KT 5. 244 < *lovadāta* 'lokadhātu'; *vema* Z 20. 65 < *vāma*- 'sea'; *saṃkherma* Z 23. 32 < *saṃkhārama*- 'saṃghārāma'; *saṃtsera* Z 6. 48 < *saṃtsāra*- 'saṃsāra'; *jsahera* Z 20. 41 < *jsahāra*- 'belly'; *alava-kaṃttera* *Avdh* 7r3 KT 3. 2 < *alava-kaṃttāra*- 'forest'; *ggālserai* Z 22. 149 < *ggālsāra*- 'neck'; *erra* Z 24. 511 < *ārra*- 'arm'; *eha* Z 20. 41 < *āha*- 'mouth'; *pneha* JS 24VI (106) < *panāha*- 'beak'.

3. *ū > (u)ī* before *r s*

ūra *Suv.* K. 63r4 KT 5. 114 < *ūra*- 'womb'; *kīśsa* Z 2. 16 < *kūsa*- 'vessel'.

4. *h > c*

byūca Z 24. 189 < *byūka*- 'chamber'.

5. *ṃgg > ṃgy*

bālsamgya Z 22. 103 < *bālsamgga*-; *bhikṣusamgya* Z 22. 228 < *bhikṣusamgga*-.

6. *rgg > rgj*

khārja Z 5. 90 < *khārgga*- 'mud'; *hamggarja* Z 21. 19 < *hamggarga*- 'assembly'.

7. *mts > mch*

ggaṃcha Z 2. 29; 20. 63 < *ggaṃtsa*- 'hole'.

8. *n > ñ*

ātīña Z 15. 123 < *ātīna*- 'mirror'; *uryāña* *Or* 9609. 53V3 KT 1. 237 < *uryāna*- 'garden'; *kālṣāña* Z 13. 112 < *kālṣana*- 'garden'; *thāña* *Kha* 1. 13. 146V4 KBT 7 < *thāna*- 'place'; *nirvāña* *Hed.* 23. 25 KT 4. 36 < *nirvāna*-; *bārmaña* *Avdh* 13V2 KT 3. 6 < *bārmāna*- 'prison'; *mahāyāña* Z 1. 49+ < *mahāyāna*-; *vāña* Z 24. 240 < *vāna*- 'temple'; *śśāśīña* Z 23. 173 < *śśāsana*- 'śāsana'; *bahoysña* Z 22. 136 < *bahoysana*- 'market'; *śrāvākayāña* Z 13. 133, 140 < *śrāvākayāna*-; *hūña* Z 6. 52 < *hūna*- 'dream'.

9. *s > śś*

kīśsa Z 2. 16 < *kūsa*- 'vessel'; *rahāśsa* *SS* 7VI KT 5. 329 < *rahāsa*- 'secret'.

10. *st > śt*

dīsta Z 2. 86+ < *dasta*- 'hand'.

11. *ys* > *ś*

kuvā'sa Z 24. 189 < *kuvā'ysa*- 'side'; *khāsa* Z 2. 26 < *khāysa*- 'food'; *bāsa* Z 20. 9 < *bāysa*- 'wood'; *hamkhīsa* Avdh 18r4 KT 3. 9 < *hamkhīysa*- 'reckoning'.

12. (*ū*)*h* > (*ū*)*hy*

nūhya Z 23. 172 < *nūha*- 'point'.

(iii) *-āña*

The LS *-āña* spread from the *n*-decl. before the weakening to *-ña* (xvi). *-āña* is rare in O.Kh.: *ysāña* Z 19. 70; 24. 255, 494 < *ysāra*- 'heart'. Frequent in L.Kh.: *khājaña* 'mud' JS 23v2 (102); *padāña* JP 53v5 KT 1. 145 < *padāna*- 'vessel'; *pāysaña* Hed. 17. 9 KT 4. 31 < *pāysa*- 'breast'; *bāysaña* JS 15r3-4 (63) < *bāysa*- 'wood'; *vīysaña* P 3513. 57r1 (Asm. 65) < *viysa*- 'lotus'; *hamtharkaña* Avdh 11v5 KT 3. 5 < *hamtharka*- 'oppression'.

Note that L.Kh. *khājaña* for expected **khāgaña* is due to LS *khārja* (ii) 6.

(iv) *-āñā*

L.Kh. only, = *-āña* (iii), cf. I-AS *-āni* for *-āna*. *śaśvāñāñā* 'grain of mustard' P 2026. 99 KT 3. 52.

(v) *-āñe*

L.Kh. only, = *-āña* (iii), cf. I-AS *-ine* for *-ina* § 10 (vii). *hā'jañe* 'dust' JS 14r3 (59).

(vi) *-ā*

-ā < O.Ir. **-ai*, cf. Av. *-aē* (< IE **-ei*) (P. Tedesco, ZII, iv, 1926, 131). Common both in O.Kh.: *avāyā* 'hell' Z 20. 63; *kūṣḍā* 'palace' Z 23. 51; *nārvānā* Z 19. 91; *ysāmānā* 'winter' Z 17. 4; and in L.Kh.: *maṇḍalā* 'circle' P 3513. 57v1 (Asm. 65); *samudrrā* 'ocean' JS 21r3 (91).

(vii) *-i*

Rare, = *-ā* (vi). O.Kh.: *arañi* 'forest' Z 6. 18.

(viii) *-iā*

L.Kh. spelling for *-iā* (ii) influenced by *-ā* (vi). *beḍā* S 2471. 92 KBT 94 < *bāḍa*- 'time'.

(ix) *-i*

L.Kh. only, = *-iā* (vii). *bāṣi* JS 15v1 (64) < *bāysa*- 'wood'.

(x) *-u*

Common in O.Kh.: *gūttāru* 'gotra' Z 13. 32; *ysāmānu* 'winter' Z 22. 155; *śrāvākayānu* Z 13. 58; *samudru* 'ocean' Z 5. 82; *sūtru* Z 4. 44;

24. 446, 493; *hamānu* 'summer' Z 22. 155. Not yet found in L.Kh., where *-u* is rare.

On account of its frequency in the oldest Kh., *-u* is unlikely to be a simple spelling variant of *-ā* (vi) or of *-o* (xiii). As the A and L were both used to express 'point of time' in Kh. (see R. E. E., BSOAS, xxviii. 1, 1965, 26, 33), it is probable that we have here AS *-u* standing beside LS *-ā* (vi) as beside AS *-ā* (§ 8 (iv) (v)). This may have been helped by Kh. **-u* < O.Ir. LS **-āu* in the *i*- and *u*-decl. (Barth., GIP, p. 125), because in Kh. these were largely transferred to the *a*-decl. (§ 4).

(xi) *-e*

L.Kh. only, = *-ā* (vi). *ttūrre* 'mouth' JS 5r4 (17); *samumdrre* 'ocean' JS 33r3 (145).

(xii) *-ie*

= *iā* (viii), cf. § 34 (vii), p. 283. One example only has been noticed in O.Kh.: *nirvānye* Z 6. 58. Common in L.Kh.: *beḍe* S 2471. 133 KBT 95 < *bāḍa*- 'time'; *gīre* JS 32v4 (143) < *gara*- 'mountain'; *bāṣe* JS 32r1 (139) < *bāysa*- 'wood'; *brahye-i-i* JS 12v2 (51) < *braha*- 'back'.

(xiii) *-o*

Probably = *-u* (x), cf. AS *-o* (§ 8 (viii)). Common in O.Kh., especially in loanwords, so that it may be for *-io* (xiv), cf. (i). Examples: *kṣīro* 'land' Suv. K. 33r3 KT 5. 111; *gūttāro* 'gotra' Z 2. 6; 24. 121; *andiviro* 'harem' Z 24. 243; *śrāvākayāno* Z 13. 41; *samudro* 'ocean' Z 6. 47; *sūttro* Z 4. 40+.

(xiv) *-io*

One example only, O.Kh., has been noticed: *śrāvākayāno* Z 13. 40. I had thought of a contamination of LS *śrāvākayāña* Z 13. 133, 140 (ii) and *śrāvākayāno* Z 13. 41 (xiii); but recalling the O.Kh. prep., adv. *myāno* 'in the middle' (Z), evidently LS < **myāna*- (LSf P. Tedesco, ZII, iv, 1926, 132), it seems better to accept a spread of the LSf. There is, of course, no distinction of gender in the LP. Cf. adj. LSm *-iu* § 34 (vi), p. 283.

(xv) *-o'*

One example only has been noticed: O.Kh., *janavato* 'district' Kha 1. 13. 143v4 KBT 5. This is like *āvuto* 'village' Z 13. 82; 22. 115; *āvuvō* Z 6. 24 for *āvuto* Kha 1. 13. 134v1 KBT 1 and *āvuvō* Z 13. 90. This is thus a pseudo-archaic spelling due to forms like *gguvo* 'ear' Z 8. 35 LS < **gauṣa*- and resemblance with such LP forms as *lovadhāto* 'lokadhātu' H 142 NS 88+89 8v1 KT 5. 81.

(xvi) *-ña*

-ña < *-āña* (§ 247 (i)) as I-AS *-na* (§ 10 (x)) < *-āna* (§ 10 (v)). O.Kh.:

orñā Z 23. 158 < *ora*- 'sky'. L.Kh.: *vīysñā* Ch 1. 0021a. a2 KT 2. 53 < *vīysa*- 'lotus'.

(xvii) -*ñā*

L.Kh. only, = -*ñā* (xvi). *vīysñā* Ch 1. 0021a. a2 KT 2. 53 < *vīysa*- 'lotus'.

12. NAP

(i) -*a*

Common both in O.Kh.: *akṣara* 'syllable' Z 20. 58; *asura* 'Z 1. 33+; *uysnora* 'being' Z 1. 32+; *pūra* 'son' Z 20. 23; *birgga* 'wolf' Z 2. 46; *murka* 'bird' Z 20. 4; and in L.Kh.: *āmāca* 'minister' JS 3r3 (8); *āyauysa* 'disturbance' JS 13r4 (54); *āvama* 'desire' P 3513. 47v2 (Asm. 20); *ysatha* 'birth' P 3513. 76v4 KBT 62.

-*a* cannot be derived from O.Ir. *-*āh* (so P. Tedesco, ZII, iv, 1926, 127, 131), as the NPf -*e* must be < *-*āh*, and certainly *pande* 'path' corresponds with Av. *panthā*, O.Ind. *panthāh* (P. Tedesco, ZII, iv, 1926, 128). The usual NPm in Avestan is -*a* < O.Ir. *-*ā*, the sandhi-form of *-*āh* (Reichelt, § 339, pp. 175-6). Like the NSf -*a*, the Kh. NAP -*a* derives < O.Ir. *-*ā* (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 42).

(ii) -*añā*

From NAP of the *n*-decl. (nt.), cf. *tcei'mañā* 'eye' Z 20. 37. For the transfer, cf. the Av. 'metaplastic forms', *a*-stem neuters following the *n*-decl. according to Barth., GIP, I, § 412. 3, p. 233. O.Kh.: *jsārañā* 'corn' Or 9609. 56r6 KT 1. 240; *bāysañā* 'wood' ibid. 56r5, 6; *buṣṣañā* 'perfume' ibid. 54v4 KT 1. 238. L.Kh.: *buṣañā* P 3513. 45r2, 3 (Asm. 9, 10).

(iii) -*añi*

= -*añā* (ii). *bāysañi* 'wood' Z 16. 22; *buṣṣañi* 'perfume' Z 5. 97; 8. 36; *hṣīrañi* 'land' H 142 NS 88+89. 8r4 KT 5. 80; *ysuyañi* 'sweetmeat' Z 3. 59; 8. 36.

(iv) -*ā*

Common in O.Kh.: *bajāṣṣā* 'sound' Z 6. 36; *banhyā* 'tree' Z 3. 45; *balysā* 'Buddha' Z 3. 100; *horā* 'gift' Z 2. 49; 11. 18; occasionally in L.Kh.: *ba'ysā* 'Buddha' P 3513. 49v4 (Asm. 31).

According to S. Konow, NTS, vii, 1934, 31-32, this ending is due to the shortening of NAP -*e* (vii). It may also have been due to the influence of NAP -*ā* < *-*ah* in the consonant stems.

(v) -*i*

= -*ā* (iv). Rare in O.Kh.: *adhiṣṭhāni* 'miracle' Z 23. 149; occasionally found in L.Kh.: *dasti* 'hand' JS 27r2 (118); *pūñi* 'merit' P 3513. 46r1 (Asm. 13).

(vi) -*u*

One example only has been noticed, O.Kh.: *nāggū* 'nāga' Z 23. 159. But cf. *bhūmu* SS 84v1 KT 5. 342 for *bhūmā* Z 13. 17 NAP *i*-decl.; G-DSm -*u* § 9 (v). Hence, for -*ā* (iv).

(vii) -*e*

Like the NPf -*e*, this -*e* is < O.Ir. *-*āh*. Kh. thus continues both O.Ir. *-*āh* and its sandhi-form *-*ā* (i) for NAPm (v. S. Konow, NTS, vii, 1934, 31-32).

Common in O.Kh.: *kīre* 'act' Z 23. 47; *ggare* 'mountain' Z 20. 4; *ggūne* 'hair' Z 24. 250; *date* 'wild beast' Z 2. 24; *śśaysde* 'snake' Z 2. 45. Occasionally found in L.Kh.: *āyauyse* 'disturbance' JS 36r1 (157).

(viii) -*ta*

As -*ti*, -*tā* were lost earlier than -*ta*, a contrast began to be felt in L.Kh. between NS without ending and NAP in -*ta* e.g. *nā* NS 'nāga' JS 8v3 (33); 13r1 (53), and *nātā* JS 17r1, 4 (71, 73) NAP. The addition of -*ta* enabled L.Kh. to distinguish between sg. and pl. in the *au*-decl., where there was no distinction in O.Kh.

(ix) -*ye*

L.Kh. spelling variant of -*e* (vii). *haskye* 'tusk' JS 5r2 (16); 9v2 (36).

13. VP

(i) -*yau*

The VP is rare but of considerable interest (see § 3, p. 250). In form, it is the same as the I-AP and it is in fact a special use of that case. O.Kh.: *āmācyau* 'minister' Kha 1. 135a2. v4 KT 5. 381; *nyandyau* 'ascetic' SS 20r1 KT 5. 330; *balysyau* 'Buddha' SS 25r5 KT 5. 332; 25v1 KT 5. 333; *balysy* < *au* > SS 32r2 KT 5. 334; *pūryo* 'son' Z 22. 111. L.Kh.: *ṣamanyau* 'monk' P 2783. 248 (87) KT 3. 76; *ṣṣamanyau* Ch c. 001. 204 KBT 76.

14. G-DP

(i) -*añā*

L.Kh. only, < -*añām* (ii). *ysvañā* Vajr. 20a4 KT 3. 24 tr. *rasānām*.

(ii) -*añām*

L.Kh. only, from the *n*-decl. (nt.), e.g. *tcema'ñām* 'eye' JS 25v2 (111). *buṣañām* Vajr. 20a4 KT 3. 24; 26b3 KT 3. 25 tr. *gandhānām*; *ysvañām* Vajr. 26b3 KT 3. 25 tr. *rasānām*.

(iii) -*añāna*

L.Kh. only, cf. (ii). *buṣañāna* 'perfume' Vajr. 11a3 KT 3. 22.

(iv) -aṇṇi

L.Kh. only, cf. (ii). *ysvaṇṇi* 'taste' *Vajr.* 11a3 *KT* 3. 22.

(v) -āṇu

O.Kh. only, from the *n*-decl. (nt.), e.g. *tceimaṇu* 'eye' *Z* 19. 93. Examples: *kṣīraṇu* 'land' *Suv.* K. 31v4 *KT* 5. 109 tr. *rāṣṭrāṇu*; *jsāraṇu* 'corn' *Suv.* K. 65r2-3 *KT* 5. 116; *ibid.* 65r6.

(vi) -ā

The usual *IG-DP* in O.Kh. -ānu (xi) had weakened already in O.Kh. to -āna (viii), -āni (ix), -ānā (x). As a result of the loss of short final vowels in L.Kh., these became -ām (vii), which was further reduced to -ā.

L.Kh. only: *amgā* 'limb' *JS* 7r3 (26); *puṇā* 'merit' *JS* 39r1 (169); *ba'ysā* 'Buddha' P 3513. 84r4 *KB* 66; *hastā* 'elephant' *JS* 5r3 (16).

(vii) -ām

< -ānu, v. (vi). L.Kh. only: *karmām* P 3513. 52v1 (Asm. 43); *kīrām* 'act' *JS* 13v3 (56); *garām* 'mountain' *JS* 7v4 (29); *dharmām* *Vajr.* 20a4 *KT* 3. 24; 26b3 *KT* 3. 25 tr. *dharmāṇām*; *baudhisatvām* *Avdh* 6r3 *KT* 3. 1; *ysanām* 'race' *Avdh* 6r5 *KT* 3. 1; *viysām* 'lotus' *JS* 10r1 (39).

(viii) -āna

See (vi). One example only has been noticed in O.Kh.: *bāstāna* 'pierced' *Z* 24. 421. L.Kh.: *karmāna* P 3513. 84r4 *KB* 66; *jāstāna* 'deva' P 3513. 42r3 *KB* 61; *purāna* 'son' *JS* 37r3 (162); *ba'ysāna* 'Buddha' P 3513. 51r1 (Asm. 36); P 3513. 77v4 *KB* 62; *raṣi'yānā* 'sage' *JS* 17r2-3 (72).

(ix) -āni

See (vi). Rare in O.Kh.: *karaṇāni* 'deed' *Z* 2. 82; *muḍāni* 'corpse' *Z* 2. 53 (perhaps < *muḍaa-*); *hvatāni* 'Khotanese' *Z* 23. 6. Frequent in old L.Kh.: *kuśala-mūlāni* 'merit-root' *Avdh* 14r1 *KT* 3. 7; *puṇāni* 'merit' *ibid.*; *balysāni* 'Buddha' *Avdh* 17v1 *KT* 3. 9; *satvāni* 'being' *Avdh* 14v1 *KT* 3. 7. Rare otherwise in L.Kh.: *pariyastāni* 'delivered' *JS* 19r1 (80).

(x) -ānā

See (vi). L.Kh.: *dharmānā* *Vajr.* 11a3-4 *KT* 3. 22; *balysānā* 'Buddha' *Avdh* 10r5 *KT* 3. 4; *ba'ysānā* Ch c. 001. 221 *KB* 77; *bādānā* *Vajr.* 26a1-2 *KT* 3. 25 tr. *kālānām*; *baudhisatvānā* *Avdh* 16v4 *KT* 3. 8.

(xi) -ānu

< O.Ir. *-ānām one would expect *-āno, cf. ASf -o < *-ām. But *-āno is not attested even as a spelling variant. *-ānām was probably shortened to *-ānam as a result of the heavy stress on the penult in Kh.

Common in O.Kh.: *dharmānu* *Z* 6. 33; *balysānu* 'Buddha' *Z* 1. 32+; *satvānu* 'being' *Z* 1. 37+. In the vicinity of *r*, it is sometimes spelled -ānu in O.Kh. through Sanskritization: *aysurānu* 'asura' *Suv.* K. 29v2 *KT* 5. 107; *uysnorānu* 'being' *Z* 6. 19; *pūrānu* 'son' *Z* 20. 24; *sūtrānu* 'sūtra' Or 9609. 312 *KT* 1. 232. Rare in L.Kh.: *gyastānu* 'deva' Ch c. 001. 219-20 *KB* 77; *ba'ysānu* *Vajr.* 21a3 *KT* 3. 24 tr. *bhagavatām*.

(xii) -ānu

-ānu has been found in O.Kh. only. Examples: *dātānu* 'dhātu' *Z* 6. 48; *bramanānu* 'brāhmaṇa' *Z* 1. 35; *raṣaysānu* 'rākṣasa' *Z* 24. 118; *vetānu* 'veda' *Z* 22. 205; *skandhānu* 'skandha' *Z* 6. 48.

As -ā- in the *G-DP* continues into the latest L.Kh. and as there seem to be no spellings in *-ānu, it seems unlikely that this is a shortening of -ānu (xi). One would expect -ānu to derive from an O.Ir. *-ānām. In fact, Avestan normally has *GP* -anām, due to the influence of the *n*-stems (Barth., *GIP*, § 233, pp. 135-6). -anām in Av. is held to represent a genuine linguistic development by H. W. B., *Zor. Prob.*, p. 182. See also § 57 (iv), p. 293.

(xiii) -au

= -ām (vii). *ā/ām/au* interchange in L.Kh., indicating a pronunciation [ɔ:]. L.Kh. only: *dūkhau* 'woe' P 3513. 84v1 *KB* 66; *nātau* 'nāga' *JS* 8v3 (32); *puṇau* 'merit' P 3513. 46v2 (Asm. 16).

(xiv) -auna

= -āna (viii), see (xiii). L.Kh. only: *nāvauna* 'nāga' P 2787. 42, 43 *KT* 2. 103.

(xv) -yām

The development of -ānu to -ām (vii) in the L.Kh. *G-DP* and of *I-AP* -yau to -yām (§ 15 (iii)) (interchanging with -au in *G-DP* (xiii)) meant complete coalescence of *G-DP* and *I-AP* in L.Kh. after a palatal, e.g. *puṇau* 'merit' *G-DP* in P 3513. 46v2 (Asm. 16) but *I-AP* in *JS* 10v1 (41).

L.Kh. only: *karmyām* P 3513. 48v1 (Asm. 25); *prapāhānyām* 'vow' P 3513. 57v2 (Asm. 68); *beysyām* 'Buddha' P 3513. 79v2 *KB* 63.

(xvi) -yau

See (xv). L.Kh. only: *amgyau* *bidi* 'on limbs' P 3513. 10. 2 *KB* 53 = *agām* *baidā* P 3513. 77r4 *KB* 62.

15. *I-AP*

The *I-AP* termination is often followed by *jsa* (< *hačā, cf. Av. *hačā*), but it need not be.

(i) -aṇ(y)au

From the *n*-decl. (nt.), cf. *tcei'maṇyau* 'eye' Or 9609. 36r4 KT 1. 236. O.Kh.: *pa'ṇyau* 'strength' Stein E 1. 7. 145r5 KT 5. 77; *buṣṣaṇyau* 'perfume' Kha 1. 217. 1b2 KT 5. 165; Or 9609. 53v7 KT 1. 238. L.Kh.: *kṣīraṇau jsa* 'land' JS 11r3 (44); *buṣaṇau jsa* 'perfume' Vajr. 17a4 KT 3. 23.

(ii) -ām

< -yām (iii). L.Kh. only: *klesām* ... *jsa* 'klesa' P 3513. 16v1 KBT 55.

(iii) -yām

See § 14 (xv). L.Kh. only: *kalpyām jsa* 'kalpa' P 3513. 54v1 (Asm. 52); *kūlyām* 'koṭi' P 3513. 57r3 (Asm. 66); *baudhisatvyām* Ch c. 001. 201 KBT 76.

(iv) -yau

This is by far the most frequent spelling of the I-AP both in O.Kh.: *puṇyau jsa* 'merit' Z 1. 190+; *baḷsyau* 'Buddha' Or 9609. 4r4 KT 1. 233 (tr. *buddhair*); *biṣṭyau* 'pupil' Z 2. 50; *śāḍvyau jsa* 'śravaka' Z 2. 23; *salāvyau jsa* 'speech' Z 6. 55; and in L.Kh.: *kṣīryau jsa* 'land' JS 4v1 (13); *garyau* 'mountain' JS 25r3 (109); *puṇau* 'merit' JS 10v1 (41); *raṇṇyau* 'gem' Hed. 23. 14 (2) KT 4. 36.

The origin of this termination presents a difficult problem. -yau with frequent variant -yo in the oldest Kh. bears remarkable resemblance to the Toch.A instrumental ending -yo, but this must be fortuitous. In 1912, E. Leumann derived -yau from the IPf *-ābiṣ (Zur nordar. Spr., p. 51). In 1926, P. Tedesco proposed derivation < *-aibiṣ, cf. OP -aibiṣ, Vedic -ebhiḥ (ZII, iv. 132). In 1932, S. Konow pointed to the difficulty of reconciling *-iṣ and -au and proposed to see in -yau a contamination of *-aibiṣ and *-ābyām (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 42).

However, -au still presents a problem. The frequency of the spelling -yau beside -yo (v) even in the oldest Kh. would lead us to expect something more than *-ām, for the ASf has -o < *-ām, but the spelling -au is extremely rare. -yau is, however, more common than -yo. Thus in Z we find *dukhyo* nine times beside *dukhyau* 51 times.

To judge by the NS -au in the *au*-decl., one would expect -yau to derive in the first place from something like *-yāvi. That the -y- of -yau is secondary in origin is clear from the fact that it does not cause palatalization. Thus, we find *bisyo jsa* Z 24. 166 as I-AP < *bisā* 'house' not **biṣyo*, although O.Ir. **sy* > *ś* in *śāta-*, *śāva-* < **syāva-*, cf. O.Ind. *śyāva-* (v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 59). I am inclined therefore to follow E. Leumann, op. cit., pp. 50-51, and derive -yau < *-ābiṣ. *-ābiṣ > *-āvi and -i causes palatalization of the kind seen in Paṣtō *miyāst*, *myāšt* < **māsti-* (EVP, 49) (H. W. B.). For palatalization passing

over a vowel, cf. in Kh. *ysirra-* 'gold' < **zaranya-*, cf. Av. *zaranya-*, and *hiṣṣana-* 'iron' Z 15. 43 < **aṣvanya-* (H. W. B., *AO*, 1936, 259; *AION*, 1959, 135). Note also that the obl. pl. -o in Paṣtō has been derived < *-ābiṣ (Morg., *NTS*, xii, 1942, 95).

(v) -yo

= -yau (iv). Frequent in O.Kh.: *dukhyo jsa* 'woe' Z 1. 188; *gyastyo* 'deva' Z 1. 33; *ttirthyo* 'heretic' Z 2. 47; less common in L.Kh.: *puṇo* 'merit' JS 29v2-3 (129); *raṇṇyo jsa* 'gem' JS 21v3 (93).

16. LP

(i) -aṇuwo

< *n*-decl. (nt.). O.Kh. only: *kṣīraṇuwo* 'land' *Suv. K.* 33r3 KT 5. 111; *bāysaṇuwo* 'wood' Z 2. 24; 20. 8; *yṣvaṇuwo* 'taste' Or 9609. 24r2 KT 1. 234.

(ii) -aṇvā

< *n*-decl. (nt.). L.Kh. only: *kṣīraṇvā* 'land' P 2801. 60 KT 3. 67; P 2787. 146 KT 2. 107; *kṣīraṇvā* P 2801. 46 KT 3. 67.

(iii) -aṇvo

= (i). O.Kh. only: *kṣīraṇvo* 'land' H 142 NS 62. 42r2 KT 5. 29; *bāysaṇvo* 'wood' Z 24. 166.

(iv) -u

One example only, O.Kh., has been found: *Tuṣātu* 'Tuṣita' Z 24. 182. It is probably a variant of -o' (xii).

(v) -uā

= -vā (xiii). L.Kh. only: *buddha-kṣetruā* 'Buddha-field' Ch c. 001. 736 KBT 90; *rūvuā* 'form' P 3513. 38r2 KBT 60.

(vi) -uo

= -uvo (ix). O.Kh. only: *kulāruo* 'pavilion' SS 62r2 KT 5. 338; *gyastuo* 'deva' SS 79r2 KT 5. 339; Kha 1. 182a1 24 KT 5. 153; *dīvuuo* 'continent' SS 27r2, 3 KT 5. 333; *salāvuuo* 'speech' Z 23. 8.

(vii) -uovo

One example only, O.Kh.: *sūtruovo* 'sūtra' H vii. 150. 10 b7 KT 5. 60. Probably < -uo (vi) + -uvo' (x). Cf. in numeral: *kṣaṣṭutuo* '60' Kha 1. 135a3 21 KT 5. 381 (= *kṣaṣṭuuo* SS 24r3 KT 5. 331).

(viii) -uto

= -uvo (ix). One example only, O.Kh.: *banāsuto* 'tree-hole' Z 2. 45.

(ix) -*uvo*

Probably an inaccurate spelling of -*uvo*' (x). O.Kh. only: *kūluvo* 'koṭi' SS 2416 KT 5. 332; *kṣaṇuvo* 'moment' Z 1. 48.

(x) -*uvo*'

-*uvo*' is the usual ending of the LP in O.Kh., but it is not found in L.Kh. < O.Ir. *-*aiṣu-ām* (P. Tedesco, ZII, iv, 1926, 132).

Examples: *aysuruvo* 'asura' Or 9609. 514 KT 1. 234; *ātamuvo* 'āgama' Z 14. 76; *uryānuvo* 'garden' Z 3. 58; *janavatuvo* 'district' Kha 1. 13. 143v4 KBT 5; *tuṣuvo* 'Tuṣita' Z 1. 37; *nāguvo* 'nāga' Or 9609. 514 KT 1. 234.

(xi) -*o*

< -*vo* (xv) after a consonant. O.Kh. only: *kalpo* 'kalpa' Suv. K. 67v3 KT 5. 118 < **kalpvo*. Cf. also *parimāṇvo* 'atom' Z 1. 187 < **paramāṇavuvo*'.

(xii) -*o*'

Always preceded by a hiatus-filling consonant, -*o*' is due to haplology. O.Kh. only: *tuṣāto* 'Tuṣita' Z 24. 186; *dīvo* 'continent' Suv. K. 67v4 KT 5. 118 < **dīvuvo*'; *lovadhāto* 'lokadhātu' H 142 NS 88+89 8v1 KT 5. 81; *lovadāvo* E 1. 7. 152v2 KT 5. 79.

(xiii) -*vā*

This is the usual spelling in L.Kh., although it is strictly inaccurate for -*vā*' (xiv). An example in old Kh. may be *drahvā* 'cave' Z 2. 66. Note also *gyastvā* 'deva' H vii. 150. 1 11 KT 5. 98. L.Kh.: *avāyavā* 'hell' P 3513. 82r2 KBT 65; *kvā'ysvā* 'side' Hed. 17. 4 KT 4. 31; *garvā* 'mountain' Ch c. 001. 743 KBT 90; *ysamthvā* 'birth' P 3513. 47v3 (Asm. 21); *veysvā* 'lotus' JS 27v3 (121).

(xiv) -*vā*'

L.Kh. only: *tuṣvā* 'Tuṣita' JS 27r4 (119). It is usually spelled inaccurately as -*vā* (xiii). -*vā*' cannot be a variant of -*vo*' (xvi); in the LP -*o* is conspicuously absent in L.Kh., as is -*ā* in O.Kh. It is possible that we have here an indication of a difference of dialect. -*vā*' is evidently to be derived from O.Ir. *-*aiṣu-ā*, cf. Av. -*hva*, -*šva* (Barth., GIP, i, § 232, pp. 134-5), Vedic -*eṣv ā* (J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, iii. 72).

(xv) -*vo*

= -*uvo* (ix). O.Kh. only: *kūlvo* 'koṭi' SS 24r3 KT 5. 331; Kha 1. 135a3 a1 KT 5. 381; *kṣaṇvo* 'moment' Z 1. 187; *gyastvo* 'deva' Kha 1. 182a1 a3 KT 5. 153; *parimāṇvo* 'atom' Z 1. 187 (v. xi).

(xvi) -*vo*'

= -*uvo*' (x). O.Kh. only: *ratānvo* 'gem' Or 9609. 3v3 KT 1. 232.

17. 2. The ā-declension

All words in this decl. are fem.

SINGULAR			PLURAL	
N	-a		NA	-e -ā
A	-o -u -a			
G-D	-(i)e -ā		G-D	-ānu
I-A	-(i)e (jsa) -(i)ā (jsa)		I-A	-yau (jsa) -yo (jsa)
L	-(i)a -i'e -o		L	-uvo'

18. NS

(i) -a

This is the expected form < O.Ir. *-ā, cf. Av. -ā (< IE *-ā). Very common both in O.Kh.: *ā'mata* 'dwelling' Z 24. 123; *āspāta* 'refuge' Z 19. 34; 24. 248, 425; *ūtca* 'water' Z 3. 32+; *kantha* 'city' Z 22. 130; *rrīṇa* 'queen' Z 13. 55; *hīna* 'army' Z 22. 137; and in L.Kh.: *āspāta* 'refuge' JS 10r4 (40); *jsīna* 'life' P 3513. 55r1 (Asm. 56); *rrīṇa* 'queen' JS 3r2 (8).

(ii) -ā

Rare in O.Kh.: *dīvatā* 'goddess' Z 2. 82; *hvāṇāmatā* 'preaching' Z 24. 388; and in L.Kh.: *jsīnā* 'life' JS 39v2. Due to influence of the i-decl.

(iii) -e

= -ā (ii). Noted only in L.Kh.: *āspāve* 'refuge' JS 32v1-2 (142); *keve* 'fish' JS 28v2 (125).

19. AS

(i) -a

= NS -a § 18 (i). Cf. § 8 (iii).

Common both in O.Kh.: *padamgya* 'description' Z 10. 1; *bvāmata* 'knowledge' Z 2. 65; *ṣṣadda* 'faith' Z 24. 433; *hota* 'power' Z 2. 121, 122; and in L.Kh.: *āspāta* 'refuge' Avdh 12r5 KT 3. 5; *kaṃga* 'skin' JS 18r1 (76); 21v4 (93); *jsīna* 'life' P 3513. 46v1 (Asm. 15); *ṣṣava* 'night' Avdh 8r5 KT 3. 3.

(ii) -ā

= NS -ā § 18 (ii). Cf. (i).

Occasionally found in L.Kh. *pūjā* 'honour' P 3513. 49v4-50r1 (Asm. 31); *sījāṣṭā* 'success' JS 39v4.

SINGULAR				
	O.Kh. only	O.Kh.+L.Kh.		L.Kh. only
		rare L.Kh. = rare O.Kh.		
N			-a	
		-e	-ä	
A	-u		-a	
	-o		-ä	
G-D	-eññä?		-ä	- ⁱ a
			- ⁱ i	- ⁱ i
			-e	- ⁱ ä
			- ⁱ e	
I-A	- ⁱ ä	- ⁱ e	-ä	-a
			- ⁱ i	- ⁱ a
			-e	-ana
				-i
L	-u	- ⁱ e	-a	- ⁱ ä
	-o		- ⁱ a	- ⁱ i
			- ⁱ i	-e
				-añä
PLURAL				
NA	-ä	- ⁱ i	-e	-a
G-D	-ānu			-ā
				-ām
				-āni
				-au
I-A	-yo		-yau	
L	-avo'			-vā
	-uo'			-vā'
	-uvuo			
	-uvo			
	-uvo'			
	-uʂo'			
	-vo			
	-vo'			

(iii) -u

= -o (iv). Common in O.Kh., but not found in L.Kh., where -u is in general rare. Examples: *dyāmatu* 'appearance' Stein E 1. 7. 149v4 *KT* 5. 79; *padamju* 'description' Z 3. 150; *hīnu* 'army' Z 24. 267; *hotu* 'power' Z 1. 32; 14. 68; *hautu* N 90. 35.

(iv) -o

This is the expected form < O.Ir. *-ām, cf. Av. -am (< IE *-ām). Very common in O.Kh., but not noticed in L.Kh. Examples: *ūtco* 'water' Z 2. 16+; *Ggamggo* Z 2. 22; *padamgyo* 'description' Z 1. 52; *biso* 'house' Z 2. 47+; *vaṣṭāmato* 'engaging' Kha 1. 13. 146r3 *KBT* 6; *hīno* 'army' Z 13. 65; *hoto* 'power' Z 22. 298.

(v) -au

= -o (iv) ? I have noticed two examples only: *būṣṣātau* 'staircase' Z 23. 153 (beside *būṣṣāto* Z 23. 166); *Siysau* Z 5. 4 'Sita'.

20. G-DS

(i) -iä

L.Kh. only, = -ie (vii). Examples: *ūca* 'water' JS 3v3 (10) < *ūtca*; *jigya* 'removal' JS 11v2 (46) < *jigā*; *jsiñä* S 2471. 114 *KBT* 94 < *jsiñä* 'life'.

(ii) -ä

= -e (vi). Occasionally found in O.Kh.: *ātmä* 'self' Z 4. 43; 6. 53; *Ggamggä* H 143 NS 65+144 NSB 11 8r4 *KT* 5. 68; *pārāmatä* 'pāramitā' Z 11. 21; and in L.Kh.: *āspāvā* 'refuge' *Avdh* 11r5 *KT* 3. 5.

(iii) -i

= -ä (ii). Not yet found in O.Kh. Occasionally in L.Kh.: *kaṃthi* 'city' Hed. 10. 1 *KT* 4. 27; *jegi* 'removal' JS 13v3 (56).

(iv) -iä

= -ie (vii). Not yet found in O.Kh. Occasionally in L.Kh.: *gvihā* *Avdh* 9r3 *KT* 3. 3 < *gühā* 'cow'; *jsiñä* JS 39r4 < *jsiñä* 'life'.

(v) -i

= (iv). O.Kh.: *rrñi* 'queen' Z 14. 4; 24. 119; *hñi* 'army' Z 24. 643. L.Kh.: *jsiñi* 'life' *Si* 1v2 *KT* 1. 2.

(vi) -e

-e is probably due to the occurrence of -ie (vii) with stems not showing palatalization e.g. *strīyā*-. Cf. § 11 (i). -e is found not only in L.Kh. but occasionally in O.Kh., always in loanwords or words not showing palatalization. -e is not likely therefore to be a survival of IE *-ās.

O.Kh.: *āme* 'self' Z 6. 5; *kṣāṇḍā-pārāmate* 'kṣānti-pāramitā' Z 6. 21; *marikye* 'mirage' Z 3. 13; *ṣkaugye* 'saṃskāra' Z 5. 57; *strīye* 'woman' Z 19. 82. L.Kh.: *āme* 'dwelling' JS 1911 (80); *syē* 'sand' Avdh 12v2 KT 3. 6.

(vii) -*ie*

This is the expected form < O.Ir. *-*āyāh*, cf. Av. -*ayā*, OP -*āyā*^h. It is frequent both in O.Kh.: *ūce* 'water' Z 14. 79+; *kīnthe* 'city' Z 5. 35+; and in L.Kh.: *āspete* 'refuge' Avdh 10v2-3 KT 3. 4; *hīththe* 'truth' Avdh 21r4 KT 3. 11.

The effects of palatalization in the G-DS and, in square brackets, in the I-AS are as follows:

1. *a* > *i* before *th*(*th*), *ṃth*, *v*
hīththe Avdh 21r4 KT 3. 11; [*hīthe* *jsa* Avdh 21r5 KT 3. 11] < *haṭh*(*th*)*ā*- 'truth'; *kīnthe* Z 5. 35+ < *kanthā*- 'city'; *ṣṣīve* Z 2. 62+ < *ṣṣavā*- 'night'.

2. *ā* > *e* before *mat*, *t*
pātāyemāte Z 6. 43 < *pātāyāmatā*- 'talking'; *bvemāte* Or 9609. 54v2 KT 1. 238 (tr. *jñānasya*) < *bvāmatā*- 'knowledge'; *yanemate* Kha 1. 13. 144r3 KBT 5 < *yanāmatā*- 'doing'; *āspete* Avdh 10v2-3 KT 3. 4 < *āspātā*- 'refuge'; [*bete* *jsa* Z 4. 73 < *bātā*- 'wind'].

Note *ā* > *e* before *r* in adj. *maṃgere* 'old' N 50. 29 I-ASf but not in *padārye* (8).

3. *ū* > *vī* before *r*, *h*
mvīre *jsa* Z 22. 252 < *mūrā*- 'coin'; *gvīhā* Avdh 9r3 KT 3. 3 < *gūhā*- 'cow'.

4. *o* > *ve* before *t*
hvetā *jsa* SS 21r6-21v1 KT 5. 331 < *hotā*- 'power'.

5. (*m*)*g* > (*m*)*gy*
jaigya *jsa* P 3513. 76v2 KBT 62 < *jaigā*- 'disappearance'.

6. *tc* > *c*
ūce Z 14. 79+ < *ūtā*- 'water'.

7. *n* > *ñ*
ājīṣaṇe Z 11. 74 < *ājīṣaṇā*- 'supplication'; *armūtaṇe* Z 11. 74 < *armūtanā*- 'congratulation'; *jsīṇe* Or 9609. 3r3 KT 1. 232 < *jsīnā*- 'life'; *rrīṇe* Suv. K. 34v4 KT 5. 112 < *rrīnā*- 'queen'.

8. *r* > *ry*
padārye Suv. K. 29v3 KT 5. 107 < *padārā*- 'upholding'.

9. *s* > *ś*

[*biśśā* *jsa* Z 22. 323 < *bisā*- 'house'].

Note that *st* > *śt* in the G-DSf and I-ASf of the adj. *māsta*-.

(viii) -*eññā*

One example only, O.Kh. *būṣṣāteññā* Z 23. 143. It is probably a spelling variant of *-*āññe*, which is attested in the I-ASf of ā-decl. adj. Cf. -*eñe* I-ASf in pron. adj.: *biśseñe* Z 2. 168.

21. I-AS

(i) -*a* (*jsa*)

= -*e* (*jsa*) (viii). L.Kh. only, frequent: *ārūva* *jsa* 'refuge' P 3513. 46v4 (Asm. 17); *brīya* 'love' JS 12r3 (49); *hawva* *jsa* 'power' P 3513. 51r1 (Asm. 36).

(ii) -*a* (*jsa*)

= -*ie* (*jsa*) (ix). L.Kh. only, frequent: *āspeta* *jsa* 'refuge' JS 24v2 (106); *āspeva* *jsa* P 3513. 51v4-52r1 (40); *jaigya* *jsa* 'disappearance' P 3513. 76v2 KBT 62; *hīṇa* *jsa* 'army' P 2787. 161 KT 2. 107.

(iii) -*ana*

= -*a* *jsa* (i) with -*na* for *jsa*, v. § 10 (xiii). L.Kh. only: *parṣa'na* 'assembly' P 2893. 16 KT 3. 83 replacing *parṣi'na* *jsa* P 3513. 49v4 (Asm. 31).

(iv) -*ā* (*jsa*)

= -*e* (*jsa*) (viii). Rare both in O.Kh.: *hotā* *jsa* 'power' Z 22. 298; and in L.Kh.: *parṣā* 'assembly' P 3513. 42r4 KBT 61.

(v) -*i* (*jsa*)

= -*ā* (*jsa*) (iv). L.Kh. only: *parṣi'na* 'assembly' P 3513. 49v4 (31); *phari* *jsa* 'language' Avdh 10r2 KT 3. 4; *ṣadi* *jsa* 'faith' JS 2r2 (4); P 3513. 43v1 (Asm. 1); *hovi* 'power' Avdh 13v4 KT 3. 6.

(vi) -*iā* (*jsa*)

= -*ie* (*jsa*) (ix). Not yet found in L.Kh. Occasionally found in O.Kh.: *biśśā* *jsa* Z 22. 323 < *bisā*- 'house'; *hvetā* *jsa* 'power' SS 21r6-21v1 KT 5. 331.

(vii) -*i* (*jsa*)

= -*iā* (*jsa*) (vi). Occasionally found both in O.Kh. *bārmaṇi* 'prison' Z 17. 18; *ṣṣahāṇi* 'virtue' Z 23. 31; *hīṇi* *jsa* 'army' Z 24. 426+; and in L.Kh.: *ūci* *jsa* 'water' Si 124v4 KT 1. 54; *hīṇi* *jsa* 'army' P 3513. 70v1 KT 1. 247.

(viii) *-e* (*jsa*)

For *-ie* (*jsa*) (ix) from instances where palatalization is not apparent; cf. §§ 11 (i); 20 (vi). Common both in O.Kh.: *ātme jsa* 'self' Z 6. 13; *kā'mate jsa* 'imagination' Z 6. 42; *drūje jsa* 'lie' SS 13r6 KT 5. 329; *padamgye jsa* 'vyūha' Kha 1. 13. 143v2 KBT 5; *phare jsa* 'language' Z 23. 10; *hote jsa* 'power' Z 13. 114; and in L.Kh.: *bvāme jsa* 'knowledge' P 3513. 50r2 (Asm. 32); *bvāme jsa* JS 12r4 (49).

(ix) *-ie* (*jsa*)

The results of palatalization in the I-AS have for convenience been listed under the G-DS (§ 20 (vii)). Av. *hačā* was usually accompanied by the abl., OP *hačā* by the instr. In Kh., these cases have everywhere coalesced. *-ie* is derived from the O.Ir. AblSf **-āyāh*, cf. OP *-āyāh*, O.Ind. *-āyāh*. **-āyāh*, being more distinctive, absorbed the O.Ir. ISf **-āyā* (OP *-āyā*).

Frequent in O.Kh.: *ūce jsa* 'water' Z 24. 504; *pyū've'māte jsa* 'hearing' Or 9609. 4r3 KT 1. 233; *bišše jsa* 'house' Z 4. 117; *hīne jsa* 'army' Z 24. 261+; *hvele jsa* 'power' Kha 1. 13. 140v2 KBT 4. It is found also in L.Kh.: *ūce jsa* 'water' Si 134v3 KT 1. 70.

22. LS

(i) *-a*

Due to the use of *-ia* (ii) where palatalization is not apparent; cf. § 11 (i). O.Kh.: *ggata 'gati'* Z 11. 9; *nita'sca* 'end' Z 6. 2; *hamkhāysgya* 'reckoning' Kha 1. 13. 134r2 KBT 1. L.Kh.: *hamjsara 'gocara'* P 3513. 51v1 (Asm. 38), not AS as Asm. p. 58, because *ttrām-* 'enter' governs loc. (v. R. E. E., BSOAS, xxviii. 1, 1965, 26); Skt has *otari* 'penetrate' (F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, II Dictionary, New Haven, 1953, s.v. *avatarati*).

(ii) *-ia*

This must be derived from **-āyā*, as **-āyā* resulted in *-ie* (ix). It is not likely to be secondary due to the *a*-decl. (§ 11 (ii)), as it is common from the time of the oldest Kh. It is for this reason also not a spelling variant of *-ie* (ix). It is thus probable that Av. *-aya* indicates a genuine shortening of O.Ir. **-āyā* (OP *-āyā*). Examples: O.Kh.: *ūca* 'water' Z 2. 130+; *e'māta* 'dwelling' Kha 1. 13. 134v1 KBT 1; *kīntha* 'city' Z 5. 102+. L.Kh.: *khyeha* 'pool' P 3513. 80r2 KBT 64; *kītha* 'city' JS 23r2 (100).

The results of palatalization in the LSf are as follows:

1. *a* > *i* before *nth*, *v*

kīntha Z 5. 102+ < *kanthā* 'city'; *ṣṣīvi* Or 9609. 5r1 KT 1. 233 < *ṣṣavā* 'night'.

2. *ā* > *e* before *mat*, *r*, *rṣ*, *h*

e'māta Kha 1. 13. 134v1 KBT 1 < *ā'matā* 'dwelling'; *vaṣṭemāta* Kha 1. 13. 145v3 KBT 6 'engaging'; *tvera* 'scroll' Z 9. 19; *kerṣa* 'circle' Avdh 9v5 KT 3. 4; *khyeha* P 3513. 80r2 KBT 64 < *khāhā* 'spring'.

3. *tc* > *c*

ūca Z 2. 130 < *ūtācā*.

4. *n* > *ñ*

ulatāñe Z 2. 64+ < *ulatānā* 'cemetery'.

5. *ysm* > *śm*

rrasma Suv. K. 29v2 KT 5. 107 < *rraysmā* 'battle-rank'.

6. *st* > *śt*

paštā JS 24r3 (105) < *pastā* 'pool'.

7. *s* > *ś*

biśsa Z 14. 6+ < *bisā* 'house'.

(iii) *-añā*

L.Kh. only: *parṣa'ña* 'assembly' Vajr. 5a4-5b1 KT 3. 21. Due to confusion of *a*- and *ā*-decl. in L.Kh. Cf. *-ana* I-ASm (§ 10 (ii)) and I-ASf (§ 21 (iii)). See LSm *-añā* (§ 11 (iii)).

(iv) *-i*

= *-ie* (vi) where palatalization is not apparent. L.Kh. only: *viysāmji* 'lotus pond' JS 6v1 (23).

(v) *-iā*

L.Kh. spelling variant of *-ia* (ii) or *-ie* (ix) due to vowel-weakening. L.Kh. only: *biśā* JS 16v4 (71) < *bisā* 'house'. See also § 45 (iv), p. 287.

(vi) *-i*

= *-ie* (ix). O.Kh.: *ṣṣīvi* Or 9609. 5r1 KT 1. 233 < *ṣṣavā* 'night'. L.Kh.: *ūci* JS 21v1 (92) < *ūtācā* 'water'.

(vii) *-u*

= *-o* (x). One example only, O.Kh.: *marīcu* 'mirage' Z 3. 136.

(viii) *-e*

= *-ie* (ix) where palatalization is not apparent. L.Kh. only: *viysāmje* 'lotus pond' JS 31v2 (138).

(ix) *-ie*

< O.Ir. **-āyā*, cf. OP *-āyā*. O.Kh.: *ulatāñe* Z 2. 64; 20. 62 < *ulatānā* 'cemetery'; *ṣṣīve* Z 1. 54+ < *ṣṣavā* 'night'. L.Kh.: *kīthe* JS 27v4 (121) < *kanthā* 'city'; *biśe* JS 30r3 (132) < *bisā* 'house'.

(x) -o

Common in O.Kh.: *ggato* 'gati' Z 5. 80; *tcalco* 'side' Z 6. 7; 23. 147; *dišo* 'direction' Z 3. 30+; *paršo* 'assembly' Z 2. 21+; *maitro* 'love' Z 3. 24. Not yet found in L.Kh.

Probably for *-io < *-āyām, cf. § 11 (xiv). An O.Ir. LSf *-ām could be supported outside Ir.

23. NAP

(i) -a

= -e (iv). L.Kh. only: *bīsa* 'house' JS 21v1 (92); *dīsa* 'direction' P 2781. 71 (3) KT 3. 68; *dīsa* P 2025. 57 KT 3. 47.

(ii) -ā

= -e (iv). O.Kh.: *avitsarā* 'apsaras' Z 14. 94; 23. 95; *kāścā* 'anxiety' Z 23. 29; *ggatā* 'gati' Z 11. 9; *hīnā* Z 22. 325.

(iii) -i

= -ā (ii). O.Kh.: *abhiñi* 'supernatural knowledge' Z 13. 16. L.Kh.: *dīsi* 'direction' JS 14v3 (61); P 3513. 44r2 (Asm. 4).

(iv) -e

This is the expected form < O.Ir. *-āh, cf. Av. -ā, O.Ind. -āh (< IE *-ās). This is the most frequent spelling of NAPf in O.Kh.: *kanthe* 'city' Z 22. 133; *dīse* 'direction' Z 2. 44; *bise* 'house' Z 20. 10; *rrīne* 'queen' Z 23. 28; *strīye* 'woman' Z 19. 9. Found also in L.Kh.: *deše* 'direction' JS 35r1 (153).

24. G-DP

(i) -ā

< -ām (ii). L.Kh. only: *skaumatā* Vajr. 20a4 KT 3. 24 tr. *sparsānām*.

(ii) -ām

< -ānu (iv); see § 14 (vii). L.Kh. only: *arvām* 'medicine' Si 135r3 KT 1. 70; *strīyām* 'woman' P 3513. 64r4 KT 1. 244.

(iii) -āni

See § 14 (ix). L.Kh. only: *skvaumatāni* 'touch' Vajr. 11a3 KT 3. 22.

(iv) -ānu

< O.Ir. *-ānām; see § 14 (xi). O.Kh. only: *kanthānu* 'city' Suv. K. 31v4 KT 5. 109; *škaugyānu* 'saṃskāra' Stein E 1. 7. 145r3 KT 5. 77; *škaujānu* Z 6. 26; *strīyānu* 'woman' Z 19. 2. In the vicinity of r, -ānu is sometimes found by Sanskritization: *avitsarānu* 'apsaras' Z 24. 124.

(v) -au

= -ām (ii); see § 14 (xiii). L.Kh. only: *škāmjaū* 'saṃskāra' Ch 00268. 154 KBT 67.

25. I-AP

(i) -yo (jsa)

= -yau (jsa) (ii). O.Kh.: *bīsyō jsa* 'house' Z 24. 166; *strīyyō* 'woman' Z 19. 93.

(ii) -yau (jsa)

On the origin of -yau, see § 15 (iv). O.Kh.: *aruvyau* 'medicine' Z 6. 12; *avitsaryau* 'apsaras' Z 20. 66; 24. 125; *kā'matyau jsa* 'thought' Z 6. 51; *kā'mayyau* H 142 NS 45r4 KT 5. 93; *škaugyau jsa* 'saṃskāra' Z 6. 10, 27 (-gy- < -gyy-); *hīnyau* 'army' Suv. K. 35r1 KT 5. 113; *hawyyau* 'power' Kha 1. 27a1 r3 KT 5. 129. L.Kh.: *škāmjaū jsa* 'saṃskāra' Ch 00268. 169 KBT 67; *skvaumayau* 'touch' Vajr. 17b1 KT 3. 23 (-y- < -yy-).

26. LP

The LPf is in form identical with the LPm (§ 16). O.Ir. LPm *-aišy-ā(m) and LPf *-āhy-ā(m) were evidently conflated at an early date. The frequency of the spellings without a subscript hook may be due to *-āhy-ā(m), as suggested by S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 43.

(i) -avo

= -urvo (iv). One example only, O.Kh.: *skaunavo* 'touch' Or 9609. 24r2 KT 1. 234.

(ii) -uo

= -urvo (iv). O.Kh.: *Ggamgguo* H 147 NS 110. 42r3 KT 5. 74.

(iii) -uvo

See § 16 (ix). O.Kh.: *abhiñuvo* 'supernatural knowledge' Z 23. 128; *pārgyiñuvo* 'enclosure' Z 22. 135.

(iv) -uvo

See § 16 (x). O.Kh. only: *kanthuvo* 'city' Suv. K. 31v1 KT 5. 109; *kinnaruvo* 'kinnari' Or 9609. 5r4 KT 1. 234; *Gamguvo* SS 32v2 KT 5. 334; *škojuvo* 'saṃskāra' Z 5. 57.

(v) -uvuo

Probably < -uo (cf. (ii)) + -uvo (iii). Cf. LPm -uovo § 16 (vii).

One example only, O.Kh.: *Ggamgguvuo* H 147 NS 110 42v1 KT 5. 74.

(vi) -uṣo'

This is the oldest attested form, but it is pseudo-archaic as the hook together with *ṣ* indicates. O.Kh.: *gavuso* 'gati' Khot. (IO) 12 at KT 5. 348; *hāruṣo* 'thing' H 144 NS 83a2 KT 5. 52.

(vii) -vā

See § 16 (xiii). One example only in O.Kh.: *patārahvā* 'place' Z 20. 69. The regular ending in L.Kh.: *gavvā* P 3513. 8or4 KBT 64; *ggavā* Avdh 10v4 KT 3. 4 < *g(g)atā* 'gati'; *diṣvā* 'direction' Avdh 12r2 KT 3. 5; *bīsvā* 'house' JS 19r3 (82); *ṣkaujvā* 'saṃskāra' Hed. 23. 25 (14) KT 4. 36.

(viii) -vā'

See § 16 (xiv). L.Kh. only: *diṣvā* 'direction' P 3513. 50v1 (Asm. 34); *pārāmvā* 'pāramitā' P 3513. 48r3 (Asm. 24).

(ix) -vo

See § 16 (xv). O.Kh. only: *Ggaṃgvo* H 142 NS 48 etc. 39r1 KT 5. 71; *bīsvvo* 'house' Z 3. 52, 58.

(x) -vo'

See § 16 (xvi). O.Kh. only: *gavo* 'gati' Stein E 1. 7. 149r5 KT 5. 78; *diṣvo* 'direction' SS 85r4 KT 5. 343; Or 9609. 4r4 KT 1. 233 (tr. *dikṣu*); *bīsvvo* 'house' Z 3. 51, 79.

27. 3. *ā*-declension adjectives

The terminations are for the most part identical with those of the *a*-decl. of nouns for the masc. and of the *ā*-decl. of nouns for the fem. A few fem. terminations come from the *i*-decl., which contains fem. nouns exclusively, but there is no separate *i*-decl. of adjectives in Kh.

There is no trace of the nt. in the adj. In fact, NS -u is more often found with an old masc. than with an old nt. (§ 29 (v)).

The main feature that distinguishes the adj. decl. is the G-DSm -ye (§ 32 (vii)). This was thought to be < *-ahya by S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 47. Later, accepting the derivation of G-DSm -i < *-ahya (see § 9 (iii)), he proposed to see in -ye 'a special suffix' < *-yahya (S. Konow, *Primer*, p. 41). The G-DSm is here explained otherwise (§ 9 (iii)). -ye probably derives, as G-DSmf < *-ahya+*-āyāh.

Distinctive also are the oblique terminations -āñe I-ASf (§ 44 (iii), p. 286) and -iñā LSf (§ 45 (v), p. 287), which may show the fem. suffix *-inī.

For details concerning the orthography and history of the endings, reference should be made to the appropriate paragraphs of the *a*- and *ā*-declensions.

28. Terminations of the *ā*-declension of adjectives

	MASCULINE	SINGULAR	FEMININE
N	none -a -ā -i -u -e		-a -ā -i
V	-a [-o ?]		-a
A	none -a -ā -i -u -e -o		-a -ā -u -i -u -o
G-D	-ā -i -āte -āye -e -yi -ye -yai		-iā -e -ie
I-A	-a(na) -ā(na) -e(na) -na -ye		-i -āñi -āñe -iñe -e -ie
L	-a -iā -añā -āñā -u -i -u -ye		-a -iā -añā -iñā -o -ñā
		PLURAL	
NA	-a -añā -añā -añi -ā -i -āñi -iñā -e -yi		-a -ā -iā -i -e -ie
V	-anyau -yau		
G-D	-āñ -ānu -yāñ		
I-A	-iyau -yau		-ā -yau
L	-āñ -āvo' -uvo' -vā -vo		-uvo' -vā -vo -vo'

29. NSm

(i) no ending *āysā* P 3513. 82r4 KBT 65 < *āysāta* 'noble'; *aggumā* Avdh 6v4 KT 3. 2 < *aggumāta* 'unmeasured'; *eṣṭava* JS 7v4-8r1 (29) < *eṣṭavana* 'firm'.

(ii) -a *agajsa* 'faultless' P 3513. 76v3 KBT 62; *āysāta* 'adorned' Z 3. 27; *mista* 'great' JS 12r2 (48) + *rre* 'king'; *śśūka* 'alone' Avdh 9v2 KT 3. 4; *tcera* 'to be done' Hed. 17. 21 KT 4. 32 + *kiri* 'act'.

(iii) -ā *asaṃkhilstā* 'undefiled' Z 6. 39 + *aysmū* 'mind'; *utārā* 'noble' Z 24. 281 + *pande* 'path'; *hvi'yā* 'human' Z 5. 13 + *ysamthu* 'birth'; *hastamā* 'best' Z 4. 105 + *śśāstāri* 'teacher'.

(iv) -i *sarvañi* 'all-knowing' Z 2. 3 + *balysā* 'Buddha'; *hastari* 'better' Z 13. 29 + *dātā* 'Law'.

(v) -u *asaṃkhālstu* 'undefiled' Z 6. 22 + *padānā* 'vessel'; *vasutu* 'pure' Z 6. 39 + *aysmū* 'mind'; *śśāru* 'good' Z 24. 211 + *pande* 'path'; *sastu* 'appeared' Z 21. 18 + *tceimā* 'eye'.

(vi) -e *cā'ya-nārmāte* 'magic-created' Z 19. 8 + *hārā* 'thing'; *pyūvā'ñe* 'to be heard' Stein E 1. 7. 145v1 KT 5. 77 + *dātā* 'the Law'; *vasute* 'pure' Z 4. 28 + *jānā* 'meditation'; *vasve* 'pure' JS 10r4 (40) + *ṣvīdī* 'milk'.

30. VSm

(i) -a *māsta* 'great' Z 6. 39 + *rre* 'king'; Avdh 10v2 KT 3. 4 + *balysūñāvūysā* 'Bodhi-seeker'; *gyasta* 'deva' Z 23. 112 + *balysa* 'Buddha'; *sarvañā* 'all-knowing' Z 2. 64 + *balysa* 'Buddha'; *hastama* 'best' Z 22. 257 + *balysa* 'Buddha'.

(ii) -o ? *hvāṣṭo* 'chief' Z 22. 257 + *balysa* 'Buddha'. No other example found. *hvāṣṭo* was noted as remarkable by S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 41, n. 1. Cf. AS *a*-decl. -o § 8 (viii)? Or < *hvāṣṭa* + *u* 'and'?

31. ASm

(i) *no ending āsai* 'blue' JS 23v2 (102) < *āsaina*- + *upala* 'lotus'; *ustam* 'last' Z 22. 102 + *kālu* 'time'; *hvi* P 3513. 55r2 (Asm. 56) < *hviya*- 'human' + *ysamthā* 'birth'.

(ii) -a *hastama* 'best' Hed. 23. 30 KT 4. 37 + *dā* 'Law'.

(iii) -ā *gyastūñā* 'divine' Z 23. 154 + *bīnāñu* 'lute-music'; *cārā* 'visible' SS 7r5 KT 5. 328 + *khanau* 'laugh'; *mistā* 'great' JS 23r2 (100) + *rrumdi* 'king'; *ysīñyā* 'entrusted' Z 24. 502 + *śśāsanu* 'śāsana'.

(iv) -i *gyastūñi* 'divine' Z 5. 44 + *āysanu* 'seat'.

(v) -u *māstu* 'great' SS 7r6 KT 5. 329 + *balysūñavūysau* 'Bodhi-seeker'; *ośu* 'evil' D III. 1. 8v1 KT 5. 69 + *aysmū* 'mind'; *rraštu* 'right' Z 2. 76 + *dātu* 'Law'; *śśāru* 'good' Z 3. 22 + *arthu* 'subject'; *hastamu* 'best' Z 13. 2 + *dātu* 'Law'.

(vi) -e *miste* 'great' JS 29v4 (130) + *de* 'fire'; *hūvasve* 'very pure' P 3513. 50v3 (Asm. 35) + *brrahma-svarā*.

(vii) -o *rrašto* 'right' Z 13. 2; 22. 186 + *dātu* 'Law'; Z 24. 171 + *pando* 'path'.

32. G-DSm

(i) -ā *māstā* 'great' Z 23. 16 + *āchai* 'illness'; *Suv. K* 35r5 KT 5. 113 + *kūṣḍi* 'palace'.

(ii) -i *sarvañi* 'all-knowing' Z 3. 115 + *balysi* 'Buddha'.

(iii) -āte *dirāte* 'evil' Z 24. 648 + *hārā* 'thing'. Either = -āye (iv) or -e (v) with intrusive -āt-.

(iv) -āye O.Kh. only, = -ye (vii). *agumātāye* 'untried' N 52. 18 + *hvaṇdye* 'man'; *ysāṣṭāye* 'hated' Z 4. 19 + *hvaṇdā* 'man'.

(v) -e *vasute* 'pure' Z 22. 254 + *ysīrrā* 'gold'.

(vi) -yi = -ye (vii). *hvatyi* 'spoken' Kha 1. 13. 139v1 KBT 3 + *hvanai* 'speech'.

(vii) -ye See § 27. *abustye* 'unperceived' Z 23. 11 + *arhi* 'meaning'; *dirye* 'evil' Z 24. 433 + *hārā* 'thing'; *batye* 'small' Z 23. 14 + *suhā* 'blessing'; *śīrye* 'kind' JS 6v2 (23) + *ādārā* 'regard'; *pūhye* 'fifth' P 2790. 35 KT 2. 111 + *haḍai* 'day'; *hvatye* 'spoken' Kha 1. 13. 136r5 KBT 2 + *hvanai* 'speech'.

(viii) -yai = -ye (vii), L.Kh. only: *pūhyai* 'fifth' P 2786. 34 KT 2. 94 + *haḍai* 'day'.

33. I-ASm

(i) -a(na) *bu'ysa bādna* 'long time' JS 19v2 (83).

(ii) -ā(na) *pīrūyā bādna* 'former time' JS 22r2 (95); *māstāna* 'great' Z 22. 280 + *bālsamggāna* 'bhikṣusaṅgha'; *hastamāna* 'best' Z 22. 277 + *śilna* 'moral restraint'; *vasutāna* 'pure' Z 22. 243 + *aysmūna* 'mind'; *batāna* 'small' E 1. 7. 19v3 KT 5. 388 + *kiḍāgānāna* 'evil deed'.

(iii) -e(na) *vasvena* 'pure' P 3513. 44r3 (Asm. 4) + *aysmūna* 'mind'; *vasve* 'pure' JS 23v4 (103) + *ne'na* 'nectar'.

(iv) -na *śśārna* 'good' Z 22. 243 + *aysmūna* 'mind'.

(v) -ye = I-Asf § 44 (vi). Due to confusion of *a*- and *ā*-declensions in L.Kh., see § 10 (xiii). This was assisted in the adj. decl. by the use of -ye for G-DSmf. L.Kh. only: *mistye* 'great' Hed. 7v9 KT 4. 26 + *āśī'rīna* 'teacher'; *ttraiṣye* 'fierce' P 3513. 81v2 KBT 64 + *daina* 'fire'; *bu'ysye* 'long' JS 7r2 (25); 20r2 (85) + *bādna* 'time'.

34. LSm

(i) -a *hvi'ya* 'human' Z 20. 67 + *ysītha* 'birth'; *vasuta* 'pure', *parisuddha* 'purified' Z 10. 24 + *buddhakṣetru* 'Buddha-field'; *pvestyāna* 'fearful' JS 17r1 (71) + *eha* 'mouth'.

(ii) -ā *balysāna* 'of Buddha' SS 7v1 KT 5. 329 + *rahāśsa* 'secret'; *māsta* 'great' Z 5. 82 + *samudru* 'ocean'.

(iii) -āna *karyaustaṇa* 'torment-filled', *dukhajaṇa* 'woe-filled', *kāṣca-jseraṇa* 'anxiety-causing' Avdh 7r3 KT 3. 2 + *alava-kamṭtera* 'forest'; *pasvaṇa* 'burning' JS 6v2-3 (23) + *dāṇa* 'fire'.

(iv) -āna *natāna* 'profound' Or 9609. 4r2 KT 1. 233 + *rahāśsa* 'secret' (tr. *gambhīre*); *vasutāna* 'clean' Z 15. 123 + *ātīna* 'mirror'.

(v) -u *battamu* 'least' Z 24. 228 + *biṣṭu* 'disciple'.

(vi) -u One example only, O.Kh.: *māstu* 'great' Z 10. 24 + *ggūtāro* 'gotra'. Cf. § 11 (xiv).

(vii) -ye *śātye* 'second' Kha 1. 13. 143r5 KBT 5 + *janavati* 'district'.

35. NAPm

(i) -a *dira* 'bad' Z 3. 29 + *kāḍḍyāne* 'evil deed'; *gyastūna* 'divine' Z 6. 16 + *salāva* 'discourse'; *māsta* 'great' Avdh 7r2 KT 3. 2 + *śśaysde* 'snake'; *vicitra* 'variegated' Z 20. 2 + *spāte* 'flower'; *śśāra* 'good' Z 21. 17 + *rūva* 'form'; *śśīya* 'white' Z 24. 191 + *haska* 'tusk'.

(ii) *-āṇa* = *-āñā* (iii). L.Kh. only: *uvāraṇa* 'noble' Hed. 7. 6 *KT* 4. 25 + *ttaramdara* 'body'.

(iii) *-āñā* *duṣpāta'ñā* 'feeble' *Z* 7. 26 + *indriye* 'sense'.

(iv) *-āñi* *abustañi* 'unrecognized' *Z* 23. 14 + *kāḍāyāne* 'evil deed'.

(v) *-ā* *uṣpurrā* 'complete' *Z* 11. 14 + *indra* 'sense'; *hūsandā* 'sleeping' *Z* 9. 11 + *uysnora* 'being'; *hvatā* 'told' *Z* 3. 149 + *puṇa* 'merit'.

(vi) *-i* *gyastūñi* 'divine' *Z* 3. 59 + *ysuyāñi* 'sweetmeat'; 4. 34 + *tcei'mañi* 'eye'; *nauni* 'soft' *Z* 21. 23 + *bajāṣṣā* 'sound'.

(vii) *-āñi* *-āñi* stands beside *-āñi* (iv) like LSm *-āñā* beside *-āñā* (§§ 11 (iii), (ix); 34 (iii), (iv)). There is thus no question of an inherited **-nī* fem. (E. Leumann, *KZ*, 57, 1930, 197). *śīyāñi* *ggūne* *Z* 24. 250 ('his hairs were white'); *śīyāñi* *ggūne* 'white hairs' *Z* 18. 4; *harśāñi* *Z* 22. 150 + *tcei'mañi* ('its eyes will be brilliant').

(viii) *-iñā* = *-āñi* (vii). *śīyāñā* 'white' *SS* 84v4 *KT* 5. 342.

(ix) *-e* *vasute* 'pure' *Z* 6. 14 + *tcei'mañi* 'eye'; *śāre* 'good' Or 9609. 5r5 *KT* 1. 234 + *prahaṇe* 'garment'.

(x) *-yi* = *-ye* § 12 (ix). L.Kh. only: *śirkyi* 'beautiful' *JS* 10r2 (39) + *gvaḥa* 'ear'.

36. *VPm*

(i) *-anyau* One example only. O.Kh.: *śāranyau* 'good' *SS* 21v3 *KT* 5. 331. Cf. I-AP *a*-decl. *-añ(y)au* (§ 15 (i)) and see § 3, p. 250.

(ii) *-yau* *jadyau* 'foolish' *SS* 20r1 *KT* 5. 330 + *nyand̐yau* 'ascetic'; *gyastyau* 'deva' *SS* 25r5 *KT* 3. 332 + *balysyau* 'Buddha'; *māstyau* 'great' *Suv.* K. 34r1 *KT* 5. 112 + *rrundyau* 'king'; Or 9609. 36v2 *KT* 1. 236 + *rrundyau*.

37. *G-DPm*

(i) *-ām* *dukhauttām* 'woe-oppressed' *Avdh* 10v2 *KT* 3. 4 + *satvāñi* 'being'.

(ii) *-ānu* *avamātānu* 'unmeasured', *anamkhāstānu* 'unnumbered', *gyastānu* 'deva' *Kha* 1. 13. 135v1 *KBT* 1 + *balysānu* 'Buddha'; *pharākānu* 'many' Or 9609. 3r4 *KT* 1. 232 + *gyastaṣṣānu* 'devaputra'; *rruīyānu* 'royal' *Suv.* K. 31v4 *KT* 5. 109 + *kūṣḍānu* 'palace'.

(iii) *-yām* *hastamyām* 'best' *P* 3513. 45v1 (*Asm.* 11) + *ba'ysām* 'Buddha'.

38. *I-APm*

(i) *-iyau* *vicitriyau* 'various' *Kha* 1. 13. 142r4 *KBT* 4 + *sañyau* 'expedient'.

(ii) *-yau* *ahumāryau* 'countless' *Suv.* K. 31r7 *KT* 5. 109 + *yakṣyau* 'yakṣa'; *pharākyau* 'many' *Z* 22. 246 + *ṣṣamanyau* 'monk'; *rataniñyau* 'of gems' *Stein* E 1. 7. 145v5 *KT* 5. 77 + *dāmyau* 'garland'; *śāryau* 'good' *Z* 22. 122 + *hvaṃ'dyau* *jsa* 'man'.

39. *LPm*

(i) *-ām* L.Kh. confusion of obl. pl. terminations. = *-ām* *G-DP* § 37 (i); I-AP § 15 (ii). *mī'stām* 'great' *P* 2787. 8 *KT* 2. 101 + *avāyavā* 'hell' (palatalization generalized from *i*-decl. forms).

(ii) *-āvo* One example only, O.Kh.: *mīstāvo* 'great' *Kha* 1. 13. 134v1 *KBT* 1 + *janavato* 'district' (palatalization generalized).

(iii) *-uvo* *avamātuvo* 'unlimited' *H* 143a *NSB* 4r4 *KT* 5. 84 + *buddha-kṣetruvo* 'Buddha-field'; *puṇauduvo* 'meritorious' *Z* 22. 130; *ysīruvo* 'rough' *Z* 24. 168 + *āṣṭāruvo* 'bed'.

(iv) *-vā* *avamāvā* 'unlimited' *Avdh* 5r4 *KT* 3. 1 (-v- < -vv-) + *ysamthvā* 'birth'; *pharākvā* 'many' *Avdh* 19r5 *KT* 3. 10 + *ysamthvā* 'birth'.

(v) *-vo* *māstvo* 'great' *Kha* vii 1. 43r5 *KT* 5. 182 + *vāmvo* 'sea'.

40. *NSf*

(i) *-a* *ḍira* 'defective' *Z* 1. 189 + *bvāmata* 'knowledge'; *māsta* 'great' *Z* 13. 86 + *baśdā* 'sin'; *rraṣṭa* 'right' *Z* 24. 386 + *dṣṭā* 'view'; *śāra* 'good' *Z* 24. 386 + *ṣṣadda* 'faith'; *hastama* 'best' *Z* 11. 46 + *jsina* 'life'.

(ii) *-ā* *utārā* 'noble' *Z* 11. 2 + *mulysdā* 'compassion'; *batā* 'slight' *Z* 1. 189 + *bvāmata* 'knowledge'; *māstā* 'great' *Z* 2. 9 + *arātā* 'envy'; *haṃbaḍā* 'full' *Z* 24. 206 + *purra* 'moon'.

(iii) *-i* *gyastūñi* 'divine' *Z* 3. 49 + *ttanā* 'skin'.

41. *VSf*

(i) *-a* = *NS* *-a* < *O.Ir.* **-ā* § 18 (i). *Av.* and *O.Ind.* have *VSf* *-e* < *I. I.* **-ai*. This would give **-i* in *Kh.*

Example: *anāha* 'helpless' *Z* 24. 208 + *ysamaṣṣandā* 'earth'.

42. *ASf*

(i) -*a* *uvāra* 'noble' *JS* 4v4 (14) + *ba'ysūstā* 'bodhi'; *vasva* 'pure' P 3513. 44r1 (Asm. 3) + *bhadra-cirya* 'excellent course'; *haryāsa* 'black' Z 24. 212 + *ttādetu* 'darkness'; *hastama* 'best' Z 13. 30 + *balysūstu* 'bodhi'.

(ii) -*ā* *mistā* 'great' Hed. 23. 28 *KT* 4. 36 + *hawva* 'power'.

(iii) -*u* *garkhu* 'pregnant' *JS* 20r2 (85) + *strīya* 'woman'; *jaḍṅgyu* 'of folly' Z 24. 212 + *ttādetu* 'darkness'; *ttāru* 'dark' Z 4. 10 + *ṣṣavo* 'night'; *hastamu* 'best' Z 2. 1 + *balysūstu* 'bodhi'; *hodamu* 'seventh' Z 16. 62 + *būmu* 'bhūmi'.

(iv) -*u* From the *i*-decl.; see § 52 (viii). *māstu* 'great' Z 5. 99 + *rrūndetu* 'brightness'; Z 20. 23 + *daju* 'flame'; *mištu* 'great' Or 9609. 53v2 *KT* 1. 237 + *ṣṣāratetu* 'goodness'.

(v) -*o* *gyaḍṅgyo* 'of folly' Z 22. 192 + *ttādetu* 'darkness'; *nuṣṭhuro* 'severe' Z 24. 212 + *ttādetu* 'darkness'; *hastamo* 'best' Z 13. 2 + *balysūstu* 'bodhi'; *hulgo* 'soft' Z 2. 49 + *baṣṭargyo* 'carpet'.

43. *G-DSf*

(i) -*ā* *māstā* 'great' Z 23. 148 + *pyore* 'cloud'; *mištā* 'great' Or 9609. 53r5 *KT* 1. 237 + *gyašte* 'devi' (so read) (tr. *mahādevyāḥ*).

(ii) -*e* *kūre* 'false' Z 9. 10 + *syemūte* 'appearance'.

(iii) -*e* *bveysye* 'long' S 2471. 114 *KBT* 94 + *jsiṇa* 'life'; *māste* 'great' Z 5. 11 + *dajā* 'flame'; *hvāṣṭye* 'chief' *Suv.* K. 35r4 *KT* 5. 113 + *rrīne* 'queen'.

44. *I-ASf*

(i) -*i* *balysāni* 'of Buddha' Z 13. 114 + *hote jsa* 'power'.

(ii) -*āni* = -*āne* (iii). *batāni* 'little' Z 2. 115 + *karye jsa* 'effort'.

(iii) -*āne* Unless attested by the isolated spelling -*eññā* (§ 20 (viii)), this termination is found only in the adj. and pronoun. It cannot therefore be derived from -*na* ISm + -*e* from the noun decl., as suggested by C. Hauri, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Ausganges -ENA des Instr. Sing. der A-Stämme des Altindischen*, 1963, p. 38. And the -*n*- of *ttāna* is not likely to have changed an I-ASf **ttye* to *ttāne*, as proposed by S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 48. It is here (and in the LSf) that we do in fact find the fem. suffix -*ini* (< O.Ir. *-*inī*, cf. Av. *spaētinī*- fem. of *spaēta*- 'white'), which E. Leumann proposed to see in NAP -*āni* (§ 35 (vii)). The ending is then really -*e*, the normal I-AS of the *i*-decl. (§ 54 (vii)).

O.Kh. examples: *anamkhāṣṭāne* 'uncounted' *Suv.* K. 34v6 *KT* 5. 112 (so read) + *paphanemāte jsa* 'joy'; *māstāne* 'great' Or 9609. 24v5 *KT* 1. 235 + *hāmemāte jsa* 'coming into existence'; Or 9609. 36r7 *KT* 1. 236 + *ṣṣāratete jsai* 'contentment' (tr. *mahatā praharṣeṇa*); *vasutāne* 'pure' Or 9609. 68v1 *KT* 1. 241 + *ūce jsa* 'water'.

(iv) -*īne* = *āne* (iii). *pvātiṇe* 'cool' *Suv.* K. 31r4 *KT* 5. 109; 34r6 *KT* 5. 112 + *ūce jsa* 'water'; *miṣṭiṇe* 'great' Kha 1. 13. 144r2 *KBT* 5 + *rrūndete jsa* 'brightness'.

(v) -*e* *adyematīje* 'unseeing' Z 6. 7 + *dyemāte jsa* 'sight'; *gyastūne* 'divine' Z 23. 10 + *phare jsa* 'speech'.

(vi) -*e* *īnete* 'foreign' *Suv.* K. 35v1 *KT* 5. 113 + *hīne jsa* 'army'; *daṣṣime* 'tenth' Z 15. 126 + *bhūme jsa* 'bhūmi'; *balysāne* 'of Buddha' Kha 1. 13. 140v2 *KBT* 4 + *hvete jsa* 'power'; *māste* 'great' Z 2. 5; 4. 94 + *mulṣde jsa* 'compassion'; *miṣṭye Avdh* 13r2 *KT* 3. 6 + *mulṣdi jsa*; *miṣṭye* 'great' *Avdh* 15v2 *KT* 3. 8 + *ūci jsa* 'water'; *mamgere hatcaste nve jsa* 'old, broken ship' N 50. 29; *hatcasceye* 'broken' *JS* 21r3 (91) + *nauvi jsa* 'ship'; *rrundāne* 'royal' Or 9609. 36r1 *KT* 1. 236 + *māye jsa* 'intoxication'; *sāḍye* 'cold' MT a. vi. 0084a5 *KT* 5. 217 + *ūci jsa* 'water'; *hvamnye* 'Khotanese' *Avdh* 10r2 *KT* 3. 4 + *phari jsa* 'language'.

45. *LSf*

(i) -*a* *rrvīya* 'royal' *Suv.* K. 35v3 *KT* 5. 113 + *biṣa* 'house'.

(ii) -*a* *gyastāna* 'divine' *JS* 23r2 (100) + *kitha* 'city'; *balysāna* 'of Buddha' SS 24v4 *KT* 5. 332 + *tcārīma* 'sphere'; *miṣṭa* 'great' Or 9609. 5v2 *KT* 1. 234 + *kīntha* 'city' (tr. *mahānagare*).

(iii) -*āna* *pvātaṇa ūci* 'cool water' P 2958. 42-43 *KBT* 41 = *pvāvaṇa ūci* P 2798 161-2 *KBT* 43. L.Kh. for -*īna* (v).

(iv) -*ā* *tterā* (< *ttāra*- 'dark' S. Konow, *NTS*, xi, 1939, 23) Z 2. 122 + *ṣṣīve* 'night'.

(v) -*īna* Really LS -*a* (§ 55 (i)) with -*ini* fem. suffix (v. § 44 (iii)). *hastamiṇa* 'best' *Suv.* K. 35v3 *KT* 5. 113 + *biṣa* 'house'.

(vi) -*o* *tsāṣṭo* 'calm' Z 3. 30 + *diṣo* 'direction'.

(vii) -*na* < -*īna* (v). *ṣṣārīna* 'good' H 144 NS 55. 44r3 *KT* 5. 76 + *biṣṣa* 'house'.

46. *NAPf*

(i) -*a* *kāna* 'to be thought' Z 6. 51 + *akāmate* 'non-thought'; *ttīsa'sta* 'brilliant' *JS* 21r2 (90) + *bu'jse* 'virtues'.

(ii) *-ā aniccā* 'impermanent' Z 2. 195 + *śkaunṅye* 'saṃskāra'; *daṣṭā* 'skilful' Z 22. 210 + *striye* 'woman'; *yserā* 'pitiable' Z 5. 92 + *rrīṇe* 'queen'; *hvāṣṭā* 'chief' Z 23. 134 sc. *aṣye* 'nun'.

(iii) *-i tsāti* 'rich' Z 22. 210 + *striye* 'woman'; *balysūñi* 'of Buddha' Z 11. 5 + *śśahāne* 'virtue'; *vicitri* 'variegated' Z 22. 168 + *bā'yi* 'ray'.

(iv) *-iā = -ie* (vi). *jaṣṭā* 'devi' Z 23. 156 + *avātsare* 'apsaras'; *māṣṭā* 'great' Z 3. 121 + *pyaure* 'cloud'.

(v) *-e kure* 'false' Z 6. 35 + *dṣṣṭiyate* 'wrong view'; *tsāte* 'rich' Z 20. 10 + *bise* 'house'; *miste* 'great' JS 4r3 (12); 21r2 (90) + *bu'jse* 'virtue'; *śśāre* 'good' Z 24. 192 + *byātagargye* 'amusrṭi'; *haṃbaḍe* 'fulfilled' Z 24. 201 + *māṣṭā* 'month'.

(vi) *-ie* < *i*-decl., v. § 56 (ix). *māṣṭe* 'great' Z 10. 17 + *smṛtā* 'smṛti'.

47. I-APf

(i) *-ā* Cf. I-AP *a*-decl. *-āṃ* § 15 (ii); G-DP *-ā(ṃ)* § 14 (vi), (vii). L.Kh. only: *maiṣṭā* 'great' P 2787. 12 KT 2. 101 + *baṣḍām* 'ja' (so read) 'sin'.

(ii) *-yau avamāyau* 'unmeasured' (*-y-* < *-vy-*) Hed. 23. 13 KT 4. 36 + *bā'yau* 'ray'; JS 23v3 (103) + *bu'jsyau* 'virtue'.

48. LPf

(i) *-uvo* *dīruvo* 'inferior' Khot. (IO) 12a1 KT 5. 348 + *gavuso* 'gati'.

(ii) *-vā aysmoivoā* 'of the mind' JS 19r3 (82) + *bisvā* 'house'.

(iii) *-vo balysānvo* 'of Buddha' SS 24r4 KT 5. 332 + *tcārīmuvo* 'sphere'.

(iv) *-vo* *dīruvo* 'inferior' Stein E 1. 7 149r5 KT 5. 78 + *gavo* 'gati'.

49. 4. The *i*-declension

There is only one *i*-decl. in Kh., corresponding both to the *i*-decl. and to the *i*-decl. of I.I. and I.E. This must from a descriptive point of view be called the *i*-decl., from a historical point of view the *i*-decl. Here we must follow Leumann (e.g. 'E', p. 386) rather than S. Konow, *Primer*, p. 38. Konow's NS *śśāratātā* does not exist; it is his own invention. The normal *śśāratātā* is well attested: Z 15. 4; 23. 12, 110, 113; *Suv.* K. 34v4 KT 5. 112. Note also that there is no NS in *-ā* as in S. Konow, *Primer*, p. 38. *śśādaā* belongs to the *aā*-decl. As pointed out by Leumann, it is an abstract in **-takā* ('E', p. 94) like O.Kh. *brīyaā* 'love' < **frītakā*.

In the Kh. *i*-decl., we thus find *hālsti* 'Av., OP *arštī* f., O.Ind. *ṛṣṭī* f.) 'spear' as well as *nāri* 'wife' (Av. *nāri* f., O.Ind. *nāri* f.). As there was only one *i*-decl. in Kh., loanwords from O.Ind. also, whether

from the *i*-decl. or the *i*-decl., were declined alike in Kh. Thus, Kh. has *dṛṣṭi* < O.Ind. *dṛṣṭī* f., *bhūmi* < O.Ind. *bhūmī* f., but also *dhāraṇi* < O.Ind. *dhāraṇī* f.

O.Ind. inherited two kinds of *i*-decl. (J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, iii. 163-4) as well as an *i*-decl. I leave aside the question of root nouns in *-i*, as none is found in Kh. O.Ir. **stri-* (Av., O.Ind. *stri-*) has been transferred to the *ā*-decl. in Kh.: *striyā* (cf. Man. Sogd. (**)* *stīryč* 'female' < **stri-kā* I. G., *GMS*, § 248, p. 40). OP has a single paradigm (v. Kent, § 179, p. 61). Avestan has both *i*-decl. and *i*-decl., the former showing traces of two kinds of decl. as in O.Ind. (v. Barth. *GIP*, i, § 191, p. 104). Kh. is noteworthy in showing an AS *-i* < O.Ir. **-yam*, not found elsewhere in Ir. but attested in O.Ind. (v. § 52 (viii)), and a NP *-ie* < O.Ir. **-yāh*, not found in I.I. elsewhere but representing IE **-iās* (v. § 56 (ix)).

All words in the Kh. *i*-decl. are fem. Already in O.Ir. all *i*-decl. words were fem. (v. Barth., *GIP*, i, § 191. 2, p. 104). See also § 27, p. 280. Note that *cā'yā* 'magic' shows transfer to the *ā*-decl. already in the O.Kh. compound *cā'ya-nārmāta* 'magic-created' Z 4. 41+. *ggara* 'mountain' (Av. *gairi* m.) has been transferred to the *a*-decl. See also § 4, p. 250.

As palatalization was a feature of most of the case-forms in this decl. it was often extended analogically to other cases: O.Kh.: G-DP *hālštānu* 'spear'; I-AP *atapyattetyau* 'impurity'; LP *tcārīmuvo* 'sphere'; L.Kh.: NS *huñā* 'blood'; *mu'sde* 'compassion'; NAP *māṣṭā* 'month', G-DP *māṣṭām*; I-AP *bvaiyyau ja*, *bveyā ja*, *bvaiyām ja* 'ray'; LP *tcārīmvā* 'sphere'. In dealing with the *i*-decl., I have used PG (= palatalization generalized) to indicate this feature.

The effects of palatalization in the *i*-decl. are as follows:

1. *a* > *i* before *n*th, *m*, *r*

brīnṭhi NAP < *branthi* 'whirlwind'; *tcārīmā* LS < *tcārami* 'sphere'; *tcīru* AS < *tcari* 'face'.

2. *ā* > *e* before *t*, *r*, (L.Kh. only) *y*

esp. in *-ttetu* AS < *-ttāti* abstr. suffix; *śīravetu* AS < *śīravāti* 'contentment'; *aretu* AS < *arāti* 'envy'; *tteru* AS < *ttāri* 'forehead'; *bveyā* *isa* I-AP (L.Kh. only) < *bā'yi* 'ray'.

3. *n* > *ñ*

hūnu AS < *hūni* 'blood'.

4. *st* > *št*

balysūstu AS < *balysūsti* 'bodhi'.

5. *ysd* > *śd*

mulśdu AS < *mulysdi* 'compassion'.

50. Terminations of the i-declension

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
N	-ā	NA -(i)ā
A	-i <u>u</u> -ā	
G-D	-i <u>e</u> -iā	G-D -ānu
I-A	-i <u>e</u> -iā (jsa)	I-A -yau -yo (jsa)
L	-i <u>a</u>	-(u)vo'

51. NS

(i) *No ending* L.Kh. only, due to loss of short final vowels; cf. § 6 (i), p. 251. *hajvattā* P 3513. 50r2 (Asm. 32) < *hajvattāti* 'wisdom'.

(ii) -a Either a L.Kh. spelling of -ā (iii) or due to transfer to the ā-decl.: *nāra* 'wife' P 2789. 24 KT 2. 110.

(iii) -ā Very common in O.Kh.: *arātā* 'envy' Z 2. 9; *ttādātā* 'darkness' Z 2. 229; 5. 79; *tcārā* 'face' Z 21. 16; *dr̥ṣṭā* 'view' Z 1. 35; *dhāraṇā* Z 6. 19; *nārā* 'wife' Z 24. 448; *balysūstā* 'bodhi' Z 3. 18; *būmā* 'bhūmi' Z 10. 18; *māstā* 'moon' Z 23. 22; *mulysdā* 'compassion' Z 2. 58, 189, 196, 197 (bis), 225; *ysurrā* 'anger' Z 3. 63; *rrustā* 'dominion' SS 83r3 KT 5. 341; *śśāratātā* 'goodness' Z 15. 4; 23. 12, 110, 113; *hajvattātā* 'wisdom' Z 2. 197; 20. 26; *hūnā* 'blood' Z 15. 93; 20. 54. Found also in L.Kh.: *nārā* P 2741. 50 KT 2. 89; *Amṛta* 20 KT 5. 62.

This ending could be derived from O.Ir. *-i or *-iś. It is probably not like O.Ind. -iḥ in *vr̥kṣiḥ* (J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, iii. 170 ff.).

(iv) -i = -ā (iii), but rare; *tcari* 'face' Z 4. 100; *mulysdi* 'compassion' Z 2. 201.

(v) -iā = AS -iā § 52 (v); G-DS § 53 (vi); I-AS § 54 (iii); LS § 55 (ii). Generalization of the oblique form (cf. Dresden, p. 408, n. 35a). L.Kh. only: *tterā* 'forehead' JS 4v1 (13); *māstā* 'month' Si 3r4 KT 1. 6; *hūñā* 'blood' JS 18r3 (77).

(vi) -ie Cf. (v). L.Kh. only: *mu'sde* 'compassion' JS 33r4 (146).

52. AS

(i) *No ending* = NS § 51 (i). L.Kh. only: *ttādā* JS 19r4 (82); 19v2 (83) < *ttādāti* 'darkness'; *rrumḍā* JS 18v3 (79); Ch 00268. 147 KBT 66 < *rrumḍāti* 'brightness'.

(ii) -a = NS § 51 (ii). L.Kh. only: *ttāra* 'forehead' JS 22r3 (95); *nāra* 'wife' P 2928. 7 KT 3. 105; *ysura* 'anger' P 2783. 201 (40) KT 3. 74.

(iii) -ia L.Kh. spelling of -iu (viii). Examples: *beysūstā* 'bodhi' S 2471. 200 KBT 97; *mu'sda* 'compassion' Hed. 23. 27 KT 4. 36; *hūñā* 'blood' JS 22v3 (98).

(iv) -ā = NS § 51 (iii). O.Kh.: *bā'yā* 'ray' Z 2. 56; *ysurrā* 'anger' Z 3. 71; *Sarasvatā* 'Sarasvatī' Z 24. 223. L.Kh.: *nārā* 'wife' JS 12v1 (50).

(v) -iā = -iu (viii). O.Kh.: *rrustā* 'royalty' Z 5. 42. L.Kh.: *ba'ysūstā* 'bodhi' P 3513. 53r3 (Asm. 46); 56r1 (60); *hūñā* 'blood' Ch ii. 004. 2r4 KBT 144.

(vi) -i O.Kh. spelling of -iu (viii); *paysānoṣṭi* 'understanding' Z 22. 244; *rruṣṭi* 'dominion, royalty' Z 13. 31.

(vii) -u From -iu (viii) with stems not showing palatalization. O.Kh. only: *dr̥ṣṭu* 'view' Z 12. 77; *bā'yu* 'ray' Z 5. 39; *būmu* 'bhūmi' Z 10. 32; *bhūmu* Z 16. 64; *ysurru* 'anger' Z 3. 72+.

(viii) -iu Very common in O.Kh. As *-io has not been found even once yet, -iu must be derived from O.Ir. *-yam (as S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 33), not < *-yām (as S. Konow, *Primer*, 1949, p. 38). *-yam is not found elsewhere in Ir., but it occurs in the O.Ind. *vr̥kṣi*-decl. (*vr̥kyam*; J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, iii. 170). Not yet found in L.Kh., where -u in general is rare.

Examples: *aretu* 'envy' Z 23. 111+; *ttādetu* 'darkness' Z 5. 11; 22. 192; *tcīru* 'face' Z 21. 22; *tteru* 'forehead' Z 2. 56+; *tsāṣṭatetu* 'calmness' *Suv. K.* 29r6 KT 5. 107; *ttuṣṣāttetu* 'emptiness' Z 6. 8; *rraṣṭatetu* 'rightness' Z 6. 11; *pīrātetu* 'belief' SS 35v4 KT 5. 337; *rrūndetu* 'brightness' SS 84v5 KT 5. 342; *mulṣdu* 'compassion' Z 2. 132+; *balysūstu* 'bodhi' Z 3. 74; *śśāratetu* 'goodness' *Suv. K.* 29r6 KT 5. 107; *śīravetu* 'contentment' *Suv. K.* 33v2 KT 5. 111; *hūñu* 'blood' Z 24. 412.

(ix) -ie = -iā (v). O.Kh., rare: *balysūste* 'bodhi' Z 24. 199. L.Kh.: *mu'sde* 'compassion' JS 16v3 (70).

(x) -o Probably due to transfer to the ā-decl.: *dr̥ṣṭo* 'view' Z 24. 170.

53. G-DS

(i) *No ending* = NS § 51 (i); AS § 52 (i). < -ā (iv). L.Kh. only: *styūdā* JS 18r4 (77) < *styūdātāti* 'steadfastness'.

(ii) -a L.Kh. spelling for -ā (iv): *ysūra* 'anger' P 3513. 81v1 KBT 64.

(iii) -ia L.Kh. spelling for -iā (vi): *mu'sda* 'compassion' JS 8v2 (32); *hūñā* 'blood' Si 17r4 KT 1. 26; *tterra* 'forehead' P 4649. 6 KT 2. 124.

(iv) -ā From -iā (vi) in words not showing palatalization: *Kettumatā* 'Ketumatī' Z 22. 246; *cā'yā* 'magic' Z 3. 13.

(v) -i = -ā (iv). *ysūrri* 'anger' P 3513. 45v3 (Asm. 12).

(vi) -iā As this spelling is found in O.Kh., it may not be a spelling variant of -ie (ix). In that case, it is < O.Ir. *-yāh (Av. -yō, O.Ind. -yāḥ; Barth., *GIP*, § 191, p. 104). O.Kh.: *balysūstā* 'bodhi' Z 10. 5.

(vii) *-i* = (vi). O.Kh.: *ttañi* 'skin' Z 23. 15. L.Kh.: *ba'ysūsti* 'bodhi', *ṣS* 12v4 (52); 21r2 (90).

(viii) *-e* From *-ie* in words not showing palatalization. Examples: *cā'ye* 'magic' Z 6. 42; *bhūme* 'bhūmi' Z 13. 51; *mulysde* 'compassion' Z 11. 3, 9.

(ix) *-ie* The most common spelling both in O.Kh. and in L.Kh. < O.Ir. **-yāh* (Av. *-yā*, O.Ind. *-yāh*; Barth., *GIP*, i, § 191, p. 104). O.Kh.: *arete* 'envy' Z 23. 102, 104; *ttēre* 'forehead' Z 20. 52; *dhārañe* 'dhāraṇi' Z 13. 51; *balysūste* 'bodhi' Z 13. 62; *mulsde* 'compassion' Z 3. 14; *śśāratete* 'goodness' Z 11. 5+; *hajvattete* 'wisdom' Z 14. 73; *hūñe* 'blood' Z 13. 99. L.Kh.: *nere* 'wife' *ṣS* 23r2 (99).

54. I-AS

The I.I. abl. was identical in form with the gen. For the explanation of the forms, see the appropriate section of § 53.

(i) *-a (jsa)* *draiṣṭa jsa* 'view' P 3513. 82v4 KBT 65; *ysurra jsa* 'anger' Hed. 23. 18 KT 4. 36.

(ii) *-ia (jsa)* *ttēra jsa* 'forehead' P 3513. 76v1 KBT 62; *nera jsa* 'wife' P 2783. 211 (50) KT 3. 74; P 2928. 14 KT 3. 105; *naira . . . jsa* *ṣS* 39v2; *mu'śda jsa* 'compassion' *ṣS* 8r2 (30).

(iii) *-iā (jsa)* O.Kh.: *vasutattēdā* 'purity' Z 3. 93. L.Kh.: *hūñā* 'blood' *ṣS* 10v2 (42).

(iv) *-i (jsa)* O.Kh.: *mulsdi* 'compassion' Z 22. 292; *hūñi jsa* 'blood' Z 23. 15. L.Kh.: *tcīri jsa* 'face' *ṣS* 11r1 (43); *mu'śdi jsa* 'compassion' *ṣS* 7v2 (27).

(v) *-i (jsa)* *ysurri jsa* 'anger' *ṣS* 16v4-17r1 (71).

(vi) *-e (jsa)* *dṣṣte jsa* 'view' Z 7. 25; *bhūme jsa* 'bhūmi' Z 15. 126; *ysurre jsa* 'anger' Z 2. 19+.

(vii) *-ie (jsa)* O.Kh.: *ttēre jsa* 'forehead' Z 22. 256; *balysūste jsa* 'bodhi' Z 12. 45, 48; *mulsde jsa* 'compassion' Z 5. 19+; *śśāratete jsa* 'goodness' Z 24. 191; *rrūdete jsa* 'brightness' Kha 1. 13. 144r2 KBT 5; *hajvattete jsa* 'wisdom' Z 2. 224. L.Kh.: *mvai'sde jsa* 'compassion' P 3513. 82v3 KBT 65.

55. LS

(i) *-ia* The expected form < O.Ir. **-yā*, cf. OP *-iyā* (< IE **-iā*). O.Kh.: *tāḍeta* 'darkness' Z 23. 99; *balysūsta* 'bodhi' Z 10. 2; *hajvatteta* 'wisdom' Z 11. 31. L.Kh.: *tāḍeta* 'darkness' *ṣS* 25v1 (111); *māsta* 'month' Hed. 3. 13 KT 4. 22.

(ii) *-iā* = (i). *tcārīmā* 'sphere' Kha 1. 135a3 b4 KT 5. 381.

(iii) *-i* = (ii). *māsti* 'month' *Si* 1 bis r5 KT 1. 3.

56. NAP

(i) *-a* L.Kh. spelling for *-ā* (iii): *bhūma* 'bhūmi' Hed. 23. 24 KT 4. 36.

(ii) *-ia* = *-iā* (v). L.Kh.: *hūsta* 'spear' P 4099. 231 KBT 124 (= *hālsti* Z 5. 74).

(iii) *-ā* Probably = *-iā* (v) in words not showing palatalization rather than a distinct inherited termination (cf. Av. *-iṣ*, O.Ind. *-iḥ*). Examples: *dṣṣtā* 'view' Z 3. 140+; *bā'yā* 'ray' Z 13. 109; *SS* 84v3 KT 5. 342; *bhūmā* 'bhūmi' Z 13. 17.

(iv) *-i* = (iii). *dhāraṇi* Z 1. 47; *būmi* 'bhūmi' Z 10. 21.

(v) *-iā* < O.Ir. **-yāh* (Av. *-yō*; O.Ind. *-yāh*) in the *i*-decl. and O.Ir. **-ayah* (Av. *-ayō*; O.Ind. *-ayah*) in the *i*-decl.

O.Kh.: *māstā* 'month' Z 24. 201; *hālstā* 'spear' Z 4. 60. L.Kh.: *māstā* 'month' *ṣS* 14v4 (62); 22r3 (95).

(vi) *-i* = (v). *dhāraṇi* 'dhāraṇi' Z 13. 49, 154; *brinṭhi* 'whirlpool' Z 22. 325; *hālsti* 'spear' Z 5. 74.

(vii) *-u* = *-ā* (iii), *-i* (iv); cf. NAP *-u* in *a*-decl. § 12 (vi). *būmu* 'bhūmi' Z 16. 65; *bhūmu* *SS* 84v1 KT 5. 342.

(viii) *-e* Either from *-ie* (ix) in words not showing palatalization or due to transfer to the *ā*-decl. L.Kh.: *nāre* 'wife' *ṣS* 35r3 (153).

(ix) *-ie* This spelling is frequent in O.Kh. and is therefore not likely to be a spelling variant of *-iā* (v), although an O.Ir. **-yāh* (IE **-iās*) is not found elsewhere in I.I. (see Brugmann, ii. 2. 1, § 221, p. 214). Examples: *daṣṣatete* 'skilfulness' Z 20. 19; *bitandete* 'perplexity' Z 11. 30; *hālste* 'spear' Z 24. 279.

57. G-DP

(i) *-ām* L.Kh. < *-ānu* (ii). L.Kh.: *bā'yām* 'ray' *Avdh* 11r4 KT 3. 5; *māstām* 'month' Ch c. 001. 743 KBT 90 (PG).

(ii) *-ānu* Due to transfer to the *ā*-decl. O.Kh.: *dāraṇānu* 'dhāraṇi' H 142 NS 82r2 KT 5. 105 (PG); *būmānu* 'bhūmi' Z 13. 43.

(iii) *-ānu* O.Kh. only, < O.Ir. **-īnām* (Av. *-īnām*; O.Ind. *-īnām*). O.Kh.: *dṣṣtānu* 'view' Z 24. 644; *dhāraṇānu* 'dhāraṇi' Z 23. 10; *bā'yānu* 'ray' Kha 1. 160. 1r2 KT 1. 252; *māstānu* 'month' N 75. 40 (PG); *hālstānu* 'spear' Z 24. 422 (PG).

(iv) *-inu* = (iii). O.Kh. only: *hālstinu* 'spear' Z 24. 410 (PG). O.Kh.: *ggariṇu* 'mountain' Z 17. 21; *SS* 21r1 KT 5. 331 (*-n-* due to *-r-* by

Sanskritization) could show a trace of its *i*-stem origin or belong to the *a*-decl. (cf. § 14 (xii)), to which it normally belongs. Note that *-ānu* in the *a*-decl. is not likely to have been influenced by the *i*-decl., as the more closely associated *ā*-decl. does not show *-ānu*.

58. *I-AP*

(i) *-yā (jsa)* L.Kh. spelling for *-yau (jsa)* (iv). *bveyā jsa* 'ray' (-y- < -yy-) Ch 1. 0021b b35 KBT 154 (PG).

(ii) *-yām (jsa)* L.Kh. for (iv). *bvaiyām jsa* 'ray' (-y- < -yy-) P 2787. 29 KT 2. 102 (PG).

(iii) *-yo (jsa)* = (iv). O.Kh.: *cā'yyo jsa* 'magic' Z 2. 47. L.Kh.: *bā'yo* 'ray' (-y- < -yy-) JS 711 (24).

(iv) *-yau (jsa)* If *-yau* is < **-ābiš* (§ 15 (iv)), it has spread to the *i*-decl. from the *ā*-decl.

O.Kh.: *atapyattetyau* 'impurity' Or 9609. 24v3 KT 1. 235 (PG); *cā'yyau* Or 9609. 4v2 KT 1. 233 tr. *kākhorda-*; *dr̥styau jsa* 'view' Z 24. 172; *bā'yyau jsa* 'ray' Z 13. 115; *rāddhyau 'rddhi'* Z 23. 129. L.Kh.: *bvaiyyau jsa* 'ray' P 2787. 31 KT 2. 102 (PG).

59. *LP*

(i) *-uvo* < O.Ir. **-išu-ām*. O.Kh.: *tcārīmuvo* 'sphere' SS 61r6 KT 5. 338 (PG).

(ii) *-vā* L.Kh.: *tcārīmvā* 'sphere' Kha 1. 135a3 a3 KT 5. 381 (PG).

60. 5. *Diphthong declension*

Kh. shows perhaps a trace of the inherited diphthong declension of I.I. in one word only: *nau* f. 'boat; ship' (B. Sogd. *n'wh*; NP *nāv*; O.Ind. *nauh*; Av. *nav-* in *navāza-*, cf. MPe *n'w'z*, O.Ind. *nāvāja-*).

The forms attested in O.Kh. are:

NS *nau* N 50. 34; *no* N 50. 32; Z 13. 27

G-DS *nveye* N 50. 30

I-AS *nve jsa* N 50. 33; *nveye jsa* N 50. 29

LS *noya* N 50. 35; *nauya* Kha vii 1. 43r2 KT 5. 182; *nveya* N 50. 32.

The forms attested in L.Kh. are:

NS *nauvi* JS 30v2 (134)

I-AS *nauvi jsa* JS 16r3 (68); 21r3 (91)

NP *nānvi* Ch 1. 0021a, b30 KT 2. 57

The L.Kh. forms are evidently late replacements of the O.Kh. forms. They probably indicate a stem **nauvā-*, with which we may compare the similar post-Vedic development of *naukā-* f. in O.Ind.

Of the O.Kh. forms, only the NS *nau* and the LS *nauya* could be inherited, < O.Ir. **nauh* and **nāvi-ā* (cf. O.Ind. *nauh*, *nāvi*) respectively. If, however, NS *nau* is derived < **nāvā*, as suggested by S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 44, then all forms could be derived from an O.Ir. **nāvā-*. The oblique forms (except *nauya*, *noya*) must be derived < **nāvā-* (cf. Av. *navāza-*; O.Ind. *bhinna-nāvah*; see J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, iii. 218).

61. Two other words have previously been referred to under this heading: Kh. *gūhā-* 'cow' and *rrāya-* (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 44; *Primer*, p. 38). *gūhā-* represents an O.Ir. **gāu-* with a suffix, cf. Oss. D. *γog*, I. *qūg* < **gaukā-*, Bal. *gok*, and consequently, it has here been included in the *ā*-decl. In *Saka Studies*, p. 44, S. Konow refers Kh. *rrānā* to O.Ir. **rāi-*. This form has been found once only so far, in N 52. 9, and is doubtful. Better with H. W. B. is the derivation < O.Ir. **rāna-*, cf. Oss. D. *ronā*, I. *ron* 'girdle' (on which, H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 23-24); B. Sogd. *r'n'kh*, Chr. *r'n* (I. G., *JRAS*, 1946, 180). In the *Primer*, S. Konow refers Kh. *rrāyi*, *rrāyā* to O.Ir. **rāi-*. Three occurrences of the word are known to me: *dr̥rai rrāyā ššīve haḍāya* Z 11. 61; *dr̥rai rrāyi ššīve haḍāya* Z 22. 270; *ce ne tte rrāyā mārāre* N 105. 37 = H 142 NS 58. 50r3 KT 5. 88. In the glossary to 'E', Leumann suggested 'night' comparing O.Ind. *rātri-*. Neither 'night' nor 'wealth' suits the contexts. H. W. B. explains as meaning 'time, fois', and compares Oss. D. *rādā* I. *rād* 'turn' < O.Ir. **rāta-*. The Kh. forms imply a stem *rrāyā-*.

62.

B. SECONDARY

The second great division of the vocalic declension has been called the 'secondary' vocalic declension (see § 1, p. 249), because it has developed secondarily within Kh. and merely continues the *ā*-declensions, though they are disguised by the contractions that have taken place. Most branches of the secondary vocalic declension contain words which had a **-kā* suffix. The intervocalic **-k-* was voiced, disappeared, and the resulting hiatus was closed by vowel contraction. Thus, we find:

**-a-ka āstaa- kṣundaa- pīśaa-*

**-a-kā buljsaā- śśandaā-*

**-ā-ka nātāa-*

**-i-ka Anāhapinḍia-*

**-i-kā ūvāysiā-*

**-u-ka bāysua-*

**-ū-ka busūa-*

The same type of secondary declension resulted from the loss of other intervocalic stops: *dāa*- 'fire' < **dāga*-; *pāa*- 'foot' < **pāda*- etc. A unique type of declension is formed by the contraction of words in older *-*āva*, e.g. *nādau* 'fire' < **nī-dāva*-. -y- in loanwords from Indian was sometimes lost with the same result: *praca-* 'pratyaya'; *ṛṣaa-* 'ṛṣi' (beside more usual *ṛṣaya-* in the *a*-decl.).

It has proved possible to establish a set of 'rules of contraction' that applies to all the secondary vocalic declensions. At the time when contraction took place, the G-DSm was in *-*i* (see § 9 (iii) p. 256); G-DSf, I-ASf -*ye*; I-ASm -*ina*; LS -*ya*, -*ña*; LP -*vo*', -*vā*'.

Note that K means any intervocalic consonant whose loss results in contraction; *ṽ* = any short vowel; *ṷ* = any long vowel.

RULES OF CONTRACTION

- i a *ā+ā* > *ā*
- b *ī+ī* > *ī*
- c *ū+ū* > *ū*
- ii a *ā+ī* > *ai*, *ei*
- b *ā+u*, *o* > *au*, *o*
- c *ā+e* > *e*
- iii a *ī+u* > **ī+i* > *ī*
- b *ū+i* > **ū+u* > *ū*
- c *ī+ī* > *vī*, *uī*, *uvī*
- d *e+i* > *ei*
- iv a *i+ā*, *e*, *o* > -(i)*yā*, -(i)*ye*, -(i)*yo*
- b *ū+ā*, *e*, *o* > -(u)*vā*/-*ūvā*, -(u)*ve*/-*ūve*, -(u)*vo*/-*ūvo*
- v a *āv+ṽ* > *au*, *o*
- b **āv+ī* > *vai*, *uai*
- c *āv+y* > *auy* (but *-*āvya* > -*vyau*, not *-*auya*)
- vi a *āK* lost before *y*, *v*
(but *āK* > *ā* before *y*, *v* in polysyllabic stems)
- b -*Kṽ* lost after *ṽ* in polysyllabic stems
- c -*īK* > -(i)*y* before *y*, *v*
-*ūK* > -(u)*v* before *y*, *v*

On *-*avya* > -*auya* in Ir., see H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 92.

In O.Kh. *īy* (*āy*, *āt*, etc.) appears to alternate freely with *y* after a consonant. Similarly -*uv* alternates with -*v*.

References in brackets after the endings in the secondary declensions are to the above rules of contraction.

63. I. aa-declension

	SINGULAR		PLURAL
N	- <i>ai</i> (ii a)	NA	- <i>ā</i> , - <i>e</i> (i a, ii c)
V	- <i>ā</i> (i a)		
A	- <i>au</i> (ii b)		
G-D	- <i>ai</i> (ii a)	G-D	- <i>ānu</i> (i a)
I-A	- <i>aina</i> (ii a)	I-A	- <i>yau</i> (<i>jsa</i>) (vi a)
L	- <i>iya</i> (vi a)	L	- <i>uvo</i> ' (vi a)

Forms of *rraa-* 'vein' have been included in the *aa*-decl., although from the point of view of its declension it could belong to the *āa*-decl. Phonologically, however, it must be *rrāa-*. Parth. *rhg* and Sogd. *r'k* indicate an O.Ir. **rahaka-* (see W. B. Henning, *Sogdica*, p. 56; *BSOAS*, xiv. 3, 1952, 449, n. 1). That Kh. *rraa-* belongs with these words was pointed out by Dresden (p. 484 s.v. *re-*; *rrāta-* etc., is, however, quite different) and H. W. B., *KT* 4. 113. Kh. *rrāa-* < **rahaka-* is like *hvar-* 'sister' < **hvahar-* (cf. Av. *x'anhar-*; Oss. D. *xūrā*; Sogd. *xw'r* etc.).

Among the words belonging to the *aa*-declension are the following: *āchaa-* 'illness, disease'; *āstaa-* 'bone'; *kṣundaa-* 'husband'; *ggāthaa-* 'householder'; *pīśaa-* 'teacher'; *praca-* 'pratyaya'; *balysūñavūysaa-* 'Bodhi-seeker'; *Mitraa-* 'Maitreya'; *ysamaśśandaa-* 'loka'; *ṣṣāvaa-* 'śrāvaka'; *spātaa-* 'flower'; *hālaa-* 'side, direction'.

64. NS

(i) -*e* -*ai* (ii) > -*ei* (iii) > -*e*. L.Kh. only: *pīse* Ch ii. 004. 3r2 *KBT* 145; *ṣāve* P 3513. 36v1 *KBT* 60.

(ii) -*ai* O.Kh.: *āchai* Z 5. 18; *jīvai* 'Jivaka' Z 6. 12; *pīśai* Z 11. 42+; *pratābimbai* 'image' Z 6. 6; *pracai* Z 5. 80+; *balysūñavūysai* Z 6. 47; *SS* 7v2 *KT* 5. 329; *bārrai* 'carpenter' Z 2. 91; *Mitrai* Z 22. 165; *ysamaśśandai* Z 2. 8; *vinai* 'vinaya' Z 13. 16; *ṣṣāvai* Z 22. 283. L.Kh.: *āstai* Si 13214 *KT* 1. 66; *pīśai* JS 5v3 (19).

(iii) -*ei* Rare, = -*ai*. O.Kh. only: *āchei* Z 13. 108+; *ṛṣei* 'ṛṣi' Z 24. 235; *ysamaśśandei* Z 22. 188+.

65. VS

(i) -*ā* *balysūñavūysā* Avdh 10v2 *KT* 3. 4; *Maitrā* Z 3. 21; *vaṭhāyā* 'pupil' Leningrad S i. o. 20. 1b5 *KT* 5. 313.

66. AS

(i) -*i* L.Kh. spelling of -*ai* (ii); cf. NS -*e* § 64 (i). *āchī* Si 123r3 *KT* 1. 52; *ṣP* 85r1 *KT* 1. 169.

(ii) -ai = NS -ai § 64 (ii). O.Kh.: *balysūñāvūysai* Z 2. 189; *Maitrai* Z 3. 6; L.Kh.: *āstai* §S 18r2 (76).

(iii) -o = -au (iv). Common in O.Kh., but not yet noticed in L.Kh.: *āsto* Z 23. 15; *kṣumdo* Z 24. 448; *ḥīvo* 'Jivaka' Z 13. 105, 107; *pīso* Z 12. 22, 24, 26; *Mātro* Z 22. 311; *ysamaśśando* Z 24. 247; *hālo* Z 23. 143.

(iv) -au Common in O.Kh., but not yet noticed in L.Kh.: *kṣundau* Z 19. 74; *balysūñāvūysau* SS 7r6 KT 5. 329; *Māttrau* Z 22. 215; *vinau* 'vinaya' Z 22. 224; *hvanau* 'speech' Z 1. 189.

67. G-DS

(i) -i L.Kh. only; -ai (iii) > -ei (iv) > -e (ii) > -i. *āchi* Si 14v5 KT 1. 22.

(ii) -e See (i). L.Kh., but once in O.Kh.: *hāle* Or 9609. 4r4 KT 1. 233. L.Kh.: *āche* Si 134r2 KT 1. 68; P 3513. 22r2 KBT 56.

(iii) -ai O.Kh.: *kṣundai* Z 22. 123; *Maitrai* Z 3. 151; *hālai* Z 12. 126. L.Kh.: *kṣudai* §S 19v3 (84).

(iv) -ei = (iii). O.Kh. only: *kṣundei* Z 22. 241; *Mātrei* Z 22. 334; *ysamaśśandei* Z 24. 185, 248; *hālei* Z 23. 153.

68. I-AS

(i) -ina -aina (iv) > -ina (v) > -ena (iii) > -ina. L.Kh. only: *prracina* P 3513. 17v2 KBT 55.

(ii) -ai jsa Cf. § 10 (xiii). L.Kh. only: *āchai jsa* S 2471. 281 KBT 100.

(iii) -ena See (i). L.Kh. only: *prracena* P 2958. 40 KBT 41.

(iv) -aina The usual spelling in O.Kh.: *āchaina* Z 7. 37; *āstaina* Z 5. 8; *pracaina* Z 24. 383; *Maittraina* Z 13. 8. Found also in L.Kh.: *kṣāmdai* ... -na N 164. 8; *pracaina* §S 8v1 (31)+.

(v) -ena O.Kh. only, = -aina (iv). *balysūñāvūyseina* Kha 1. 13. 134v4 KBT 1; *vineina* 'vinaya' Z 13. 106.

69. LS

(i) -iya O.Kh. only: *drrau-mūjsiya* 'hair-pore' Z 23. 366; *ysamaśśandiya* Z 24. 52; *vinīya* 'vinaya' Z 13. 90 (a-decl.?).

(ii) -ai -ai < *-aki (ii a); -i LSm § 11 (vi), (vii). *hālai* in §S 10v2 (41); 22v1 (96) seems best regarded as LS. This is supported by *hālaiyāṣṭa* §S 13v3 (56), where the L is regular.

(iii) -ya O.Kh.: *drau-mūjsya* 'hair-pore' Z 6. 4. L.Kh.: *āstyā* Si 100v4 KT 1. 34; Ch ii. 003. 86r1 KT 1. 169; *drā-maujsya* 'hair-pore' P 3510. 3. 1 KBT 48.

(iv) -yā = (iii). L.Kh. only: *āstyā* Ch ii. 003. 88r5 KT 1. 171; 102v3 KT 1. 183.

70. NAP

(i) -ā The usual ending both in O.Kh. and in L.Kh. O.Kh.: *āchā* Z 3. 144; *ggāthā* Z 22. 316+; *ṣṣāvā* Z 2. 77; 13. 14; *pr(r)acyā* Z 5. 54, 76; 8. 16 (*pr(r)acya* in Z 8. 21; 13. 41 is the a-decl. form < **pracaya*-, cf. NWPKt *prace'a* DhP 88; the spelling *pracyaa-* is due to *praca-*+ *pracya-*). L.Kh.: *āchā* Si 8v4 KT 1. 12; *pīsā* P 2026. 88 KT 3. 52; *rā* 'vein' Hed. 17. 14 KT 4. 31 (read *rā ve*; L.Kh. *ve* = O.Kh. *vāte*+A); *rrā-v-i* 'his veins' Si 150v4 KT 1. 96.

(ii) -i L.Kh. spelling for -e (iii). *rri* 'vein' P 2025. 222 KBT 19 (= *re* Ch 00266. 146 KBT 27; P 2957. 90 KBT 35).

(iii) -e O.Kh.: *āste* Z 13. 138, 139; 20. 46, 53; *rre* 'vein' Z 15. 93; *spāte* Z 2. 80; 5. 97. L.Kh.: *āste* Si 151r4, 5 KT 1. 96; *drā-mūjse* 'hair-pore' §S 14r4 (59); *re* 'vein' Ch 00266. 146 KBT 27; P 2957. 90 KBT 35; §S 18r3 (77); Si 128v5 KT 1. 60.

71. G-DP

(i) -ām L.Kh. only: *āchām* Si 3r1 KT 1. 4; *khenām* 'laugh' §S 32v2 (142); *pīsām* Avdh 6r4 KT 3. 1; P 3510. 2. 6 KBT 48; *rrām* 'vein' Si 103v3 KT 1. 40; *ṣṣāvām* Avdh 6r4 KT 3. 1.

(ii) -āna L.Kh. only: *pīsāna* P 2781. 145-6 (77-78) KT 3. 71.

(iii) -āni L.Kh. only: *ṣṣāvāni* Avdh 16v4 KT 3. 8; *haṭṭha-hvāñāni* 'truth-speaker' Avdh 21v1 KT 3. 12.

(iv) -ānu O.Kh. only: *āchānu* Z 24. 222; *ggāthānu* Z 22. 317, 330; *pajsama-garānu* 'doer of honour' Suv. K. 31v2 KT 5. 109 (-n- due to -r- by Sanskritization); *pracyānu* (or a-decl.; see § 70 (i)) Z 8. 14, 15, 26; 14. 33, 35; Kha 1. 133. 1 a3 KT 5. 148; *balysūñāvūysānu* Kha 1. 13. 139v1 KBT 3; *ṣṣāvānu* Z 3. 120.

72. I-AP

(i) -ām (jsa) L.Kh. only: *āchām jsa* Si 105r1, 3 KT 1. 42.

(ii) -au (jsa) L.Kh. only: *pīsau* P 2787. 17 KT 2. 102.

(iii) -yo (jsa) O.Kh.: *dāta-hvāñyo* 'preacher of the Law' Z 1. 52.

(iv) -yau (jsa) O.Kh.: *āchyau* Suv. K. 65v2 KT 5. 116; *pracyau jsa* Z 5. 72+ (or a-decl.; see § 70 (i)); *vathāyyau* 'pupil' H 142 NS 61. 47r1 KT 5. 29; *ṣṣāvayau jsa* Z 12. 71; *stāryau* 'star' Z 23. 22, 148; *spātyau* Z 3. 60.

73. LP

(i) -uvo' O.Kh. only: *ggāṭhuvo* Z 22. 315; 23. 127.

74. 2. aā-declension

SINGULAR			PLURAL		
N	-ā	(i a)	NA	-e	(ii c)
A	-au	(ii b)			
G-D	-ye	(vi a)	G-D	*-ānu	(i a)
I-A	-ye (<i>jsa</i>)	(vi a)	I-A	-yau (<i>jsa</i>)	(vi a)
L	-ya	(vi a)	L		

Forms of *palaā-* have been included here. All attested forms of this word could be from either *palaā-* or *palāā-* except the I-AP. The I-AP *palyau*, not **palāyau* as expected < *palāā-* by (vi a), shows that it follows the aā-decl. As, however, *palāā-* would be expected < Pkt *padāgā* (Sheth), we evidently have to do with a secondary shortening within Kh., where no noun belonging to the aā-decl. has yet been found.

Among the words belonging to the aā-declension are the following: *uysānāā-* 'self'; *baśdāā-* 'sin'; *bitamaā-* 'doubt, perplexity'; *buljsaā-* 'virtue'; *brīyaā-* 'love'; (*ysama*)*śśandaā-* 'earth'; *śśādaā-* 'goodness'.

75. NS

(i) -ā O.Kh.: *uysānā* Z 5. 53; *baśdā* Z 12. 70+; *bitamā* Z 5. 20; 24. 230, 494; *buljsā* Z 24. 478; *brīyā* Z 4. 29+; *śśandā* Z 2. 125+; *śśādā* Z 6. 18. L.Kh.: *pārahā* 'basis' *Avdh* 14r2 *KT* 3. 7; *byqmā* P 3513. 56r1-2 (Asm. 60).

76. AS

(i) -ā = NS § 75 (i). O.Kh. doubtful: *uysānā* Z 19. 30. Common in L.Kh.: *aysānā* *Si* 7v3 *KT* 1. 12; *uysānā* *JS* 6v2 (23)+; *baśdā* *JS* 9v4 (38); *śśandā* *JS* 12r1 (48); 35r1 (152); P 2801. 36, 37 *KT* 3. 66.

(ii) -o O.Kh. only: *uysāno* Z 2. 220; *Kha* 1. 13. 142r2 *KB* 4; *baśdo* Z 13. 87+; *bitamo* Z 14. 86; 22. 312; *brīyo* Z 22. 171+; *śśando* Z 11. 67+; *śśādo* Or 9609. 3v7 *KT* 1. 232.

(iii) -au O.Kh. only: *uysānau* Z 5. 47, 78; *bātamau* Harv. 9. 37r2 *KT* 5. 293; *baśdau* Z 23. 34+; *brīyau* H 142 NS 77 etc. 16r3 *KT* 5. 102; *śśandau* Z 5. 49+.

77. G-DS

(i) -āye *brīṭāye* Z 22. 200.

(ii) -iye *baśdiye* Z 13. 81; *śśandiye* Z 24. 427.

(iii) -e L.Kh. for -ye (v). *śśande* *JS* 12v3 (51); 33v4 (148); P 2782. 20 *KT* 3. 59; Ch 00268. 182-3 *KB* 67.

(iv) -yi L.Kh. for -ye (v). *brīyi* P 3513. 22r4 *KB* 56.

(v) -ye O.Kh.: *uysānye* Z 2. 135+; Or 9609. 5r7 *KT* 1. 234; *palye* FM 25. 1 a1 *KT* 3. 124; *baśdye* Z 24. 428; *buljsye* Z 13. 144; 24. 477; *brītye* Z 3. 144; *brīye* Z 12. 92+; *śśandye* Z 24. 48; *śśādye* Or 9609. 5v1 *KT* 1. 234. L.Kh.: *uysāne* *Avdh* 6r3 *KT* 3. 1; *JS* 18r2 (76); *śśandye* *JS* 6r2 (20).

78. I-AS

(i) -iye (*jsa*) O.Kh. only: *baśdiye jsa* Z 24. 456; *śśandiye jsa* Z 24. 121.

(ii) -ya (*jsa*) Only *brīya*, frequent in the phrase *śadi jsa brīya* 'with faith (and) love' *JS* 9v4 (37)+, has been noticed. It is probably a L.Kh. spelling for -ye (*jsa*) (iii), I-AS as Dresden, p. 462, rather than LS (v. § 79 (vii)), the alternative given by Asmussen, p. 49.

(iii) -ye (*jsa*) O.Kh.: *uysānye jsa* Z 8. 13+; *baśdye jsa* Z 12. 68+; *buljsye jsa* *Surv.* K. 66v6 *KT* 5. 117; *brīye jsa* Z 19. 4; *brītye jsa* Z 13. 59+; *śśandye jsa* *SS* 24v3 *KT* 5. 332; *śśādye jsa* Z 13. 145. L.Kh.: *brītye JS* 31r2 (136); 36r2 (157); *śśandye jsa JS* 10r4 (41).

79. LS

(i) -ā One example only: *śśanda* Z 13. 79. For -ya (vii), due to ā-decl. (§ 22 (i), (ii)).

(ii) -ita = -iya (iii). O.Kh. only: *ysamaśśandita* Z 23. 53.

(iii) -iya O.Kh. only: *ysamaśśandiya* Z 1. 39; 20. 71.

(iv) -āya O.Kh. only: *ysamaśśandāya* Z 22. 195; *śśandāya* Z 24. 510.

(v) -u = -o (vi), cf. § 22 (vii). One example only: *śśamdu* Z 24. 509.

(vi) -o < *-ako (ii b), with -o LS ā-decl. (§ 22 (x)). O.Kh. only: *śśando* Z 3. 113+; *śśando* *SS* 13v2 *KT* 5. 329.

(vii) -ya O.Kh.: *ysamaśśandya* Z 6. 3+; *śśamdyā* Z 5. 29; *brītya* Z 5. 51. L.Kh.: *śśamdyā JS* 27r2 (118); 35r1 (152).

80. NAP

(i) -ā? This ending is not yet certainly established. If genuine, it must be < *-aka (i a), with NAPf -a. This ending is in the ā-decl. confined so far to L.Kh. (v. § 23 (i)). The ending could, of course, be explained as a sandhi-form *-ā beside *-āh (> Kh. -e, § 23 (iv)), as in NAP -a in the a-decl. (§ 12 (i)). *ysamaśśandā* Z 2. 163; 5. 63; 22. 158 may be due to the aa-decl. of this word. *ysamaśśandaā-* '(inhabitant of the) world, people' is declined differently from *ysamaśśandaā-* 'earth, world',

although the meanings are similar (so Dresden, pp. 466, 488). *uysānā* Z 19. 30 (v. § 76 (i)) is of uncertain case (so Leumann, 'E', p. 402 s.v.). *baśdā* in *Avdh* 5v1 *KT* 3. 1; 16r4 *KT* 3. 8 could be AS or AP in old L.Kh. *palā* in O.Kh. N 108. 14 = H 144 NS 67v5 *KT* 5. 89 is more likely NAP than NS (as S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 164). *palo* *ibid.* 67v4 can hardly be AS (S. Konow, *ibid.*), but is probably < *palā*+u 'and'. On *palaḍ*, see § 74, p. 300.

(ii) -e O.Kh.: *baśde* Z 11. 68; 22. 333; *bitame* Z 6. 23; *bātame* Kha ii. 31b4 *KT* 5. 176; *buljse* Z 3. 99; 11. 52; 14. 73; *śśāde* Z 22. 239. L.Kh.: *baśde* *Avdh* 5r1, 4+ *KT* 3. 1; *bu'jse* *JS* 4r3 (12); 21r2 (90); *byame* P 2026. 4 *KT* 3. 48.

(iii) -ye L.Kh. spelling of -e (ii): *bu'jsye* *JS* 38r1-2 (165).

81. G-DP

(i) -ā L.Kh. only: *bu'jsā* *JS* 1v2 (1).

(ii) āṃ L.Kh. only: *bu'jsāṃ* P 3513. 66r1 *KT* 1. 245.

(iii) -au L.Kh. only: *bvaijsau* P 3510. 9. 8 *KB* 53.

(iv) -āni L.Kh. only: *brriyāni* *Avdh* 19v4-5 *KT* 3. 10.

(v) -yāṃ L.Kh. only: *bujsyāṃ* P 3513. 50r3 (Asm. 32).

82. I-AP

(i) -ām(jsa) *baśdām* *jsa* P 2787. 12 *KT* 2. 101 (so read).

(ii) -yo(jsa) *buljsyo* Z 10. 11; *śśamdyo* *jsa* H 142 NS 48 etc. r3 *KT* 5. 71.

(iii) -yau(jsa) O.Kh.: *palyau* *Suv.* K. 35v6 *KT* 5. 113 (tr. *patākaiḥ*); *baśdyau* *jsa* Z 6. 22. L.Kh.: *bu'jsyau* *JS* 23v3 (103); P 3513. 52r2 (Asm. 41).

83. 3. *aḍ*-declension of adjectives

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
N -ai		NA -ā, -e	-e
A -au	-au		
G-D -ai	-ye	G-D *-ānu	
I-A -eina		I-A -yau	
L -ai		L	

For the rules of contraction (§ 62) applying to these forms, see §§ 63, 74.

Among the *aḍ*-decl. adjectives are the following: *ttuśśaa*- 'empty'; *dātīnaa*- 'pertaining to the Law'; *ysarrnaa*- 'golden'; *ratānīnaa*- 'made

of jewels'; *rrājsaa*- 'sharp'; *suraa*- 'clean'; *syandaa*- 'left'; *hvarandaa*- 'right'.

84. NSm

(i) -ā L.Kh. only: *dāvīnā* P 3513. 18r3 *KB* 55 + *ttaramdarā* 'body'.

(ii) -ai O.Kh.: *ttuśśai* Z 6. 13 + *balysā* 'Buddha'; *dātīnai* Z 6. 10 + *ttarandari* 'body'; *kāścīnai* 'of anxiety' Z 23. 123 + *ttausai* 'fever'; *buśśānai* 'scented' Z 23. 158 + *bāri* 'rain'; *surai* Z 20. 51 + *hārā* 'thing'. L.Kh.: *ttuśśai* P 3513. 16v1 *KB* 55 + *aysmū* 'mind'; *dātīnai* P 3513. 17r4 *KB* 55 + *ttaramdarā* 'body'.

(iii) -ei O.Kh. only: *kādāgānīnei* 'of karma' Or 9609. 24r5 *KT* 1. 235 + *yamdrā* 'mechanism'; *ttuśśei* Z 8. 15 + *tcei* 'eye'; *dātīnei* Z 13. 81 + *ttarandari* 'body'; *baśdāinei* 'of sin' D III. 1. 8r6 *KT* 5. 69 + *hambisā* 'heap'; *buśśānei* 'fragrant' Z 22. 117 + *hvāṣṣakā* 'plant'; *ysarrnei* 'golden' Z 24. 233 + *nākā* 'ornament'.

85. ASm

(i) -e L.Kh. only: *dāvīne* P 2782. 8 *KT* 3. 58 + *bārā* 'rain'.

(ii) -ai O.Kh.: *syandai* D III. 1. 8r2 *KT* 5. 69 + *suti* 'shoulder' (*suta*- m., not *suti*- f. as S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, s.v.). L.Kh.: *tvānai* 'your' *JS* 7v3 (28) + *brrihā* 'back'; *dātīnai* *JS* 25v3-4 (112) + *cirau* 'lamp'; *khāysīnai* 'of food' *JS* 14v2 (60) + *nasā* 'share'; *prraṇihānīnai* 'of vows' P 3513. 53r1 (Asm. 45) + *ttū samādrā* 'the ocean'; *bā'tai* 'often' *JS* 9v1 (36) + *ttūrrā* 'mouth'.

(iii) -o O.Kh.: *dātīno* Z 14. 70 + *bāru* 'rain'; *bei'tīno* 'poisoned' Z 2. 26 + *khāysu* 'food'.

(iv) -au O.Kh.: *ttuśśau* Z 8. 38 + *aysmū* 'mind'; *dātīnau* Z 14. 78 + *raysu* 'savour'; *hvarandau* *SS* 13v2 *KT* 5. 329 + *ysānū* 'knee'.

86. G-DSm

(i) -ai *brītinai* 'of love' *JS* 3v2 (10) + *dai* 'fire'.

87. I-ASm

(i) -eina O.Kh. only: *adyāneina* 'invisible' *Suv.* K. 32v1 *KT* 5. 110 + *ttarandarna* 'body'; *rrājseina* D III. 1. 8v3 *KT* 5. 70 + *kādarna* 'knife'.

(ii) -e *jsa* Cf. § 68 (ii), p. 298. L.Kh. only: *dāvīne* *ttaradara* *jsa* 'with the *dharmakāya*' Ch ii. 004. 2r4 *KB* 145.

88. LSm

(i) -aṇa L.Kh. only: *ttuśṣaṇa* *JS* 32r1 (139) + *bāṣe* 'wood'; *surqāṇa* *JP* 53v5 *KT* 1. 145 + *padānaṇa* 'vessel'. -aṇa probably continues an

O.Kh. -*āṇa*, as O.Kh. has -*iṇa* in the *ia*-decl. (§ 151 (i)). These forms point to a reduction of -*iṇa* to -*ṇa* (§ 11 (xvi), p. 263) before loss of K.
(ii) -*ai* One example only, L.Kh.: *rraijsai* JS 24v1 (106) + *pneha* 'beak'.

(iii) -*ya* (vi a). O.Kh.: *ratanīnya* H 142 NS 88+89. 8r3 KT 5. 80; 8v1 KT 5. 81 + *kṣattro* 'umbrella'. L.Kh.: *kāścīnya* 'of anxiety' Avdh 13v2 KT 3. 6 + *vyihera* 'vihāra'.

89. *NAPm*

(i) -*ā* O.Kh.: *avaśśārṣṭā* 'remaining' Z 1. 46 + *yāna* 'vehicle'; *ttarrā* 'thirsty' Z 2. 226; 9. 8 + *āśka* 'deer'; *ttuśṣā* 'empty' Z 6. 2 + *dharma*; *ratanīnā* Z 3. 81, 126 + *kṣatra* 'umbrella'; *rrājsā* Dumaqu 0019. 89r1 KT 5. 263 + *paḍe* 'axe'. L.Kh.: *ttūśā* P 3513. 14v1 KBT 54 + *sarvadharmā*; *surā* Avdh 9v1 KT 3. 4 + *prahaunā* 'garment'.

(ii) -*e* One example only, O.Kh.: *gyaḍīne* 'foolish' Z 4. 42 + *satva* 'being' (cf. S. Konow, NTS, vii. 1934, 17).

(iii) -*ai* L.Kh. spelling of -*e* (ii): *ttūśai* P 3513. 18r4 KBT 55 + *hera* 'thing'.

90. *G-DPm*

(i) -*ām* L.Kh.: *raṇṇinām* P 3513. 73r4 KT 1. 248 + *baṇhyām* 'tree'; *vīrūlinām* 'of beryl' ibid. + *āysanām* 'seat'.

91. *I-APm*

(i) -*yo* O.Kh.: *kāścīnyo* 'of anxiety' Z 21. 15 + *pūnyau* 'arrow'; *suryo* Or 9609. 4v4 KT 1. 233 + *prahaun̄yau* 'garment'.

(ii) -*yau* O.Kh.: *klaiśīnyau* 'of kleśas' Z 24. 162 + *rakṣaysyau* 'rākṣasa'; *ratanīnyau* Z 3. 59 + *hamvyau* 'goblet'. L.Kh.: *rrījsyau* JS 7v3 (28) + *ṣambajsyau* 'claw'; JS 22r3 (95) + *ṣabajsyau*.

92. *ASf*

(i) -*au* O.Kh.: *ttūśau* Stein E 1. 7. 145r1 KT 5. 77 + *uysānau* 'self'.

93. *G-DSf*

(i) -*ye* Doubtful. One example only, O.Kh.: *mudye* 'dead' Z 8. 25 + *merā* 'mother'. This could be < *mudā*.

94. *NAPf*

(i) -*e* O.Kh.: *avaśśārṣṭe* 'remaining' Z 10. 21 + *būmi* 'bhūmi'; *ttuśṣe* Z 24. 45 + *kubāye* 'pot'; *saṃñā-mātre* 'imagination-only' Z 9. 20 + *ṣkoṅgye* 'saṃskāra'.

95. 4. *āḍ-declension of nouns*

The fundamental division of this declension into the monosyllabic and the polysyllabic varieties has not previously been noticed.

A. MONOSYLLABIC

	SINGULAR		PLURAL
N	- <i>ai</i> (ii a)	NA	- <i>ā</i> (i a)
A	- <i>au</i> (ii b)		
G-D	- <i>ai</i> (ii a)	G-D	- <i>ānu</i> (i a)
I-A	- <i>aina</i> (ii a)	I-A	- <i>yau</i> (<i>jsa</i>) (vi a)
L	- <i>āṇa</i>	L	- <i>vo</i> (vi a)

B. POLYSYLLABIC

	SINGULAR		PLURAL
N	- <i>ā</i> (vi b)	NA	- <i>ā</i> (vi b)
A	- <i>ā</i> (vi b)		
G-D	- <i>ai</i> - <i>āyi</i> (ii a)	G-D	
I-A	- <i>āna</i> (vi b)	I-A	
L	- <i>āya</i> - <i>āyi</i> (vi a)	L	- <i>āvo</i> (vi a)

96.

A. MONOSYLLABIC

This decl. includes: *dāa*- 'fire'; *pāa*- 'foot'; *rrāa*- 'plain'. In 'E', *Saka Studies*, Dresden, s.v., *pāa*- has been given as the stem. In *Primer*, s.v., *pāa*- is found. *pāa*- is the only possible form, cf. Parth. *p'd*, MPe *p'y*, NP *pāy*, B. Sogd. *p'δ*-. O.Ind. distinguishes *pāda*- 'footstep' from *pāda*- 'foot'.

97. *NS*

(i) -*ai* O.Kh.: *dai* Z 3. 32+. L.Kh.: *dai* JS 29r1 (127).

(ii) -*ei* O.Kh. only: *dei* H 142 NS 47 23v3 KT 5. 87; N 169. 6.

98. *AS*

(i) -*e* L.Kh. spelling for -*ai* (ii): *de* JS 29v4 (130).

(ii) -*ai* = NS § 97 (i). L.Kh.: *dai* JS 29v4 (130); *rrai* P 4099. 256, 260 KBT 125, 126.

(iii) -*o* O.Kh.: *rro* Z 3. 16; 5. 63; 19. 7, 9.

(iv) -*au* O.Kh.: *dau* Z 4. 45+; *pau* Z 13. 81; *rrau* Z 2. 226; 6. 52; 9. 8, 12.

99. *G-DS*

(i) -*ai* O.Kh.: *dai* Z 2. 14+; *pai* Z 22. 305. L.Kh.: *dai* JS 3v2 (10).

100. I-AS

- (i) -ai jsa L. Kh.: dai jsa Si 128r5 KT 1. 60.
 (ii) -ina Cf. § 68 (i), p. 298. L.Kh.: dīna P 3513. 37v3 KBT 60.
 (iii) -ena L.Kh.: dēna JS 6r2 (20).
 (iv) -aina O.Kh.: daina Z 11. 55. L.Kh.: daina JS 6r3 (21)+.
 (v) -eina O.Kh.: peina Z 2. 89.

101. LS

(i) -āñā In view of the LSm *hivīñā* in the *ia*-decl. (see also § 88 (i), pp. 303-4), I am now inclined to view this as showing LS -ñā rather than -añā as § 11 (iii), p. 262. -āñā may well have been reduced to -ñā earlier in the secondary decl. than in the *a*-decl. (The suggestions for *dāñā* offered earlier by S. Konow, NTS, vii, 1934, 36, are in any case no longer necessary.) O.Kh.: dāñā Z 2. 43; 19. 90; 24. 169. L.Kh.: dāñā JS 6v2 (23); dāñā JS 24r3 (105).

102. NAP

- (i) -ā O.Kh.: pā Z 2. 63+. L.Kh.: pā JS 10r2 (39).

103. G-DP

- (i) -ānu O.Kh.: pānu Or 9609. 56r1 KT 1. 240.

104. I-AP

- (i) -āyau (jsa) O.Kh.: pāyau jsa Z 22. 148.

105. LP

- (i) -ā' L.Kh.: pā' Vajr. 522 KT 3. 21. L.Kh. spelling for *pā'* (v) like *pō'* (iii) for *pvo'* (vi). Not AP as *MS Rems*, p. 346 s.v., as shown by the hook and the idiom: *pā' ttirā jsa namasyādā Vajr. 522-3 KT 3. 21*, cf. *tterā jsai pvo' namasindā* 'with the forehead they worship him at his feet' Z 5. 40.
 (ii) -āto' Cf. LPm -āvo' § 39 (ii), -uto § 16 (viii). O.Kh.: pāto' Or 9609. 68r5 KT 1. 241; Z 3. 5; 12. 9; 23. 131.
 (iii) -o' Cf. (i). O.Kh. only: pō' Z 2. 132; 5. 43.
 (iv) -au' = -o' (iii). O.Kh.: pau' Z 5. 105.
 (v) -vā' L.Kh. only: pā' Hed. 7. 5 KT 4. 25; P 3513. 60r4 KT 1. 242.
 (vi) -vo' O.Kh. only: pvo' Z 5. 40+.

106.

B. POLYSYLLABIC

This decl. includes the following: *nītāa*- 'river'; *biśāa*- 'tongue'; *mijsāa*- 'marrow'; *haḍāa*- 'day' (on which see H. W. B., KT 4. 75-76); *hasāa*- 'dhātu'.

107. NS

- (i) -ā O.Kh.: nītā Z 23. 109; biśā Z 8. 36+; mājśā Z 20. 54; haḍā Z 5. 35+. L.Kh.: nā Hed. 11. 4 KT 4. 27; 11. 8 KT 4. 28; biśā P 3513. 19v1 KBT 56.

108. AS

- (i) -ā O.Kh.: nītā Z 13. 27; biśā Z 13. 113; haḍā Z 13. 88. L.Kh.: biśā' JS 9v2 (36); haḍā Or 9268. 1b4 KT 2. 13; Avdh 8r5 KT 3. 3.

109. G-DS

- (i) -ā L.Kh. < -āyā (ii). biśā' P 3513. 19v1 KBT 56; perhaps nā JS 7v2 (28).
 (ii) -āyā = (iii). O.Kh.: nātāyā H 143 NS 65 etc. 8r4 KT 5. 68 (or LS); Z 17. 21; haḍāyā Z 22. 140.
 (iii) -āyi O.Kh.: nātāyi Z 13. 51; haḍāyi Z 11. 17.
 (iv) -ai O.Kh.: haḍai Z 23. 121+. L.Kh.: haḍai-y-um JS 17r2 (72).

110. I-AS

- (i) -āna O.Kh.: biśāna Z 5. 44. L.Kh.: biśāna Avdh 5v2 KT 3. 1; biśā'na P 3513. 44r3 (Asm. 4).

111. LS

- (i) -āya O.Kh.: nītāya Z 5. 75; 9. 27; mijsāya N 141. 16 = H. vii. 150. 11r5 KT 5. 99; haḍāya Z 2. 134; 4. 9; hasāya Or 9609. 4r2 KT 1. 233. L.Kh.: nāya S 2471. 160 KBT 96; biśāya JP 116v2 KT 1. 195; mijsāya JP 102v2 KT 1. 183; haḍāya JS 32r2 (140); Si 8v2 KT 1. 12.
 (ii) -āyā < -āya (i), influenced by the G-DS -āyā (§ 109 (ii)). O.Kh.: nātāyā H 143 NS 65 etc. 8r4 KT 5. 68 (or G-DS).
 (iii) -āyi = (ii). O.Kh.: nātāyi Kha 1. 13. 145r3 KBT 6.

112. NAP

- (i) -ā O.Kh.: nātā Z 2. 109; 22. 117; haḍā Z 20. 5. L.Kh.: haḍā Hed. 17. 15 KT 4. 31.
 (ii) -āva L.Kh. only: nāva Hed. 11. 2 KT 4. 27. -va = -ta (§ 12 (viii)), added to NS nā (§ 107 (i)).

113. LP

- (i) -*ātuṣo*' One example only, O.Kh.: *nātātuṣo*' D III. 1. 8r5 KT 5. 69. Intrusive, semi-historical -*t*-. See also § 26 (vi).
 (ii) -*āvā* L.Kh. only: *nyāvā Avdh* 12v2 KT 3. 6.
 (iii) -*āvuā* L.Kh. only: *nyāvuā AdhŚ* 99. 19.
 (iv) -*āvuo*' One example only, O.Kh.: *nātāvuo*' SS 32r6 KT 5. 334.
 (v) -*āvo* O.Kh.: *nātāvo* H 142 NS 48 etc. 39r1 KT 5. 71.
 (vi) -*āvo*' O.Kh.: *nātāvo*' SS 32v2 KT 5. 334.
 (vii) -*vā* One example only, L.Kh.: *haḍvā* Or 11252. 21. 3 KT 2. 23. **haḍāvā* (cf. (ii)) is expected (vi a). The form can be accounted for only on the assumption of a by-form of the stem: *haḍāa*-. *haḍvā* is the expected LP < *haḍāa*- (vi a). In *AdhŚ* 89. 5, *haḍai haḍai* translates *dine dine*. If *haḍai* is not G-DS (§ 109 (iv)) but LS, it would be the regular LS < *haḍāa*- (§ 69 (ii)).

114. 5. pandāa- m. 'path'

pandāa- has the regular endings of the polysyllabic *āa*-decl. (§ 95 B, p. 305) except in the NS and AS, where it retains direct descendants of the I.I. forms, which resemble the radical *ā*-decl.

-*āka* is actually found in the compound *tāra-pandāka*- 'on a dark path' Z 24. 211. Traces of the old *i*-decl. of this word (cf. YAv. *panti*-m.) are found in the compounds *duva-pandāa*- Z 4. 3; *tcahaur-pandāa*- FM 25. 1 b1 KT 3. 125, where -*ia* (< *-*ika*) has replaced -*i* in the same way as -*āa* (< *-*āka*) has replaced -*ā*. In L.Kh., the *āa*-decl. of this word is extended sometimes to the NS and AS also. For the history and connexions of *pandāa*-, see H. W. Bailey and A. S. C. Ross, 'Path', *TPS*, 1961, 107-42.

	O.Kh.		L.Kh.
NS	-e	NS	-a -ā -ā -i -e
AS	-o	AS	-a -ā -ā -i -e
G-DS		G-DS	-a
LS	-āya	LS	-āya
NAP	-ā	NAP	-āta -āvi

115. NS

- (i) -*a* L.Kh. only: *pada* P 2786. 174 KT 2. 99; *paṇḍa* Si 121v2 KT 1. 48.
 (ii) -*ā* L.Kh. only: *paṇḍā* P 2782. 19-20 KT 3. 59. Extension of *āa*-decl.
 (iii) -*ā* L.Kh. only: *paṇḍā* Or 11344. 3b3 KT 2. 33.

(iv) -*i* L.Kh. only: *paṇḍi* Hed. 17. 18 KT 4. 31.

(v) -*e* The inherited form, < O.Ir. *-*āh*, cf. Av. *pantiā*, O.Ind. *panthāh*. -*e* is weakened in the usual way in L.Kh. to -*ā*, -*i*, -*a*. O.Kh.: *pande* Z 6. 25, 57; 7. 31; 22. 100; 24. 211, 281; *paṇḍe* Z 22. 263. L.Kh.: *paṇḍe Avdh* 7r5 KT 3. 2; *pade* Ch ii. 004. 3r1 KBT 145.

116. AS

- (i) -*a* = NS -*a* § 115 (i). L.Kh. only: *paṇḍa* Si 132v5 KT 1. 66; *paṇḍa* P 3513. 55r2 (Asm. 56); P 2782. 8 KT 3. 58; Ch 00268. 141 KBT 66.
 (ii) -*ā* = NS -*ā* § 115 (ii). L.Kh. only: *paṇḍā* P 3510. 4. 8 KBT 50; *Avdh* 7r4 KT 3. 2.
 (iii) -*ā* = NS -*ā* § 115 (iii). L.Kh. only: *paḍā* P 2786. 163 KT 2. 98.
 (iv) -*i* = NS -*i* § 115 (iv). L.Kh. only: *paṇḍi* P 3513. 4r1 KT 3. 113 (cf. Z 23. 21); P 3513. 49v1 (Asm. 29); Ch 00268. 182 KBT 67.
 (v) -*e* = NS -*e* § 115 (v). L.Kh. only: *pade* P 4099. 3 KBT 113; *paṇḍe* JS 38v1 (167).
 (vi) -*o* The inherited form, < O.Ir. *-*ām*, cf. Av. *pantiām*, O.Ind. *panthām*. O.Kh. only: *pando* Z 3. 23; 22. 275; 23. 21; 24. 171, 274; *pando* Z 22. 189.

117. G-DS

- (i) -*a* Generalization of NS -*a*, AS -*a*. L.Kh. only: *pada* P 2786. 105 KT 2. 97; 179 KT 2. 99.

118. LS

- (i) -*āta* O.Kh.: *paṇḍāta* Z 24. 467. L.Kh.: *paṇḍāta* Or 11252. 3a4 KT 2. 16.
 (ii) -*āya* O.Kh.: *paṇḍāya* Z 2. 87; 12. 62; *Suv. K.* 32v1 KT 5. 110; *paṇḍāya* Z 13. 75; 24. 468; *paḍāya* Z 24. 249. L.Kh.: *paṇḍāya* Or 11252. 13b2 KT 2. 21; JS 23v1 (101).
 (iii) -*āyā* One example only, O.Kh.: *paṇḍāyā* SS 20r2 KT 5. 330 (uncertain).
 (iv) -*āyi* One example only, L.Kh.: *paṇḍāyi* Ch 00269. 32 KT 2. 43.

119. NAP

- (i) -*ā* O.Kh. only: *paṇḍā* Z 24. 180, 484.

(ii) *-āta* L.Kh. only: *paṁdāta* P 2029. 17 *KT* 3. 55. Cf. NAP *-āva* § 112 (ii). Based on L.Kh. NS *paṁdā* § 115 (ii).

(iii) *-āvi* = (ii). L.Kh. only: *paṁdāvi* P 2782. 56 *KT* 3. 61 (= *paṁdāta* P 2029. 17 *KT* 3. 55).

120. 6. *āḍ-declension of adjectives*

Masculine		Feminine	
NS	<i>-ā</i> (vi b)	NS	
AS	<i>-ā</i> (vi b)	AS	<i>-o</i> (ii b)
I-AS	<i>-āna</i> (vi b)	I-AS	
LS	<i>*-āya</i> (vi a)	LS	

One word only has been found to follow this declensional pattern, viz. *paḍā*- 'first; previous' (cf. ZP *fratāk*, NP *fardā*; < **fratāka*-; H. W. B., *Zor. Prob.*, 179, n. 1; *BSOAS*, xxi. 3, 1958, 536).¹ As *paḍā* ASm (= nt.) is often used as an adverb, it is frequently impossible to decide whether in a particular passage one is dealing with an adjective or an adverb. The forms given here, except for the LS, appear to be securely established.

121. NSm

(i) *-ā* O.Kh.: *paḍā* SS 80r2 *KT* 5. 340 + *phārrā* 'stage'; perhaps Z 4. 30 + *kāma-dātā* 'kāma-dhātu'.

122. ASm

(i) *-ā* *paḍā* Stein E 1. 7 149v2 *KT* 5. 79 + *phārrā* 'stage'; Z 11. 41 + *śāmu* 'watch'.

123. I-ASm

(i) *-āna* O.Kh.: *paḍāna* H 142 NS 48 etc. 39v5 *KT* 5. 72 + *phārrāna* 'stage'; H 142 NS 49v2 *KT* 5. 26 + *hauna* 'sound'.

(ii) *-auna* = (i). L.Kh.: *paḍauna* N 166. 6 + *baysā* 'Buddha'.

124. LSm

(i) *-auya* L.Kh. spelling of **-āya*. *paḍauya* N 166. 18 (? as adverb).

125. ASf

(i) *-o* O.Kh.: *paḍo* Z 16. 60 + *būmu* 'bhūmi'.

¹ According to Lazard (§ 28, p. 145), the discovery of early NP *fardāḍ* excludes the etymology from **fratāka*-; but *fardāḍ* evidently owes its final to the analogy of NP *bāmdāḍ*.

126. 7. *ia-declension of nouns*

SINGULAR			PLURAL	
N	<i>-ī</i>	(i b)	NA	<i>-ya -ye</i> (iv a)
V	<i>-ya</i>	(iv a)	V	
A	<i>-ī</i>	(i b)		
G-D	<i>-ī</i>	(i b)	G-D	<i>-yānu</i> (iv a)
I-A	<i>-īna</i>	(i b)	I-A	<i>-īyyau</i> (vi c)
L	<i>-ya -yo</i>	(iv a)	L	<i>-īyvo</i> (vi c)

Among *ia*-nouns are the following: *anyattīrthia*- 'heretic'; *āśīria*- 'teacher'; *indria*- 'senses'; *īśvarīa*- 'dominion'; *kytāñia*- 'gratitude'; *jaḍia*- 'folly'; *ttīryaśūnia*- 'animal'; *naria*- 'hell'; *padia*- 'way, manner'; *sūlia*- 'scribe' (see H. W. B., *KT* 4. 59).

127. NS

(i) *-ī* O.Kh.: *Anāhapiṇḍī* 'Anāthapiṇḍika' Z 22. 209; *āśīrī* Z 2. 91+; *indrī* Z 15. 2; *īśvarī* Z 20. 66; *kytāñī* Z 22. 111+; *jaḍī* Z 2. 83+; *narī* Z 4. 64; *Maṇyusūtrī* 'Mañjuśrī' Z 13. 9. L.Kh.: *āśī'ri* *Vajr.* 36b2 *KT* 3. 27; *sūlī* Or 11252. 36b2 *KT* 2. 28 (see H. W. B., *KT* 4. 59).

128. VS

(i) *-ya* O.Kh.: *Maṇyusūtrya* 'Mañjuśrī' Z 6. 38. L.Kh.: *āśī'rya* *Vajr.* 36a2 *KT* 3. 27 tr. *ācārya*.

129. AS

(i) *-iyu* O.Kh.: *indriyu* Or 9609. 24r3 *KT* 1. 235. Uncontracted; see § 62.

(ii) *-ī* O.Kh.: *jaḍī* Z 5. 58; *padī* Z 8. 35+; *Maṇyusūtrī* 'Mañjuśrī' Kha 1. 13. 140v4 *KB* 4; *mākṣī* 'honey' D III. 1. 8v2 *KT* 5. 69 (< O.Ind. *mākṣika*-). L.Kh.: *padī* *Vajr.* 1b3 *KT* 3. 20.

130. G-DS

(i) *-ī* O.Kh.: *īśvarī* Z 22. 200; *gyaḍī* Z 2. 133; *narī* Z 16. 26. L.Kh.: *krṛaṇī* *JS* 1v2 (1); *jaḍī* P 3513. 45v3 (Asm. 12).

131. I-AS

(i) *-ī jsa* L.Kh. only: *jaḍī jsa* Si 9v3 *KT* 1. 14. Cf. § 10 (xiii).

(ii) *-īna* O.Kh.: *gyaḍīna* Z 5. 56; *īśvarīna* *Suv.* K. 33r4 *KT* 5. 111; *paḍīna* Z 13. 29; *Maṇyusūtrīna* 'Mañjuśrī' Godfrey 3b4 *KT* 3. 126. L.Kh.: *āśī'rīna* Hed. 7v9 *KT* 4. 26; *krṛaṇīna* *JS* 32r2 (140); *jaḍīna* *JS* 25v3 (112); *jiḍīna* Ch 00268. 158-9 *KB* 67; *sūlīna* Or 11252. 38. 1 *KT* 2. 29.

132. *LS*

- (i) *-ī* Cf. § 151 (ii). O.Kh.: *nari* H 147 NS 112r4 KT 5. 76.
 (ii) *-ya* One example only, O.Kh.: *narya* Z 3. 72+. Probably *-ya* is secondary, < **-yya* (vi c) with *LS -ya* rather than *-ya* < **-ika* (iv a) with *LS -a* (§ 11 (ii)), but cf. (iv).
 (iii) *-ye* L.Kh. only: *narye* S 2471. 170 KBT 96. Either L.Kh. spelling for *narya* (i) or with *-y-* < *-yy-* *LS -ye*, cf. § 11 (xii).
 (iv) *-yo* O.Kh. only: *naryo* Z 13. 72+; E 1. 7. 19r4 KT 5. 388. *LS -o* § 11 (xiii).

133. *NAP*

- (i) *-a* One example only, O.Kh.: *indra* Z 11. 14. Simplified < *indrya* (v).
 (ii) *-iya* O.Kh. only: *anyattirthiya* Z 2. 1; *indriya* Z 2. 77+.
 (iii) *-iye* O.Kh. only: *indriye* Z 7. 26, 38; *Kha* 1. 91a1 b4 KT 5. 139.
 (iv) *-e* L.Kh.: *edrre* JS 38v1 (167). Simplified < *indrye* (vi).
 (v) *-ya* O.Kh.: *anyattirthya* SS 61r3 KT 5. 338; *indrya* Z 6. 45; *isvarya* Z 20. 10; *ttiryaśūnya* Z 2. 11; *padya* Z 10. 9+; *samaidṛṣṭya* 'right view' Z 24. 391. L.Kh.: *āśi'rya Vajr.* 5a1 KT 3. 20; Ch 00269. 82 KT 2. 46; *sūlya* Ch 00269. 78 KT 2. 46; Or 11252. 38. 3 KT 2. 29.
 (vi) *-ye* One example only, O.Kh.: *indrye* N 75. 41.

134. *G-DP*

- (i) *-iyānu* O.Kh.: *indriyānu* Kha 1. 309a1. 43v1 KBT 9.
 (ii) *-yā* L.Kh. only: *sūlyā* P 2024. 35 KT 2. 77.
 (iii) *-yām* L.Kh. only: *āśi'ryām* Hed. 7v5 KT 4. 26; *trreṣu'nām* S 2471. 199 KBT 97.
 (iv) *-yānā* One example only, O.Kh.: *ttāryaśūnyānā* Z 11. 10.
 (v) *-yānu* O.Kh.: *anyattirthyānu* SS 20v6 KT 5. 330.

135. *I-AP*

- (i) *-ā (jsa)* L.Kh. only: *emdrā jsa* Hed. 23. 26 KT 4. 36. Simplified < **emdrīyā jsa* (cf. § 134 (ii)).
 (ii) *-iyo (jsa)* O.Kh. only: *indriyo* Z 14. 75 < **indriyyo*, cf. (iii).
 (iii) *-iyyau (jsa)* O.Kh. only: *indriyyau jsa* Or 9609. 4r7 KT 1. 233; *indriyyau* ibid. 24r3 KT 1. 235.
 (iv) *-o (jsa)* One example only, L.Kh.: *sūlo jsa* Hed. 19. 20 KT 4. 33. < **sūlyyo jsa*, cf. (v), (vi).

- (v) *-au (jsa)* One example only, L.Kh.: *idrrau jsa* P 3513. 82v2 KBT 65. Simplified < *idryau jsa* (vii).
 (vi) *-yām (jsa)* L.Kh.: *sūlyām jsā* P 2786. 70 KT 2. 95. Simplified < **sūlyyām jsā*.
 (vii) *-yau (jsa)* *-yau* simplified < **-yyau*, cf. (iii). O.Kh.: *indryau jsa* Z 2. 75; *idryau jsa* Z 2. 74. L.Kh.: *āśi'ryau jsa Vajr.* 4a2 KT 3. 20; *sūlyau* Or 11344. 16. 2 KT 2. 38.

136. *LP*

- (i) *-iyvo'* O.Kh. only: *indriyvo'* Or 9609. 24r3 KT 1. 235.
 (ii) *-ūā* L.Kh.: *imdrūā* P 3513. 28v1 KBT 58. < **imdrīyūā*.

137. 8. *ia*-declension of nouns

	SINGULAR		PLURAL
N	<i>-iya</i> (iv a)	NA	<i>-(i)ye</i> (iv a)
A	<i>-yo</i> (iv a)		
G-D	<i>-(i)ye*</i> (vi c)	G-D	<i>-yānu</i> (iv a)
I-A	<i>-ye*</i> (vi c)	I-A	
L	<i>-ya*</i> (vi c)	L	

Asterisked forms show *-y-* < **-yy-*.

138. *NS*

- (i) *-iya* One example only, O.Kh.: *ggāthiya* 'female householder' Z 22. 310.

139. *AS*

- (i) *-yo* O.Kh.: *ggamdyo* 'gong' Z 2. 101, 102, 104.
 (ii) *-yu* One example only, O.Kh.: *Ggaupyu* 'Gopikā' Z 25. 242.

140. *G-DS*

- (i) *-iye* One example only, O.Kh.: *kumbiye* 'pot' Z 4. 63.
 (ii) *-e* L.Kh.: *mahāsahasrre Vajr.* 16a4 KT 3. 23. Simplified < *mahāsahasrrye* (iv).
 (iii) *-ya* L.Kh.: *mahāsahasrya Vajr.* 36a4 KT 3. 27.
 (iv) *-ye* O.Kh.: *mahāsahasrye* SS 34r1 KT 5. 335. L.Kh.: *mahāsahasrrye Vajr.* 15b1 KT 3. 23.

141. *I-AS*

- (i) *-ye (jsa)* One example only, O.Kh.: *ggamdye jsa* 'gong' Z 2. 104.

142. *LS*(i) *-ya* O.Kh.: *mahāsaḥasrya* SS 32v6 KT 5. 334.143. *NAP*(i) *-i* < *-yi* (iv). L.Kh.: *asi* 'nun' *Vajr.* 44a3 KT 3. 29.(ii) *-iye* O.Kh. only: *kumbiye* 'pot' Z 4. 65; 24. 175; *ggāṭhiye* 'female householder' Z 23. 130.(iii) *-āye* One example only, O.Kh.: *kubāye* 'pot' Z 24. 45.(iv) *-yi* L.Kh.: *uvāysyi* 'lay-woman' P 3513. 40r3 KBT 61.(v) *-ye* O.Kh.: *aśye* 'nun' Z 23. 124, 131, 132+; *uvāysye* 'lay-woman' Z 23. 124. L.Kh.: *ūysye* *Vajr.* 44a3 (*ū(vā)ysye* KT 3. 29).144. *G-DP*(i) *-yānu* O.Kh. only: *aśyānu* 'nun' Z 22. 310; *Suv.* K. 29v4 KT 5. 107; Or 9609. 56v6 KT 1. 240; *uvāysyānu* 'lay-woman' *Suv.* K. 29v4 KT 5. 107.145. 9. *iā*-declension of adjectives

SINGULAR			PLURAL		
	Masculine	Feminine		Masculine	Feminine
N	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-(i)ya</i>	NA	<i>-(i)ya</i>	
V	<i>-iya</i>		V		<i>-ye</i>
A	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-yo</i>			
G-D	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-ye*</i>	G-D	<i>-yānu</i>	<i>*-yānu</i>
I-A	<i>-īna</i>	<i>-ye*</i>	I-A	<i>-yau*</i>	<i>-āyyau</i> (vi c)
L	<i>-ī</i> (i b)	<i>-yo</i> (iv a)	L	<i>*-yvo'</i>	<i>*-yvo'</i> (vi c)

For the application of the rules of contraction where not indicated here, see §§ 126, 137. Forms followed by an asterisk show *-y* < **-yy*.

Among adjectives belonging to the *iā*-declension are the following: (*a*)*dātia*- 'unlawful'; *paḍāṃjsia*- 'former'; *biśśūnia*- 'of all kinds'; *briā*- 'beloved'; *hīvia*- 'one's own' (in L.Kh. also used as a sign of the gen.).

146. *NSm*

(i) *-ī* O.Kh.: *hāvī* Z 3. 31+ + *ttarandarā* 'body'; *hīvī* Z 24. 443 + *jīvātā* 'life'; *paḍāṃjsī* Z 4. 3 + *karmī*; SS 83r3 KT 5. 341 + *rre* 'king'; *auṣkāṃjsī* 'eternal' Z 6. 10 + *ttarandari* 'body'; *bri* Z 3. 66. L.Kh.: *kapi* 'pure' *Avdh* 8v1 + *khāysā* 'food'; 8v2 + *khaśā* 'food' KT 3. 3; *hīvī* JS 6v3 (24) + *bārai* 'steed'; *Si* 1 bis v3 KT 1. 4++ + *Sidhasārā*.

147. *VSm*(i) *-iya* One example only, O.Kh.: *briya* Z 19. 3 + *balysa* 'Buddha'.148. *ASm*(i) *-iyu* One example only, O.Kh.: *briyu* Z 20. 22 + *pūru* 'son'. Uncontracted.(ii) *-ī* O.Kh.: *dātī* Z 6. 4 + *cakkru* 'wheel'; *biśśūnī* Z 16. 20; *vāstārī* 'extensive' Z 10. 35; *hīvī* Z 5. 7 + *tcārma* 'skin'; *hīvī* Z 22. 237 + *aysmū* 'mind'. L.Kh.: *hīvī* JS 24r2 (104) + *jīye* 'life'; *hīvī* JS 13r1 (53) + *purā* 'son'; JS 14v3 (61) + *bhāgā* 'share'.149. *G-DSm*(i) *-ī* O.Kh.: *paḍāṃjsī* Z 5. 67 + *karmā*; *hāvī* Z 22. 274 + *aysmū* 'mind'; *hīvī* Z 22. 241 + *kṣundei* 'husband'. L.Kh.: *brrī* JS 19v3 (84) + *kṣudai* 'husband'; *hīvī* JS 20v1 (87) + *jīye* 'life'; *hīvī* JS 5r3 (16) + *tiśā* 'glory'.150. *I-ASm*(i) *-ī(na)* O.Kh.: *paḍāṃjsīna* Kha 1. 13. 146r5 KBT 6 + *kādāgānāna* 'evil deed'; *biśśūnīna* *Suv.* K. 33v6 KT 5. 111 + *ttagatāna* 'wealth'; *brīna* Z 11. 14; *hīvīna* Z 5. 8 + *āstaina* 'bone'; *hīvīna* *Suv.* K. 33r4 KT 5. 111 + *iśvarīna* 'dominion'; *hīvīna* (so read) *Suv.* K. 32r5 KT 5. 110 + *kṣirna* 'land'. L.Kh.: *biśśūnī* *Avdh* 9r4 KT 3. 3 + *pajsamāna* 'honour'; *hīvī* JS 30r3 (132) + *virśe'na* 'heroism'.(ii) *-ye* = I-ASf § 159 (iii). L.Kh. only: *hīye* (*-y* < *-vy*) JS 39v2 + *brrāvāra* . . . *jsa* 'brother'; *Si* 149v5 KT 1. 94 + *rraysā* *jsa* 'taste'.151. *LSm*(i) *-īña* This O.Kh. form points to the LS ending having become *-ña* in the secondary declensions before contraction; see § 101 (i), p. 306. *-īña* would require **-īña* (i b); *-āña* would require **-yaña* (iv a).O.Kh.: *hīvīña* Z 23. 169 + *vihera* 'vihāra'; *hīvīña* *Suv.* K. 33r3 KT 5. 111 + *kṣīro* 'land'. L.Kh.: *hīña* (< *hīvīña*) JS 5r4 (17) + *ttūrre* 'mouth'; P 3513. 15r2 KBT 54 + *saṃttāṇa* 'continuity'; P 3513. 77v4 KBT 63 + *aysmya* 'mind'; *hīña* P 2801. 15 KT 3. 65 + *aysmya* 'mind'.(ii) *-ī* L.Kh. only: *anāstani* 'beginningless' *Avdh* 5r3 KT 3. 1; 15v4 KT 3. 8 + *saṃtsāri* 'saṃsāra'. LS *-ā* (i b) § 11 (v).152. *NAPm*(i) *-iya* O.Kh. only: *jambvīviya* Z 16. 44 + *huva'ndi* 'man'; *briya* Z 3. 70.

(ii) -āya O.Kh. only: *mārapakṣāya* Z 24. 519 (< BHS *mārapakṣika*-) + *ttārtha* 'heretic'.

(iii) -ya O.Kh.: *ṣambuvīyya* (-yy- < -vy-) *Suv.* K. 33v6 *KT* 5. 111 + *uysnaura* 'being'; *dātya* Z 24. 51 + *hvaṇḍi* 'man'; *paḍāṃjsya* Z 22. 199 + *puṇa* 'merit'; Stein E 1. 7. 149v2 *KT* 5. 79 + *hvaṇḍā* 'man'. L.Kh.: *kūra-drraiṣṭya* 'of false views' P 3513. 82v3 *KB*T 65 + *hvaṇḍa* 'man'; *hīya* (-y- < -vy-) *JS* 3r3 (8) + *pārysā* 'servant'; *JS* 16r1 (67) + *dasta* 'hand'.

153. *G-DPm*

(i) -yām L.Kh. only: *paḍāṃjsyām* *Vajr.* 44b3 *KT* 3. 29 + *bāḍām* 'time'.

(ii) -yānā L.Kh. only: *paḍāṃjsyānā* *Vajr.* 26a1 *KT* 3. 25 + *bāḍānā* 'time'; 30a1 *KT* 3. 26 + *satoṇā* 'being'; *hīvyānā* H 142 NS 56r1 *KT* 5. 90 (old) + *mārāpyarānā* 'parents'.

(iii) -yānu O.Kh. only: *adātyānu* *Suv.* K. 64v4 *KT* 5. 115 + *uysnaurānu* 'being'; *paḍāṃjsyānu* *Suv.* K. 34v2 *KT* 5. 112 + *balysānu* 'Buddha'; *biṣūnyānu* Or 9609. *27v4 *KT* 1. 236 + *suhānu* 'blessing'; *mū-ysamṭhiyānu* 'of this birth' *Suv.* K. 66r3 *KT* 5. 117 + *kāḍātānānu* 'evil deed'.

154. *I-APm*

(i) -yām L.Kh. only: *hīyām* (-y- < -vy-) *Si* 142r4 *KT* 1. 82 + *gūnām* *jsa* 'characteristic'.

(ii) -yo O.Kh.: *biṣūnyo* *Suv.* K. 34v3 *KT* 5. 112 + *upakāryau* 'help'; *hīvyo* *Suv.* K. 32r2 *KT* 5. 110 + *kṣīryau* 'land'.

(iii) -yau O.Kh.: *dātyau* *Suv.* K. 67r2 *KT* 5. 118 + *uysnaurya* *jsa* 'being'; *biṣūnyau* *Suv.* K. 35v4 *KT* 5. 113 + *spātyau* 'flower'; *hīvyau* Z 13. 135 + *karmyau*; *hīvyau* Z 14. 54 + *karmyau*.

(iv) -āyo One example only, O.Kh.: *brāyo* Z 11. 11.

(v) -iyo One example only, O.Kh.: *briyo* Z 20. 11.

155. *LPm*

(i) -yūā = -yvā (iii). L.Kh. only: *ūstimāṃjsyūā* 'last' P 3513. 50r1 (Asm. 31) + *kalpvā* 'kalpa'.

(ii) -yo O.Kh. only: *hīvyo* Z 3. 38 + *paramāṇvo* 'atom'; *hīvyo hīvyo kṣīraṇuvo* (tr. *sveṣu sveṣu viṣayeṣu*) *Suv.* K. 33v1 *KT* 5. 111; *hīvyo* H vii. 150. 10 b7 *KT* 5. 60 + *sūtruovo* 'sūtra'. *hīvyo* < **hīvyvo*.

(iii) -yvā L.Kh. only: *hīyvā* Ch 00267. 33 *KB*T 147 + *jasta-bavinūā* 'divine abode'. Simplified < **hīvyvā*.

(iv) -vā L.Kh. only: *ustamāṃjsvā* 'last' P 3513. 49r2 (Asm. 27) + *kalpvā* 'kalpa'. Simplified < **ustamāṃjsyvā*.

156. *NSf*

(i) -iya O.Kh. only: *mū-ysamṭhiya* 'of this birth' Or 9609. 3r6 *KT* 1. 232 + *hamdāra* 'solicitude'.

(ii) -ya O.Kh.: *brya* *Suv.* K. 64r7 *KT* 5. 115 + *dūva* 'daughter'; *lovyā* 'lokika' Z 13. 125 + *jsina* 'life'; *hāvyā* Z 14. 76 + *hota* 'power'. L.Kh.: *vaisthārya* 'extensive' P 3513. 54r1 (Asm. 50) + *carya* 'career'; *hīya* (-y- < -vy-) *JS* 2v3 (7) + *jsina* 'life'; P 3513. 49v3 (Asm. 30) + *hauva* 'power'; *Si* 8r1 *KT* 1. 12 + *grauttā* 'warmth'.

157. *ASf*

(i) -iya = *NSf* § 156 (i). O.Kh.: *briya* Z 20. 21 + *ṣṣuva* 'news'.

(ii) -āyo O.Kh. only: *dātāyo* Z 19. 30 + *uysānā* 'self' (?).

(iii) -ya = *NSf* § 156 (ii). L.Kh.: *paḍāṃjsya* *Avdh* 11v4 *KT* 3. 5 + *tvā*, *pratiṇa* 'this promise'; *hīya* (-y- < -vy-) *JS* 22v3 (98) + *huṇa* 'blood'; P 3513. 55v4 (Asm. 59) + *hīna* 'army'.

(iv) -yo O.Kh.: *ustamāṃsyo* 'future' Z 6. 11 + *rraṣṭatetu* 'rightness'; *tcūrysanyo* 'fourfold' *Suv.* K. 32r5; 32v2 *KT* 5. 110 + *hīno* 'army'; *paḍāṃjsyo* Z 6. 11 + *rraṣṭatetu* 'rightness'; *hāvyo* Z 14. 68 + *hotu* 'power'.

158. *G-DSf*

(i) -ye O.Kh.: *hāvyē* Z 23. 15 + *ttāni* 'skin'. L.Kh.: *hīye* (-y- < -vy-) *MT* a. i. 0045a7 *KT* 5. 387 + *nera pya* < *tsa* > 'before the wife'.

159. *I-ASf*

(i) -iñe See § 151 (i). O.Kh. only: *hivīñe* Z 5. 8 + *hūñe jsa* 'blood'; H 142 NS 76. 19v2 *KT* 5. 103 + *uysānye jsa* 'self'; *hivīñe* Z 13. 95 + *ṣṣadde jsa* 'faith'.

(ii) -iye O.Kh. only: *hīviye* Z 22. 292 + *mulśdi* 'compassion'.

(iii) -ye O.Kh.: *tcūrysanye* 'fourfold' Z 23. 136, 166 + *hīñe jsa* 'army'; *brye* *Suv.* K. 64r7 *KT* 5. 115 + *nere jsa* 'wife'.

160. *LSf*

(i) -ya -y- < -yy- (vi c). On *LSf* -ya, see § 22 (ii). L.Kh.: *hīya* (-y- < -vy-) P 3513. 51r4 (Asm. 38) + *hamṣara* 'gocara' (see § 22 (i)).

(ii) -yo *LSf* -o § 22 (x). O.Kh.: *paḍāṃjsyo* Z 6. 7 + *tcālcō* 'side'.

161. *NAPf*

- (i) *-iye* O.Kh.: *paḍāṃjsiye* Z 3. 117 + *bise* 'house'.
 (ii) *-ye* O.Kh.: *atapye* 'impure' Z 13. 150 + *ṣkaunḡye* 'saṃskāra';
lovye 'lokiha' Z 23. 111 + *abhiḡṇe* 'supernatural knowledge'. L.Kh.:
hiye (-y- < -vy-) *ṣS* 9r1 (34) + *bā'yā* 'ray'.

162. *G-DPf*

- (i) *-yām* L.Kh.: *hiyām* *Si* 149v5 *KT* 1. 94 + *perām* 'leaf'.

163. *I-APf*

- (i) *-āyyau* One example only, O.Kh.: *ośāyyau* 'evil' H 142 NS 45r4
KT 5. 93 + *kā'mayyau* 'thought'. Elsewhere I have noticed only *ośa-*,
 not *ośia-*.
 (ii) *-yām* L.Kh. only: *hiyām* *Si* 14v4 *KT* 1. 22 + *bātyau* *jsa* 'root'.
 (iii) *-yau* O.Kh.: *hiyyau* Z 3. 107 + *uvyau* *jsa* 'wits'; *hiyyau* Z 3.
 107 + *uvau* *jsa*. L.Kh.: *hiyyau* *ṣS* 6v4-7r1 (24) + *bā'yo* 'ray'; *hiyau*
 (-y- < -vy-) *ṣS* 19r4 (82) + *bā'yau*.

164. *LPf*

- (i) *-yōā* One example only, L.Kh.: *hiyōā* *Si* 153v1 *KT* 1. 100 +
pervā 'leaf'. Simplified < **hiyyōā*.

165. 10. *Monosyllabic ia-declension of nouns*

The only word certainly belonging to this declension is *hvīa-* 'sweat'
 < **hvāida-*, cf. O.Ind. *svēda-* ('E', p. 530 s.v.). Only the NS *hvī* (i b)
 has been noted, O.Kh. Z 20. 54.

Note: NS *bī* 'willow' *Si* 10r2 *KT* 1. 14 tr. *lean-ma* (cf. Av. *vaēti-*;
 see H. W. B., *AION*, 1959, 116-17) and *hī* 'bridge', NS *hī* *ṣS* 7v2 (28),
 AS *hī* P 278r. 152 (84), 153 (85) bis *KT* 3. 72 (cf. Av. *haētu-*; see
 Dresden, p. 490) do not belong here. *bī*, *hī* are from O.Kh. **bita-*,
 **hīta-* like L.Kh. NS *nā*, *dā* < O.Kh. *nāta-*, *dāta-* (§ 6 (i) p. 251).

166. 11. *iā-declension of nouns*

SINGULAR ONLY

N	-ī	(vi b)
G-D	-āyā*	(vi c)
I-A	-īye*	(vi c)

Forms followed by an asterisk have -y- < *-yy-.

One word only has been noted: *pīā-* 'fat', cf. Av. *pīvah-*; Oss. D. I.
fū; MPe *py(y)* (*MirMan* i). The attested forms are:

- (a) NS *pī* O.Kh.: Z 20. 54. L.Kh.: *Si* 4r5 *KT* 1. 8+.
 (b) G-DS (i) *pāyā* once only, O.Kh.: Z 20. 56.
 (ii) *pī* L.Kh.: *Si* 12v4 *KT* 1. 18+. Generalization of NS.
 (c) I-AS (i) *pīye* once only, O.Kh.: *pīye* Z 20. 53.
 (ii) *pī* *jsa* L.Kh.: *Si* 9v1 *KT* 1. 14.

167. 12. *salīā-* 'year'

	SINGULAR		PLURAL
N	<i>salī</i> (vi b)	NA	<i>salī</i> (vi b) / * <i>salye</i> (iv a)
A	<i>salī</i> (vi b)		
G-D	<i>sal(i)ye*</i> (vi c)	G-D	
L	<i>salya</i> , <i>salye</i> (vi c)	L	

There is no evidence of gender in the O.Kh. occurrences of the word.
paṃjsū sate salī occurs with a predicative adj. *uspurre* in Z 24. 462, but
 -e is used both for NAPm (§ 35 (ix)) and NAPf (§ 46 (v)). It was pre-
 sumably therefore because the cognate Av. *sarəd-* and O.Ind. *sarad-*
 are fem. that the word was listed by Leumann ('E', p. 512 s.v.) as
 'salī f.' and by S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 179 s.v., as 'salī f.' In
 Konow's *Primer*, p. 126 s.v., it is listed as 'salī-, salīā-'. The *i*-decl. can
 at once be excluded, as it has no ending in -ī (see §§ 49, 50). The
iā-decl. also has no ending in -ī (see §§ 137, 145), but the L.Kh. spellings
 implying a NAP **salye* replacing older *salī* indicate an *iā*-decl. (cf. the
 L.Kh. *haḍāa-* replacing older *haḍāa-* § 113 (vii), p. 308). The applica-
 tion of the rules of contraction (§ 62) shows that the sg. forms can be
 interpreted only on the assumption of a stem *salīā-* f. We thus have in
 the singular *salīā-* f., in the pl. *salīa-* m.

In O.Kh., *śsau* 'one' is used both for NSm and NSf. It is found also
 as ASm. It was therefore no doubt ASf also, although this has not yet
 been found. In L.Kh., *śā* occurs as NSf and ASf. It is often contrasted
 with *śau* e.g. *śau haḍā śā ṣṣava* Or 9268. 1a6 *KT* 2. 13. With *salīā-*, we
 find in the same L.Kh. text *śau salā* AS (*Si* 7r1 *KT* 1. 10) and *śā salī*
 AS (*Si* 104v2 *KT* 1. 40; 140v4 *KT* 1. 80). *śā* is, however, usual in
 L.Kh. with *salīā-*. *śau* as ASf in L.Kh. is probably to be regarded as
 an archaism.

In compounds and derivatives, *sal-* is associated with a number of
 suffixes, confirming that only *sal-* (< O.Ir. **sard-*) was inherited. With
 this can be compared the similar situation with the Iranian descendants
 of IE **bhāgh-* (Benv., Oss., p. 64).

Suffixes found with *sal-*:

- (i) *-a*
pasāla- 'spring' < **pati-sarda-* according to H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xii,

2, 1948, 329 (cf. Dresden, p. 479 s.v. *paśa* '-). More strictly, it must represent a *vrddhi* **sārda*- (cf. O.Ind. *śārada*-), as *sal*-, not *sāl*-, is < **sard*-. Only NS *pasālā* (Z 20. 2; 24. 201) and LS *pasālā* (Z 17. 5; N 76. 1; *Si* 3v1 *KT* 1. 6; 4r1 *KT* 1. 6) have been found. It has a derivative in -*ia*: *pasālya Si* 3v4 *KT* 1. 6 (cf. O.Ind. *śārādika*-), and one in -*āṃjsia Si* 3v4 *KT* 1. 6. *pasālī* occurs in P 2927. 50 *KT* 3. 104.

(ii) -*iā*

salya-bāyaa- 'president of the year' (Hed. 72a2 *KT* 4. 50; see H. W. B., *KT* 4. 171) implies -*iā* rather than -*īa*, as in the case of -*īa* we should expect **salī-bāyaa*- (vi b), see (iii).

(iii) -*iā*

salīā- f. sg.; *salīa*- m. pl. 'year'.

salī-hadāa- 'day of the year': *salī-hadā* *Suv. K.* 33v4-5 *KT* 5. 111 tr. *saṃvatsarāṇi*.

(iv) -*ua*

**salua*- 'year-old': *paṃjsa-satā-saluvo* *ASf Z* 22. 123 '500-year-old'; *ysāra-salū* P 2893. 19 *KT* 3. 83 '1000-year-old'; *śā-salū* (? as adv., AS) *Si* 132r3 *KT* 1. 66 (tr. *lo gcig chun-chad lon-pa ni*).

-*ua* is also implied in *śā-salvāṃjsa* MT a iv. 00170. 2 *KT* 5. 215 'one-year-old'; *dvāsā-salāṃjsū* (-*l* < -*lv*-) 'twelve-year-old' NSm *JP* 76r3 *KT* 1. 161.

168. In view of the special interest of the word *salīā*-, it will be convenient to list in this paragraph all the forms of the word.

(i) *sala*

AP L.Kh. only, spelling variant of *salā* (iii): P 2783. 241 (80) *KT* 3. 76; P 4099. 114 *KBt* 118; Or 8212. 162. 22 *KT* 2. 2.

(ii) *salā*

Ch 00266. 75 *KBt* 23 = *sal*<*ā*> P 2025. 126 *KBt* 15. The passage is not quite clear to me. *salā* may be < **salyā* G-DP or I-AP.

(iii) *salā*

AS L.Kh. only: *salā Si* 7r1 *KT* 1. 10.

AP L.Kh. only: H 147 MBD 24b 14 *KT* 5. 62; P 2783. 235 (74) *KT* 3. 75; *Si* 7r1, 2 *KT* 1. 10; 127v5 *KT* 1. 58.

Both are L.Kh. shortenings of O.Kh. *salī*.

(iv) *salī*

NS L.Kh. only: Hoernle 1. 1 *KT* 2. 64; Hoernle 7. 1 *KT* 2. 66; MT c. 0018. 1 *KT* 2. 72; Or 6392. 1 *KT* 5. 1; Or 6395. 1 *KT* 5. 3 (*salī*); Or 6396. 1. 1 *KT* 5. 4; Or 6398. 2. 1 *KT* 5. 6; P 2957. 137 *KBt*

38 = Ch 00266. 200 *KBt* 29; Or 9268. 2a1 *KT* 2. 14; P 2958. 165 *KT* 2. 119; P 5538a 53 *KT* 2. 128; *Si* 140r5 *KT* 1. 78; *StH* 32 *KT* 2. 74.

AS L.Kh. only: MT b ii 0065. 5 *KT* 2. 72; Or 11252. 1r2 *KT* 3. 13; Or 11252. 2. 1-2 *KT* 2. 15; P 2788. 5 *KT* 2. 109; *Si* 104v2 *KT* 1. 40; 140v4 *KT* 1. 80.

NAP O.Kh.: Z 2. 106, 239; 5. 114; 13. 61; 14. 30; 22. 123; 23. 108; 24. 45, 275, 276, 462, 474. L.Kh.: *ApS* 2b3, 3b4 *KT* 5. 244; 8a1 *KT* 5. 245; *JS* 18v3 (79); Kha vi. 12. 2b4 *KT* 5. 180 (fragm.); P 4649. 12 *KT* 2. 125; P 2745. 6 *KT* 2. 93; *ibid.* 8; P 2786. 234 *KT* 2. 100; P 2787. 158 *KT* 2. 107; P 2957. 132 *KBt* 38 = P 2025. 257 *KBt* 20 = Ch 00266. 194 *KBt* 29; P 2958. 21 *KBt* 40; P 2958. 156 *KT* 2. 118; P 5538b 13 *KT* 3. 121.

LS? P 2897. 36, 37 *KT* 2. 116.

(v) *salya*

LS L.Kh. only: Ch 00271. 7 *KT* 2. 49 (<*sa*>*lya*); Ch 0048. 1 *KT* 2. 40; Ch 00269. 01 c, e, g *KT* 2. 42; Ch 1. 0021b. a². 39 *KBt* 151; Ch c. 002. a92 *KT* 5. 385; Ch cvi 001. a1 *KT* 2. 59; H 147 MBD 24b 12 *KT* 5. 62; Hed. 4. 2 *KT* 4. 23; Hoernle 3. 1 *KT* 2. 65 = Or 6395. 2. 1 *KT* 5. 4; Kha ix. 53a *KT* 5. 186; Or 6400. 2. 2. 1 *KT* 5. 10; Or 9268. 2a2 *KT* 2. 14; Or 11252. 1. 23 *KT* 3. 14; 32 *KT* 3. 14 (<*sa*>*lya*); 16, 20, 25, 29 *KT* 3. 14; 35, 43, 47, 51, 54 *KT* 3. 15; P 2028. 89 *KT* 2. 82; P 2834. 25 *KBt* 46; P 2958. 167 *KT* 2. 119; P 5538a 80 *KT* 2. 129; S 2469. 1 *KT* 2. 130; *StH* 1 *KT* 2. 72.

(vi) *saliye*

G-DS One example only, O.Kh.: N 125. 40 = H 144 NSB 19r3 *KT* 5. 92.

(vii) *salyā*

AP L.Kh. spelling for NAP **salye*. P 2834. 51 (sic) *KBt* 46.

(viii) *salyī*

LS ? = *salī* LS ? One example only, L.Kh.: *Vajr.* 1a1 *KT* 3. 19.

(ix) *salye*

G-DS O.Kh.: Z 22. 125. L.Kh.: Hed. 29. 2 *KT* 4. 39; Hoernle 4. 1 *KT* 2. 65 = Or 6397. 2. 1 *KT* 5. 5; Kha 0013c 1. 9r5 *KT* 5. 122; Or 6396. 1. 9 *KT* 5. 4; Or 9268. 1a9 *KT* 2. 13; P 2781. 97 (29) *KT* 3. 69.

LS L.Kh. only: Ch 00272. 18 *KT* 2. 50 (*māstaiṇa salye*); H 143 MBD 13a1 *KT* 5. 33; Kha 1. 138b 1a4 *KT* 5. 189; MT c. 0018. 2-3 *KT* 2. 72 (? *salya*).

(x) *sili*

AP L.Kh. only: P 5538a 35 *KT* 2. 127. = *salī* (iv).

(xi) *sālya*LS = *salya* (v). One example only, L.Kh.: Ch 1. 0021b. a² 44 KBT 151.(xii) *sālyā*AP L.Kh. spelling for NAP **salye*. P 2834. 52 (sic) KBT 47.Note: *salā* and *salī* listed as 'year' in *MS Rems*, p. 402 do not belong here. *salā* in B₄ (= Hoernle 143a 4 KT 2. 68) is L.Kh. < *salāva* 'words'; *salī* in B₅ (= Hoernle 143a 5 KT 2. 68) is probably part of a personal name *misali*.169. 13. *ua*-declension of nouns

SINGULAR			PLURAL	
N	-ū	(iii b)	NA	-(u) <i>va</i> , - <i>uve</i> (iv b)
A	-ū	(i c)		
G-D	-ū	(iii c)	G-D	-(u) <i>vānu</i> (iv b)
I-A	-ūna	(iii b)	I-A	- <i>vyau</i> (vi c)
L	*- <i>uvya</i>	(vi c)	L	*- <i>vo</i> ¹ (vi c)

kṣua- 'hunger' is included in this decl., although the attested forms could be treated as **kṣūa*-. Leumann listed the word as *kṣāa*-, but compared Skt *kṣodha*-, which, however, as S. Konow pointed out (*NTS*, xi, 1939, 45), does not exist. S. Konow gave 'kṣū f.' in *Saka Studies*, p. 153 s.v. and compared Skt *kṣudh*-. I know of no indication that the Kh. word is fem. On the contrary, -*na* I-AS in O.Kh. is always a sign of the masc.; and the comparison extends only to the stem.

In Av., *ṣuḍō* in V. 7. 70 is parallel with *tarśnō*: *yasča ṣuḍō yasča tarśnō*. This is clearly a thematic NSm (not NP as *AIW*, 1710) as Barth., *GIP*, § 213, p. 118. It has been influenced by *tarśnō*, as words for 'hunger' and 'thirst' tend to be assimilated; cf. Paštō *təṣai*, *wəṣai* *EVP* 85. Av. *ṣuḍa*- m. beside *tarśna*- m. corresponds with Kh. *kṣua*- m. beside *ttarra*- m., both in contrast to O.Ind. *kṣudhā*- f. beside *ṛṣṇā*- f.

Also included in the *ua*-declension are the following: *aysmua*- 'mind'; *āvua*- 'village'; *bāysua*- 'arm'; *ysānua*- 'knee'; *hārua*- 'merchant'.

170. NS

(i) -*u* L.Kh. only: *aysmu* ṢS 12v3 (51).(ii) -*ū* O.Kh.: *aysmū* Z 4. 43+; *āvū* Or 9609. 24r1 KT 1. 234; *kṣū* Z 22. 127; *bāysū* Z 13. 76. L.Kh.: *aysmū* P 2790. 99 KT 2. 113; *au* Ch 1. 0021a, b22 KT 2. 56 < O.Kh. *āvū*.¹ *vo* < *-*vvo*.

171. AS

(i) -*u* L.Kh. only: *aysmu* ṢS 10v1 (41); 11v4 (47); *bāysu* Ch c. 001. 1042 KBT 142; *ysānu* Ch c. 001. 860 KBT 135.(ii) -*ū* O.Kh.: *aysmū* Z 5. 30+; *ysānū* Z 22. 149; *SS* 13v2 KT 5. 329; *Kha* 1. 187 a6 a1 KT 5. 158; *Suv.* K. 29v7 KT 5. 107.

172. G-DS

(i) -*u* = NS, AS -*u*; cf. § 117. Perhaps influenced by the otherwise parallel *ia*-decl., which has NAG-DS -*i* § 126. L.Kh. only: *aysmu* ṢS 8v4 (33).(ii) -*ui* O.Kh. only: *aysmui* Z 4. 42; *āvui* Z 6. 24.(iii) -*uvā* O.Kh. only: *aysmuuvā* H 142 NSB 4 v2 KT 5. 78.(iv) -*uvi* O.Kh. only: *hāruvi* Z 13. 31.(v) -*ū* = NS, AS -*ū*; v. (i). L.Kh. only: *aysmū* P 3513. 21v1 KBT 56; P 3513. 78r2 KBT 63; *hārū* *ApS* 1b2 KT 5. 243; *Vajr.* 4a1 KT 3. 20.(vi) -*vī* O.Kh.: *aysmvī* Z 19. 31.

173. I-AS

(i) -*una* L.Kh. only: *aysmuna* P 3513. 44v1 (Asm. 5); *kṣuna* ṢS 6r4 (22); *kṣu* . . . -*na* ṢS 17v1 (74).(ii) -*une* L.Kh. only: *kṣune* ṢS 32r1 (139).(iii) -*ū jsa* L.Kh. only: *aysmū jsa* *ApS* 7b1 KT 5. 245; *aysamū jsa* S 2471. 138 KBT 95.(iv) -*ūna* O.Kh.: *aysmūna* Z 2. 116+; *kṣūna* Z 22. 274; 24. 467. L.Kh.: *aysmūna* S 2471. 133 KBT 95.

174. LS

(i) -*uto* O.Kh. only: *āvuto* *Suv.* K. 30r1 KT 5. 107; Or 9609. 24r1 KT 1. 234; 54v6 KT 1. 239; 55v2 KT 1. 239. = -*uvo* (iii); cf. LP *a*-decl. -*uto*/-*uvo* § 16 (viii), (ix).(ii) -*uto*' = -*uvo* (iv); v. (i). O.Kh. only: *āvuto*' Z 13. 82; 22. 115 (not LP, as S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 120 s.v., because + *śātāṇa*).(iii) -*uvo* < *-*uko* (iv b), with LS -*o* § 11 (xiii). O.Kh.: *āguvo* *Suv.* K. 31v1 KT 5. 109; *āvuvo* Z 13. 90.(iv) -*uvo*' O.Kh. only: *āguvo*' Or 9609. 55v3 KT 1. 239 (tr. *grāme*; + *ttiṇa*); *āvuvo*' Z 6. 24. Confusion of -*uvo* (iii) with LP -*uvo*' § 16 (x). Cf. § 11 (xv). Cf. LS *gguvo*' § 213 (i), p. 333.

(v) *-*uvya* L.Kh. *auvya* Or 9268. 1 c 3 *KT* 2. 14 < **āuvya* attests indirectly the expected O.Kh. ending.

(vi) -*ū* Doubtful so far. If *ggālū gga* < *lū* > is read in Or 9609. 4v1 *KT* 1. 233 and is interpreted with H. W. B. as LS < *ggālūa*- 'householder' < **garduka*- (cf. ZP *gāl*), then we have one example. < *-*ukī* (iii); with LS -*i* § 11 (vi), (vii).

(vii) -*ya* O.Kh.: *aysmya* Z 2. 9+. L.Kh.: *aysmya* JS 19v4 (84). Simplified < **aysmvyā*.

175. NAP

(i) -*ute* = -*uve* (iii). O.Kh. only: *āvute* Z 22. 115.

(ii) -*uva* O.Kh.: *hāruva* Z 22. 208+. L.Kh.: *auva* P 2957. 24 *KBT* 31 = Ch 00266. 68 *KBT* 23 = P 2025. 118 *KBT* 15 < **āuvva*.

(iii) -*uve* One example only, O.Kh.: *bāysuve* Z 21. 27.

(iv) -*va* O.Kh.: *bāysva* Kha ix. 13a1 40r1 *KT* 5. 184. L.Kh.: *hāruva* Or 11252. 15a2 *KT* 2. 21; P 2801. 35 *KT* 3. 66; P 2957. 63 *KBT* 34.

(v) -*vā* L.Kh. only, due to confusion of NAP -*va* (iv) with LP -*vā* § 178 (iii): *hārvā* Ch 00266. 120 *KBT* 25 = *hārvā* P 2025. 185 *KBT* 17; *hā[rue]rvā* Ch 00266. 113 *KBT* 25 = *hārvā* P 2025. 176 *KBT* 17 (= *hāruva* P 2957. 63 *KBT* 34).

(vi) -*ve* O.Kh.: *ysānve* Iledong 04 b5 *KT* 3. 133. L.Kh.: *bāysve* P 2801. 45 *KT* 3. 67; *bāysve* JS 29r3 (127).

176. G-DP

(i) -*uvānu* One example only, O.Kh.: *hāruvānu* Z 24. 398.

(ii) -*vā* L.Kh. only: *hārvā* Hed. 1. 2 *KT* 4. 21; 12. 7 *KT* 4. 28.

(iii) -*vānu* O.Kh. only: *ysānvānu* Z 23. 162; N 77. 6.

177. I-AP

(i) -*uvyau* O.Kh.: *ysānuvyau* N 90. 29.

(ii) -*vā* L.Kh. only: *bāysvā* P 3513. 82r1 *KBT* 64. Simplified < **bāysvyā*.

(iii) -*vyau* O.Kh. only: *ātamdvyau* 'guest' Z 22. 98; *ysānvvyau* SS 20v3 *KT* 5. 330; *hārvyau* Z 2. 95.

178. LP

(i) -*uo* O.Kh. only: *āvuo* N 75. 29.

(ii) -*uto* = -*uvo*. O.Kh. only: *āvuto* H 143a NSB 4v1 *KT* 5. 84.

(iii) -*vā* L.Kh. only: *bāysvā* P 2783. 223 (62) *KT* 3. 75; *ysānvā* Hed. 17. 4 *KT* 4. 31. L.Kh. *auvvā* Or 11252. 30. 1 *KT* 2. 25+ is probably a secondary formation based on the NAP *auva* § 175 (ii) rather than < **āuvvā*. *auvā* Or 11252. 15a2 *KT* 2. 21; Kha 1. 136. 2 v4 *KT* 5. 152 is probably secondary < *auvvā*.

(iv) -*vā* L.Kh. only: *bāysvā* P 2790. 135 *KT* 3. 63.

179. 14. *uā*-declension of adjectives

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
N	- <i>ū</i>	- <i>uva</i> (iv b)	NA	- <i>uva</i> - <i>uve</i> - <i>uve</i> (iv b)
A	- <i>ū</i>	- <i>uvo</i> (iv b)		
G-D	- <i>vī</i>		G-D	- <i>vānu</i>
I-A	- <i>ūna</i>		I-A	- <i>vyau</i>
L			L	

Among the *uā*-declension adjectives the commonest are: *kṣīrua*- 'of the land'; *tcarsua*- 'brilliant' (v. p. 232); *hajua*- 'wise'.

180. NSm

(i) -*ū* O.Kh.: *tcarsū* Z 22. 145 + *aśī* 'his horse'; *ysāravālsū* 'having a thousand spokes' Z 22. 143 + *caḥṛ* 'wheel'; *hajū* Z 2. 133 + *huve* 'man'. L.Kh.: *hajū* P 3513. 30r2 *KBT* 58.

181. ASm

(i) -*u* L.Kh. only: *tcarsu* JS 14r2 (58) (probably); *tcarsu* P 3513. 60v2 *KT* 1. 242 (= *tcarsū* N 57. 31) + *kūsā* 'drum'.

(ii) -*ū* O.Kh.: *kṣīrū* Z 24. 390 + *dātu* 'the law'. L.Kh.: *kṣīrū* Hoernle 1. 3 *KT* 2. 64 + *hirā* 'thing'.

182. G-DSm

(i) -*vī* O.Kh.: *hajvī* Z 2. 133 + *hvaṇḍi* 'man'; *hajvī* Z 2. 199 + *uysnorā* 'being'.

183. I-ASm

(i) -*ūṃ* L.Kh. < -*ūna* (ii). *saṃtsārūṃ bārmaṇṇa* 'prison of *saṃsāra*' Kha 0013d 2 b1 *KT* 5. 126.

(ii) -*ūna* O.Kh.: *kṣīrūna* Z 24. 391 + *dātāna* 'the law'.

(iii) *-va* L.Kh. only: *hajva hvaḍāna Vajr.* 3a3 KT 3. 20 (tr. *prājñena puruṣeṇa*). *hajva* may be simplified < **hajvya*, L.Kh. for **hajvye* I-ASf; cf. § 150 (ii).

184. *NAPm*

(i) *-uva* O.Kh. only: *kāṭhamjsuva* 'goods-stealing' Z 22. 136 + *ttā'te* 'thief'; *tcarṣuva* Z 22. 124 + *hva'ndā* 'man'; *hajuva* Z 22. 321 + *ggāthā* 'householder'.

(ii) *-uve* One example only, O.Kh.: *tcarṣuve* Z 21. 22 + *tcei'mañi* 'eye'.

(iii) *-va* O.Kh.: *hajva* Z 24. 190 + *hva'ndi* 'man'. L.Kh.: *tcarṣva* P 2783. 168 (7) KT 3. 72 + *aśa* 'horse'; *dribāḍva* 'of the three times' P 3513. 44r2 (Asm. 4) + *saravva* 'lion'; *drabāḍva* 'of the three times' P 3513. 77r2 KBT 62 + *baudhasatva* 'bodhisattva'.

185. *G-DPm*

(i) *-uvānu* O.Kh. only: *kṣīruvānu* *Suv.* K. 66v4-5 KT 5. 117 + *uysnaurānu* 'being'; *hālysdamjsuvānu* 'of the present' *Suv.* K. 34v2 5. 112 + *balysānu* 'Buddha'; *hajuuvānu* *SS* 20v4-5 KT 5. 330.

(ii) *-vā* L.Kh. only: *drabāḍvā* 'of the three times' P 3513. 84r4 KBT 66 + *ba'ysā* 'Buddha'.

(iii) *-vām* L.Kh. only: *kṣīrvām* Or 11344. 15b1 KT 2. 21 + *kūrām* 'act'; *drā-bāḍvām* 'of the three times' P 3513. 50v4-51r1 (Asm. 36) + *ba'ysāna* 'Buddha'; *drri-bāḍvām* 'of the three times' *Avdh* 21r4 KT 3. 11 + *balysāni* 'Buddha'.

186. *I-APm*

(i) *-vyau* O.Kh.: *ysāravā'svyau* 'having a thousand spokes' H 142 NS 29 etc. 611v1 KT 5. 91 + *cakrryau* 'wheel'.

187. *NSf*

(i) *-uva* One example only, O.Kh.: *tcarṣuva* Z 22. 155 + *strī* 'woman'.

188. *ASf*

(i) *-uvo* One example only, O.Kh.: *pañjsa-satā-saluvo* '500-year-old' Z 22. 123.

(ii) *-ū* = ASm § 181 (ii); L.Kh. lack of concord. One example only: *dri-bāḍū* 'of the three times' P 3513. 53r2 (Asm. 46) + *carya* 'course'.

189. *NAPf*

(i) *-uve* One example only, O.Kh.: *tcarṣuve* Z 22. 210 + *strīye* 'woman'.

190. 15. *ūa*-declension of nouns

A. MONOSYLLABIC

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
N	*-ū (iii b)	NA -ūva (iv b)
L	-ū (iii b)	L

B. POLYSYLLABIC

A	-ū (vi b)	NA
G-D	-vī (iii c)	G-D
I-A	-ūna (vi b)	I-A

Two words certainly belong to this decl.: *prūa* 'military post' < **pati-raupa*- (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xiii. 4, 1951, 920-6; *KT* 4. 73; *Liebenthal Vol.*, pp. 1-2), and *busūa* 'fuel' < **vi-sauka*- (H. W. B.).

rhamūa- 'washerman' probably belongs here, though the forms attested could also be from *rhamūa*-. If, however, *rha-* is 'clothing' < **raxa*- or **raxṭa*- as has been suggested (H. W. B., *KT* 4. 150), then the final element is probably < **mauka*- and means 'beater' or 'washer'. This is perhaps IE **meuk*-, cf. Pok. 741, who quotes i.a. OCS *myje*, *myti* 'waschen' s.v. **meu*- (H. W. B.).

kṣua- does not belong here; see § 169, p. 322.

191. *A. Monosyllabic*

(a) NS *-ū Implied by L.Kh. G-DS (cf. § 172 (v)): *prū* Hed. 3v5 *KT* 4. 23.

(b) LS -ū L.Kh. only: *prū* Or 11252. 5a10, 11 *KT* 2. 17; Or 11344. 8a3 *KT* 2. 35.

(c) NAP -ūva One example only, O.Kh.: *prūva* Hoernle 142 NS 49v5 *KT* 5. 26.

192. *B. Polysyllabic*

(a) AS -ū O.Kh.: *busū* Z 19. 18.

(b) G-DS -vī One example only, O.Kh.: *busvī* H 143 NS 72. 56v4 *KT* 5. 41.

(c) I-AS

(i) *-u (jsa)* < -ū *jsa*, cf. § 173 (iii). L.Kh. only: *bisu jsa* *Si* 9r1 *KT* 1. 14 (tr. *śin-gi*); *besu jsa* *Si* 152r1 *KT* 1. 98.

(ii) *-una* L.Kh. only: *bisūna* Ch 00268. 194 *KBT* 68 (= *būsūna* Ch 00277. 11v1 (38) *KBT* 71).

(iii) *-ūna* O.Kh.: *rhamūna* Z 5. 86 (+ *pajsinde*, pass.). L.Kh.: *būsūna* Ch 00277. 11v1 (38) *KBT* 71.

(iv) -*āne* One example only, O.Kh.: *rrahamūne* Z 19. 58 (+ *pajśinde*, pass.). Cf. -*une* § 173 (ii).

193. 16. au-declension

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
N	-au (v a)	NA	-au (v a)
A	-au (v a)		
G-D	-uai (v b)	G-D	*-aumu (v a)
I-A	-auna (v a)	I-A	-vyau (v c)
L	-auya (v c)	L	

Among words included in the *au*-declension are the following: *cārau*- 'lamp'; *gyau*- 'fight'; *darrau*- 'courage'; *drau*- 'hair'; *parau*- 'order'; *sarau*- 'lion'; *hamau*- 'goblet'; *hau*- 'speech'. For L.Kh. *kṣau*- 'voucher, receipt', see H. W. B., *KT* 4. 55.

194. NS

(i) -*ā* = -*au* (iii); cf. § 14 (xiii). L.Kh. only: *sarā* Ch 1. 002rb. b3 *KBT* 152; Ch ii. 004. 4r2 *KBT* 146.

(ii) -*o* O.Kh.: *āho* 'depression' Z 22. 114; *cāro* FM 25. 1 a1 *KT* 3. 124; *cīro* Z 6. 15; *tsāṣṭo* 'calm' Z 12. 134; 23. 150; *nādo* 'fire' Z 24. 500; *ho* Z 12. 25. L.Kh.: *sero* JS 34v4 (152).

(iii) -*au* O.Kh.: *gyau* *Suv.* K. 32r2 *KT* 5. 110; *parau* Z 22. 103+; *sarau* Z 2. 90+; *hamau* Z 4. 33; *hamphau* 'union' Z 11. 14. L.Kh.: *kṣau* Hed. 1. 7 *KT* 4. 21; *sarrau* JS 25r1 (108); P 2025. 83 *KBT* 14.

195. AS

(i) -*o* O.Kh.: *cīro* Z 11. 36; *nācho* 'refuge' Z 22. 110; *paro* Z 24. 512; *ho* Z 23. 7.

(ii) -*au* O.Kh.: *parau* H 142 NS 47. 23r5 *KT* 5. 87; *vāyau* 'deceit' Z 19. 20 (? see § 20, p. 241). L.Kh.: *carau* P 4099. 157 *KBT* 120.

196. G-DS

(i) -*uai* O.Kh. only: *cāruai* Z 14. 10; *druai* Z 2. 115; *saruai* Z 5. 38+.

(ii) -*au* Generalization of NS, AS; cf. § 172 (v). L.Kh. only: *carau* *Vajr.* 42a3 *KT* 3. 29; *cīrau* *Avdh* 14r4 *KT* 3. 7; *parau* Hed. 20. 11 *KT* 4. 34.

(iii) -*vai* O.Kh. only: *sarvai* Z 2. 65, 178; 24. 221.

197. I-AS

(i) -*a* (*jsa*) < -*ā* (*jsa*) (ii). L.Kh.: *tsāṣṭa jsa* 'calm' Or 8212. 162. 29-30 *KT* 2. 2.

(ii) -*ā* (*jsa*) L.Kh. only: *darā jsa* Ch 1. 0021a. a12 *KT* 2. 53.

(iii) -*au* (*jsa*) L.Kh. only: *jyau jsa* P 4099. 58 *KBT* 115; *darau jsā* P 2786. 2 *KT* 2. 93.

(iv) -*ona* O.Kh.: *darrona* Z 13. 21; 24. 493 (-*n-* due to -*rr-* by Sanskritization). L.Kh.: *darrona JS* 12r2 (48).

(v) -*auna* O.Kh.: *darrauna* Z 2. 56 (+ -*i*); H 142 NS 47. 23v5 *KT* 5. 87; *parauna* Z 2. 102 (-*n-* due to -*r-* by Sanskritization). L.Kh.: *carauna* P 4099. 151 *KBT* 120; *cirauna* *Avdh* 8v2 *KT* 3. 3.

198. LS

(i) -*oya* = (ii). One example only: *paroya* Khot. (IO) 159. 1r3 (SS) (H. W. B.).

(ii) -*auya* O.Kh.: *parauya* E 1. 7. 19v5 *KT* 5. 389. L.Kh.: *parauya* P 2787. 162 *KT* 2. 107; P 3513. 83r2 *KBT* 65.

(iii) -*auyi* L.Kh. spelling for (ii): *parauyi* P 2958. 94 *KBT* 42.

199. NAP

(i) -*āva* = -*auva* (v). L.Kh. only: *cīrāva* P 3510. 3. 9 *KBT* 49.

(ii) -*o* O.Kh.: *hāro* 'vegetation' Z 22. 116.

(iii) -*au* O.Kh.: *tcīrau* 'ruddy-geese' Z 22. 135; *darrau* Z 3. 26+; *myau* 'storm-cloud' Z 24. 415, 501 (?); *hamau* Z 2. 48; 3. 84; *hārau* 'vegetation' Kha 1. 119. 71v6 *KT* 5. 146. L.Kh.: *darrau* Kha vi. 14b 1 a14 *KT* 5. 180; P 4099. 128 *KBT* 119.

(iv) -*auta* NAP -*ta* (§ 12 (viii)) added to NAG-DS -*au*. L.Kh. only: *kṣauta* Hed. 3. 2 *KT* 4. 22; *drauta* P 2783. 242 (81) *KT* 3. 76; *parauta* P 2741. 18 *KT* 2. 88.

(v) -*auva* = -*auta* (iv). Cf. also L.Kh. NS *au* (< O.Kh. *āvū*) § 170

(ii) beside NAP *auva* (< O.Kh. **āvuvva*) § 175 (ii). L.Kh. only: *carauva* P 3513. 46r2 (Asm. 14); *parauva* Hed. 3. 2 *KT* 4. 22; *sarauva* P 3513. 44r2 (Asm. 4).

200. G-DP

(i) -*autām* Based on NAP -*auta* § 199 (iv). L.Kh. only: *sarautām* P 2781. 136 (68) *KT* 3. 71.

(ii) -*oṇu* One example only, O.Kh.: *cāroṇu* FM 25. 1 a1 *KT* 3. 124 (-*n-* due to -*r-* by Sanskritization).

(iii) -*auvā* < -*auvām* (iv). L.Kh. only: *kṣauvā* Hed. 13. 5 *KT* 4. 29.

(iv) -*auvām* = (i). L.Kh. only: *kṣauvām* Hed. 1. 3 *KT* 4. 21.

201. I-AP

(i) -au(jsa) O.Kh.: hau jsa Or 9609. 36r5 KT 1. 236 (tr. *vacanaḥ*) < *hvyau jsa (iv). L.Kh.: jau Ch c. 001. 879 KBT 136 (read *jau lāstanyau*; not as a compound) < *jvyau (iv).

(ii) -auvām(jsa) Based on NAP -auva § 199 (v) with L.Kh. I-AP -ām(jsa) § 15 (ii). L.Kh. only: parauvām jsa P 2958. 185 KT 2. 120.

(iii) -auvyau Based on L.Kh. NAP -auva § 199 (v). L.Kh. only: carauvyau P 3513. 45r4 (Asm. 10).

(iv) -vyau(jsa) One example only, O.Kh.: hamvyau Z 3. 59.

202. 17. rraysāḍ-/rraysau- 'empty'

SINGULAR

Masculine Feminine
N -ā (vi b) -ā (vi b)
A -au (ii b)

G-D -vai (v b)
L -auya (v c)

PLURAL

Masculine Feminine
NA -ā (vi b)

G-D
L

The NA follow the āḍ-decl. (§ 120, p. 310), the G-D and L the au-decl. (§ 193, p. 328).

203. All forms known to me are listed in this paragraph.

(a) NSm -ā O.Kh.: rraysā Z 8. 13.

(b) G-DSm -vai O.Kh.: rraysvai Z 6. 24 + āvui 'village'.

(c) LSm -auya O.Kh.: rraysauya Or 9609. 24r1 KT 1. 234 + āvuto 'village' (tr. *śūnya-grāme*).

(d) NAPm

(i) -ā O.Kh.: rraysā Z 2. 155; 5. 6; 19. 56; 20. 58; 24. 505. L.Kh.: rriysā P 2957. 24 KBT 31; rraysā Ch 00266. 307 KBT 109 + dharma.

(ii) -āva Cf. § 112 (ii), p. 307. L.Kh. only: raysāva P 2025. 118 KBT 15 = raysāva Ch 00266. 68 KBT 23 (= rriysā P 2957. 24 KBT 31).

(e) NSf -ā Not quite certain. O.Kh.: rraysā Z 7. 16 + ātma.

(f) ASf L.Kh.: raysau P 2801. 63 KT 3. 68 + kamtha.

rrayso in Z 2. 23 may be adverbial 'emptily, i.e. in vain', hence AS. Note also rrayso in FM 24. 1 a5 KT 3. 125.

204. 18. nāta'- 'nectar' and bāta'- 'poison'

These words are declined in exactly the same way as each other. From

an O.Ir. *anausa- (Av. *anaoša-*), one would expect in Kh. *nua'-declined like ggua'- 'ear' < O.Ir. *gauša- (Av. *gaoša-*) (§ 209). nāta'- has evidently been assimilated to bāta'-, < O.Ir. *viša- (Av. *viša-*), its semantic antonym. Similarly, pāta'- 'strength' is to be derived from O.Ir. *paiša- (cf. E. Leumann, *KZ*, 57, 1930, 189) rather than < O.Ir. *pauša- (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 169 s.v. *pāša-*, cf. O.Ind. *poša-*?). This I would now connect with Av. *pištra-* 'blow', taking both from *paiš- 'strike' or 'use force' (cf. also *pai- in Oss. *fyd* 'millstone' (I. G., *BSOAS*, xvii. 3, 1955, 480, n. 1) and B. Sogd. *pyz-* 'frapper' *Vj*). As, however, no contracted forms of pāta'- are found but only uncontracted thematic forms and nt. *n*-decl. forms, it has been listed under the *n*-decl. (nt.).

Dissimilation of *-ātā to *-etā (cf. the dissimilation of -ātā to -āte), which then contracted to -ei- (iii d), must have taken place before vowel contraction, as otherwise *-ī would be expected (i b).

Here no doubt belongs chā'ta- 'sprout', of uncertain origin. The forms found, all O.Kh., are: NS *chei* Z 13. 153; AS *chei* Z 14. 79, chā'tu (uncontracted) Z 3. 12; NAP *chā'te* Z 7. 20.

SINGULAR ONLY

N		bei'
A	nei' nātu'	bei' bātu'
G-D		be'
I-A	nei'na	bei'na

205. NS

(i) -e' L.Kh.: be' Si 133v2 KT 1. 68.

(ii) -ei' O.Kh.: bei' Z 3. 76; 11. 16; 19. 48.

206. AS

(i) -ātu' Uncontracted. O.Kh.: nātu' Z 3. 59; bātu' N 168. 34.

(ii) -ā'tu Uncontracted. O.Kh.: nā'tu Z 3. 114; bā'tu Z 7. 47.

(iii) -e = -e' (v). L.Kh.: be Si 14r5 KT 1. 22.

(iv) -ai = (iii). L.Kh.: nai P 4099. 414 KBT 134 (= nei' Z 5. 89).

(v) -e' < -ei' (vi). L.Kh.: ne' JS 26r4 (115); be' Si 13v2 KT 1. 20.

(vi) -ei' = NS -ei' § 205 (ii). O.Kh.: nei' Z 2. 59; 5. 89; 24. 237; bei' Z 2. 26; 5. 11.

207. G-DS

(i) -e = (ii). L.Kh.: be Si 16r3 KT 1. 24; JP 46r3 KT 1. 137.

(ii) -e' < -ei', cf. § 206 (v). O.Kh.: be' H 142 NS 47. 23r2 KT 5. 87. L.Kh.: be' Si 2r4 KT 1. 4.

208. I-AS

(i) -a'(na) = (iii). L.Kh.: na' P 3510. 4. 4 KBT 49.

(ii) -ā' < tāna > ? Uncontracted. Possible conjecture of E. Leumann in N 168. 33: bā' < tāna >.

(iii) -e'(na) L.Kh.: ne' JS 4r3 (12); ne'na JS 8v3 (32); be'na JS 8v2 (32); 8v4 (33); Ch c. 001. 870 KBT 136.

(iv) -ei'na Sometimes spelled -ei'na with -n- due to *š by Sanskritization. O.Kh.: nei'na Z 3. 50; nei'na Z 3. 85, 102; bei'na Z 11. 55; 13. 104.

(v) -e'ne = (iii). L.Kh.: ne'ne JS 37r2 (161).

209. 19. ggua'- 'ear' and bua'- 'incense'

These words are declined in exactly the same way as each other. bua'- was derived from O.Ir. *bauda- (cf. Av. buōda-) by Leumann, 'E', p. 478 s.v. bū'. If correct, this etymology would require a stem būa-. But in all except one of the occurrences of bua'- known to me, the subscript hook is used. The verb būd- 'to be fragrant' < O.Ir. *baud- never has the subscript hook; nor does the frequent bud- 'to know'. Moreover, *bauda- appears in Kh. bū (without hook) meaning 'consciousness': bū raustai 'he lost consciousness' P 2928. 31 KT 3. 106. bua'- shows -n- in the I-AS in O.Kh., which points to an O.Ir. *bauša-, exactly parallel with ggua'- < O.Ir. *gauša- (Av. gaoša-). *bauša- at once recalls Man. Sogd. pčβwš-. The Sogd. has been compared with Kh. bušs- (W. B. Henning, BBB, p. 79 ad. 659) < O.Ir. *bud-s-y-, but it could equally be derived < O.Ir. *bauš-. *bauš- and *baud- I would regard as extensions of an I.I. root *bhay- 'to smell' surviving in O.Ind. bhāvayati 'to perfume, cause to smell' < bhū-, bhav- 'smell'.

The stem forms have been given as ggua'-, bua'- because they follow the ua-decl. (§ 169). -ī- and -ū- are frequently shortened before *š.

SINGULAR

NA -ū'

I-A -ū'na

L -uvo' -va'

PLURAL

NA -uva'

I-A -uvyo'

L

210. NS

(i) -u' < -ū' (iv). L.Kh.: bu' Si 10v2 KT 1. 16++.

(ii) -uva' Uncontracted. O.Kh.: gguvā' Z 8. 35.

(iii) -ū L.Kh.: gū P 3513. 19r4 KBT 56.

(iv) -ū' O.Kh.: bū' Or 9609. 53r6 KT 1. 237. L.Kh.: gū' Kha vi. 4. 1 b2 KT 3. 130; bū' P 2893 77 KT 3. 85; bū' P 2893. 191 KT 3. 90.

211. AS

(i) -ū' L.Kh.: bū' Avdh 21v4 KT 3. 12.

212. I-AS

(i) -ūna L.Kh.: būna Avdh 8v2 KT 3. 3.

(ii) -ū'na O.Kh.: bū'na Z 2. 242; 5. 87; 12. 19; 22. 231; 23. 140; bū'na Kha 1. 217. 1 b2 KT 5. 165; ggū'na Z 2. 22. -n- due to *š by Sanskritization.

(iii) -ū'na ggū'na Avdh 14v3 KT 3. 7.

213. LS

(i) -uvo' O.Kh. only: gguvo' Z 8. 35; 24. 213; Kha 1. 205. 35v6 KT 5. 161; Or 9609. 5v1 KT 1. 234 (tr. karṇapute); guvo' Kha 1. 13 135v2 KBT 1.

(ii) -va' O.Kh.: gva' SS 32r2 KT 5. 334.

(iii) -vaña L.Kh.: gvaña S 2471. 199 KBT 97; Si 153r3 KT 1. 100. Formed secondarily to (ii).

(iv) -va'ña L.Kh.: gva'ña Si 153r5 KT 1. 100.

(v) -vo' L.Kh.: gvo' AdhŚ 99. 7.

214. NAP

(i) -uva' O.Kh.: gguva' Z 5. 1, 6; 21. 23; 22. 146.

(ii) -uvi' O.Kh.: buvi' Z 3. 123.

(iii) -va = (iv). L.Kh.: gva P 2783. 206 (45) KT 3. 74 (uncertain); Ch 00271. 3 KT 2. 49 (not sentence).

(iv) -va' O.Kh.: gva' Z 24. 491. L.Kh.: gva' P 5538a 77 KT 2. 129.

(v) -vañā L.Kh.: bvañā P 3510. 3. 9 KBT 49.

215. I-AP

(i) -uvyo' O.Kh.: gguvyo' Z 8. 35.

(ii) -va'ñām L.Kh.: bva'ñām P 3513. 45r4 (Asm. 10).

216.

II. THE CONSONANTAL CLASS

This class has been almost wholly removed by thematicization (see § 4). Non-thematic forms tend to be found in NAG-DS and NAP.

1. nd-declension

Two very common words are included in this decl.: *rrund(a)*- 'king' and *hva'nd(a)*- 'man'. Only the N(V)AS, P, and G-DS belong to the cons. decl. The thematic stem is found in a compound: *hva'nda-jsanā* 'man-slaying' H 143 NS 72 56v3 KT 5. 41 (O.Kh.).

The etymology of neither word is securely established. For *rrund-*, Leumann, 'E', p. 494 s.v. *rrē*, suggested **rāvant-*, cf. Av. *raēvant-*. This was followed by S. Konow, *Primer*, p. 121 s.v. *rre*: < **raivant-*.

rre, *rrund-* beside *hve'*, *hva'nd-* seems to indicate **rvant-*, **hva'nt-*. Beside these occur the adjectives *rrviya-* 'royal' and *hvi'ya-* 'human'. As *-iya* is a common adjective suffix, we thus have bases *rrv-* and *hv'-*. These are evidently verbal bases, forming, on the one hand, present participles active **rvant-*, **hva'nt-* and on the other, nouns **rava-*, **hva-* giving adjectives *rrviya-*, *hvi'ya-*. So much seems clear.

The verbal bases behind these words are according to H. W. B. **var-* 'order' and **auš-* 'die'. **var-* is the base seen in Kh. *šver-*, Av. *urvata-* and O.Ind. *Varuna-*; < IE **uer-* Pok. 1162. For **vr-* > *r-*, cf. *rrisua-* 'rice' beside O.Ind. *vrīhi-*. **auš-* 'die' as in Av. *anaoša-* 'immortal'.

As *rrund(a)*- and *hva'nd(a)*- are participles in origin, they have the thematic G-DS *-ye* as in *a*-decl. adjectives § 27, p. 280 as well as the G-DS *-i* < **-ah* of consonant stems.

SINGULAR			PLURAL		
N	<i>rre</i>	<i>hve'</i>	NA	<i>rrundā</i>	<i>hva'ndi</i>
V	<i>rre</i>		V	<i>rrundyau</i>	
A	<i>rrundu</i>	<i>hva'ndu</i>			
G-D	<i>rrundi</i>	<i>hva'ndi(ye)</i>	G-D	<i>rrundunu</i>	<i>hva'ndānu</i>
I-A	<i>rrundāna</i>	<i>hva'ndāna</i>	I-A	<i>rrundyau</i>	<i>hva'm'dyau</i>
L			L		<i>hva'm'duvo'</i>

217. NS

(i) *-i* = (ii). L.Kh.: *hvi* Hed. 7. 7 KT 4. 25.

(ii) *-e* < **-ants*; see § 216. O.Kh.: *rre* Z 1. 46++; *hve'* Z 2. 112+; *hve'* Z 2. 121+; *hve* Z 20. 62. L.Kh.: *rre* JS 3v4 (11)++; P 3513. 74r4 KT 1. 249; *hve'* Si 2v5 KT 1. 4; *hve* Si 7v3 KT 1. 12.

(iii) *-ai* = (ii). L.Kh.: *rai* P 2787. 60 KT 2. 103.

218. VS

(i) *-e* = NS *-e* § 217 (ii). O.Kh.: *rre* Z 6. 39; SS 80v6 KT 5. 341.

219. AS

(i) *-ā* = *-u* (iii). O.Kh.: *rrundā* Z 23. 107.

(ii) *-i* = *-u* (iii). L.Kh.: *rrundi* JS 23r3 (100).

(iii) *-u* < O.Ir. **-am*. O.Kh. only: *rrundu* Z 5. 111; Or 9609. 4r3 KT 1. 233; Kha 1. 13. 134r4 KBT 1; *hva'ndu* Z 2. 77; *hva'm'du* Z 4. 54+; *hva'du* Z 24. 442; *hva'm'du* SS 80v2 KT 5. 341.

220. G-DS

(i) *-a* = *-i* (iii). L.Kh. only: *rrundā* JS 16v4 (71); *rūda* P 2787. 50 KT 2. 103; *rāmda* P 2787. 51 KT 2. 103.

(ii) *-ā* = (iii). O.Kh.: *hva'ndā* Z 3. 144; *hva'm'dā* Z 2. 208; SS 77v1 KT 5. 339; *hva'ndā* Z 2. 229; *hva'ndā* SS 21v6 KT 5. 331; *rrundā* Z 22. 213. L.Kh.: *rrundā* JS 2v1 (5).

(iii) *-i* < O.Ir. **-ah*; see § 216. O.Kh.: *rrundi* Suv. K. 32r2 KT 5. 110; *hva'ndi* Z 2. 133+; *hva'ndi* Z 2. 219; 14. 68; *hva'ndi* D III. 1. 8v4 KT 5. 70. L.Kh.: *rrāmdī* Hed. 18. 3 KT 4. 32.

(iv) *-āye* = (v). O.Kh.: *hva'ndāye* Z 5. 32; *hva'ndāye* Z 12. 49.

(v) *-iye* = *-ye* (vii). O.Kh.: *hva'ndiye* D III. 1. 8v2 KT 5. 69.

(vi) *-e* = (ii). One example only, O.Kh.: *hva'nde* SS 83r2 KT 5. 341.

(vii) *-ye* Adj. decl.; see § 216. O.Kh.: *hva'm'dye* Z 23. 17. L.Kh.: *hva'dye* Hed. 41b1 KT 4. 43; *hva'm'dye* Hed. 1. 1 KT 4. 21; Si 100r3 KT 1. 34.

221. I-AS

(i) *-ā jsa* L.Kh. only: *rrundā jsa* Si 145r1-2 KT 1. 86 (tr. *rgyal-pos*).

(ii) *-āna* O.Kh.: *rrundāna* Or 9609. *27r5 KT 1. 235; *hva'ndāna* Z 12. 114; *hva'm'dāna* Z 19. 85; *hva'ndāna* Z 18. 23.

222. NAP

(i) *-a* = *-ā* (ii). L.Kh.: *hva'nda* P 3513. 82v3 KBT 65.

(ii) *-ā* = (iii). O.Kh.: *hva'ndā* Z 15. 8; *hva'ndā* Z 22. 124+; *hva'm'dā* Suv. K. 33v7 KT 5. 111; *hva'tam'dā* Dumaqu 0119. 89v2 KT 5. 263 (intrusive *-ta-*); *rrundā* Z 24. 393. L.Kh.: *hva'ndā* JS 3r4 (8).

(iii) *-i* < O.Ir. **-ah*. O.Kh.: *hva'ndi* Z 13. 24; *hva'ndi* Z 13. 27+; Kha 1. 13. 146v3 KBT 6. L.Kh.: *rrundi* JS 11r3 (44); *hva'm'di* Hed. 13. 1 KT 4. 29.

(iv) *-e* Thematic, < **-āh* § 12 (vii). O.Kh.: *rrunde* Z 5. 98+; Suv. K. 29r4 KT 5. 107; Or 9609. *27r6 KT 1. 235. L.Kh.: *rāde* P 4099. 58 KBT 115.

223. *VP*

(i) *-yau* O.Kh.: *rrundyau* *Suv. K.* 34r1 *KT* 5. 112 tr. *rājāno*; *rrundyau* Or 9609. 36v2 *KT* 1. 236 tr. *rājānah*.

224. *G-DP*

(i) *-ā* L.Kh.: *hvaḍā* Hed. 39a2 *KT* 4. 43.

(ii) *-ām* L.Kh.: *hvaṇḍām* *JP* 85v5 *KT* 1. 169; *hvaṇḍām* Hed. 13. 2 *KT* 4. 29; P 3513. 46r1 (Asm. 13).

(iii) *-āna* L.Kh.: *rāṇḍāna* P 2787. 51 *KT* 2. 103; *hvaṇḍāna* P 3513. 83r1 *KB* 65.

(iv) *-ānā* L.Kh.: *rruṇḍānā* P 3510. 7. 4 *KB* 52.

(v) *-ānu* O.Kh. only: *hvaṇḍānu* Z 23. 116; *hvaṇḍānu* Z 4. 88; *hvaṇḍānu* Kha 1. 108a1. 13r1 *KT* 5. 142; Kha 1. 13. 141v1 *KB* 4; *hvaṇḍānu* SS 80v6 *KT* 5. 341; *hvaṇḍānu* H 142 NS 45v4 *KT* 5. 93.

(vi) *-ānu* O.Kh. only: *rruṇḍānu* Kha 1. 13. 134v1 *KB* 1; *Suv. K.* 31v2 *KT* 5. 109; *rruṇḍānu* Or 9609. *27r5 *KT* 1. 235.

(vii) *-unu* < *-ānu* (vi) by vowel assimilation. O.Kh. only: *rruṇḍunu* Stein E 1. 33a4 *KT* 1. 250; *rruṇḍunu-ṇ* *jsa* Or 9609. 3r6 *KT* 1. 232.

(viii) *-auna* L.Kh. only: *raudauna* P 2739. 43 *KT* 2. 86.

225. *I-AP*

(i) *-yau (jsa)* O.Kh.: *hvaṇḍyau* Z 14. 69; *Suv. K.* 33v4 *KT* 5. 111; *rruṇḍyau* Z 22. 202, 203; *rruṇḍyau* *Suv. K.* 32r2 *KT* 5. 110. L.Kh.: *rruṇḍyau* Ch c. 001. 1051 *KB* 142; *hvaṇḍyau* Ch c. 001. 202 *KB* 76; *hvaṇḍyau jsa* P 3513. 55v2 (Asm. 58).

226. *LP*

(i) *-uvo* O.Kh.: *hvaṇḍuvo* Z 11. 4.

(ii) *-uvo'* O.Kh.: *hvaṇḍuvo'* Z 5. 76; 24. 452; *Suv. K.* 65v6 *KT* 5. 116; *hvaṇḍuvo'* Z 11. 11; *hvaṇḍuvo'* Z 23. 116; Or 9609. 5r4 *KT* 1. 234.

(iii) *-vo* O.Kh.: *hvaṇḍvo* Kha 1. 182a1 a3 *KT* 5. 153.

227. 2. *n-declension (masc.)*

This decl. includes: *naḍe*, *naḍaun(a)*- 'man'; *bye*, *byāvan(a)*- 'witness'; *śve*, *śvān(a)*- 'dog'; **śse*, **śsaun(a)*- a title. For *naḍe* < O.Ir. **nytāvan-*, see H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1953, 103 ff. *bye* < **vi-kāvana-* (I. G.), cf. Parth. *wyg'h*. On the title, see H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x, 3, 1940, 599 ff.; xii, 2, 1948, 327-9 (< **xšāvan-*); *KT* 4. 62.

These words have been thematicized except in N(V)AS, P and G-DS. The NS of masc. *n*-stems ended in *-ā in I.I. (see Brugmann, ii. 2. 1, p. 126). Av. has NS *advā* (< **advāh*) for **advā* (cf. O.Ind. *ddhivā*) due to the influence of *pantā* (< **pantāh*; cf. O.Ind. *panthāh*) (Barth., *GIP*, § 213, p. 118). Kh. has -e NS < *-āh throughout the *n*-decl. (m.) and the *r*-decl. See § 6 (vii).

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
N	<i>naḍe</i> <i>bye</i> <i>śve</i>	NA <i>naḍaune</i> <i>śvānā</i>
V	<i>naḍe</i>	V <i>naḍaunyau</i>
A	* <i>naḍaunu</i>	
G-DS	<i>naḍaunā</i>	G-D <i>śvānānu</i>
I-A	<i>naḍaunāna</i>	I-A

228. *NS*

(i) *-a* = (ii). L.Kh. only: *naḍa* P 2834. 17 *KB* 45; P 2783. 191 (30) *KT* 3. 73; 240 (79) *KT* 3. 76; P 2801. 34, 35 *KT* 3. 66.

(ii) *-e* < O.Ir. *-āh; see § 227. O.Kh.: *naḍe* Z 13. 77; SS 33r2 *KT* 5. 335; *bye* Kha 1. 13. 141r5 *KB* 4 (tr. *dpan*); *śve* H 142 NS 73 v2 *KT* 5. 30. L.Kh.: *bye* Hed. 4. 6 *KT* 4. 23.

(iii) *-au* L.Kh. only: *śsau* Hed. 2. 8 *KT* 4. 22. < **śsaunā*, thematic NS (so already H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xii, 2, 1948, 327).

229. *VS*

(i) *-i* = (ii). L.Kh. only: *naḍi* *JS* 15v3 (66).

(ii) *-e* = NS -e § 228 (ii). O.Kh.: *naḍe* SS 80v2 *KT* 5. 341.

230. *AS*

(i) *-a* = NS -a § 228 (i). L.Kh. only: *naḍa* P 2781. 96 (28) *KT* 3. 69; P 2783. 194 (33) *KT* 3. 74.

(ii) *-au* Probably = NS -au § 228 (iii), but could be directly < *-aunu with -u AS cons. decl. < O.Ir. *-am. L.Kh.: *naḍau* *JS* 13r2 (53); *śsau* Hed. 2. 1 *KT* 4. 21.

231. *G-DS*

(i) *-ā* < *-ānā with -ā G-DS cons. decl. < O.Ir. *-ah. L.Kh. only: *śvā* Or 11252. 1r51 *KT* 3. 15.

(ii) *-ām* < *-ānā; see (i). L.Kh. only: *naḍām* P 2801. 34-35 *KT* 3. 66.

(iii) *-au* < -aunā (iv). L.Kh. only: *naḍau* P 2834. 23 *KB* 45; *śsau* MT c. 0018. 2 *KT* 2. 72.

(iv) *-aunā* -ā G-DS cons. decl. < O.Ir. *-ah. O.Kh.: *naḍaunā* SS 8or5 KT 5. 340.

232. *I-AS*

(i) *-aunāna* O.Kh.: *naḍaunāna* SS 8or6 KT 5. 340.

233. *NAP*

(i) *-āna* = (ii). L.Kh. only: *byāna* Hoernle 1. 9 KT 2. 64.

(ii) *-ānā* -ā NAP cons. decl. < O.Ir. *-ah. O.Kh.: *śuvānā* Z 20. 30; *śvānā* Z 2. 46; 4. 58; 20. 33; 24. 420.

(iii) *-āni* = (ii). L.Kh. only: *byāni* Avdh 17v2 KT 3. 9; *byāni* Avdh 6v5 KT 3. 2. L.Kh. spellings < **byauni*.

(iv) *-ānu* = (ii). O.Kh.: *śvānu* SS 155b2 (Leningrad; unpublished).

(v) *-āvāni* -i NAP cons. decl. < O.Ir. *-ah. Uncontracted stem. L.Kh.: *byāvāni* Avdh 7r2 KT 3. 2.

(vi) *-aune* Probably thematic, with -e < O.Ir. *-āh § 12 (vii). O.Kh.: *naḍaune* Z 5. 2.

234. *VP*

(i) *-aunayau* Thematic. O.Kh.: *naḍaunayau* SS 8ov5 KT 5. 341.

235. *G-DP*

(i) *-ānānu* O.Kh. only: *śvānānu* Z 19. 44; 21. 26, 28, 30.

236. 3. *n*-declension adjectives

Two adjectives follow the *n*-decl. (§ 227): *māḍe*, *māḍdān(a)*- 'gracious' and *mulysgyaṣṣe*, *mulysjaṣṣon(a)*- 'compassionate'. *mulysgyaṣṣe* is evidently a derivative of *mulysdi*- 'compassion' as suggested by Leumann, 'E', p. 485. *mulysdi*- is < O.Ir. **mṛṣḍi*- ('E', p. 485). Hence, *māḍe* cannot be < **mṛṣḍāna*- with Dresden, p. 483 (see I. G., *Bibl. Or.* xv, 1958, 263). It must be derived < **miṣḍāna*- < **miṣḍa*- (on the possessive suffix -ān (here with thematic extension also), see K. Hoffmann, *MSS*, vi, 1955, 35-40), cf. Av. *miṣḍa*-. Thus already Leumann, who compared O.Ind. *mīḍhvas*-.

Only N(V)G-DS and NAP (AS not yet found) have forms derivable from cons. decl. endings. Only one fem. form has been noticed: VSf *māḍāngya* Z 5. 88 (O.Kh.). This shows a special fem. suffix; < **miṣḍāna-čā*- < **miṣḍāna-čī*-.

Note: The forms of *mulysgyaṣṣe* collected by H. W. B. now appear in J. P. Asmussen, *X^aāstvānīft*, pp. 150-2 with a translation of one of the

passages. The forms given there are included in §§ 237-41 except for *mvejdāṣauṇa* P 2027. 56 KT 2. 82, which has the common abstract suffix -*auṇā* (-*n*- does not normally = -*ñ*-). Note also that *Avdh* is L.Kh. (LPm -*vā*, G-DP -*ām* etc.) not O.Kh.

MASCULINE ONLY

NS	<i>māḍe</i>	<i>mulysgyaṣṣe</i>
VS	<i>māḍdāna</i>	<i>mulysgyaṣṣe</i>
G-DS	* <i>miḍānā</i>	* <i>mulysgyaṣṣaunā</i>
I-AS	* <i>miḍānāna</i>	* <i>mulysgyaṣṣaunāna</i>
N-AP		<i>mulysjaṣṣonā</i>

237. *NSm*

(i) *-i* = (ii). L.Kh.: *miṣḍi* Si 1 bis r3 KT 1. 2 + *gyastī* 'deva, king'.

(ii) *-e* O.Kh.: *māḍe* SS 8ov3 KT 5. 341 + *gyastā* 'deva'; *mulysgyaṣṣe* Z 22. 267 + *Sārthavāhā*. L.Kh.: *muā'sdā'se* Ch 1. 0021b, b58 KBT 155.

(iii) *-ai* = (ii). L.Kh.: *mvai'sdā'sai* P 3513. 82r4 KBT 65.

238. *VSm*

(i) *-āna* Thematic, VS -a. O.Kh.: *māḍāna* Z 2. 64, 181; 3. 9; 5. 51, 91; 12. 9; 22. 105, 112; 24. 235, 494 (often + *balysa*); Kha 1. 13. 143v2 KBT 5+ + *Sārīputra*; *māḍdāna* Kha 1. 205 35r1 KT 5. 160; 35r2 KT 5. 161 + *gyasta* *balysa* 'deva Buddha'.

(ii) *-āni* = NS thematic or = (i). L.Kh. only: *miḍāni* JS 16v4 (71).

(iii) *-āne* = (ii). L.Kh. only: *miḍāne* JS 2r4 (5); 5v4 (19)+.

(iv) *-i* = (v). L.Kh. only: *miḍi* JS 18r1 (76).

(v) *-e* = NS § 237 (ii). O.Kh.: *mulysgyaṣṣe* Z 6. 23.

(vi) *-auna* Thematic, VS -a. L.Kh.: *mulṣdaṣṣauna* Avdh 11v2 KT 3. 5.

239. *G-DSm*

(i) *-ā* < **-ānā*, with -ā G-DS cons. decl. < O.Ir. *-ah. L.Kh. only: *miḍā* Or 11252. 12a3 KT 2. 20 + *jasti*; *miṣḍā* JS 2v3 (7) + *gyastā*.

(ii) *-ām* < **-ānā*; see (i). L.Kh. only: *miḍām* Or 11344. 8a8 KT 2. 35 + *jasti*; P 2787. 61 KT 2. 103 + *jastā*.

(iii) *-onā* -ā G-DS cons. decl. < O.Ir. *-ah. L.Kh.: *mu'sdī'sonā* ApS 17b2 KT 5. 247 tr. *kāruṇikasya* (-*n*- due to -*ṣ*- by Sanskritization).

240. *I-ASm*

(i) *-ām(na)* -ām < **-ānā*; **-āna* ISm thematic. L.Kh. only: *miṣḍām*

gyastāna Hed. 20. 1 *KT* 4. 33; *miṣḍām gyastāna* Or 11344. 7. 1 *KT* 2. 35; *miḍām gyastāna* Or 11344. 17. 3 *KT* 2. 38.

(ii) *-auna(na)* L.Kh. only: *mu'sda'ssauna śirna aysmūna* 'compassionate, good mind' P 3513. 63r1 *KT* 1. 243 (-*n*- due to -*ss*- by Sanskritization).

(iii) *-aunā(na)* L.Kh.: *mu'sdā'ssaunā śirna* (so read) *aysmūna* P 3513. 66r4 *KT* 1. 245.

241. *NAPm*

(i) *-oṇā -ā* < O.Ir. *-*ah* *NAP* cons. decl. O.Kh.: *mulysjaṣṣoṇā* Z 6. 55 + *balysa* 'Buddha'.

(ii) *-auna* = (i). L.Kh.: *mu'sdi'sauna* P 3513. 66v2-3 *KT* 1. 245 + *ba'ysa* 'Buddha'.

242. 4. *n*-declension (nt.)

The *n*-decl. provides the largest number of cons. stem terminations. The NAS *-a*, G-DS *-i*, I-AS *-āna*, LS *-āñā*, *NAP* *-a*, *-aṇi* all belong to the cons. decl. Beside all, however, except the LS, thematic forms are also found. It is not therefore surprising that most of the cons. decl. endings have spread to the thematic decl.: e.g. *-āna* § 10 (v); *-ña* § 11 (xvi); *-aṇi* § 12 (iii).

-aṇi was not at first regarded as the normal *NAPn* termination < O.Ir. *-*ani* but was thought by E. Leumann to be a suppletive fem. (E. Leumann, "Suppletivwesen" im Nordarischen, *KZ*, 57, 1930, 184-200). In his 'Note on the neuter gender in Khotani Saka' (*Studia Indo-Iranica*, 1931, 261-6), S. Konow suggested that *-aṇi* was in fact the *NAPn* termination < O.Ir. *-*ani*. Except, however, by referring to the fact that Kh. was beginning to lose the distinction between masc. and fem., Konow gave no explanation of the consistent use of *-iṅgye* as the adj. termination agreeing with nouns in *-aṇi*; O.Kh.: *dātīmje tcei'mañi* 'dharma-eyes' Z 4. 92; *dātīmje tcei'mañi* Z 5. 87. Even the *a*-decl. word *bāysa*- 'wood' is found with *kīśāṅgye* 'luxuriant' in O.Kh.: Or 9609. 56r5 *KT* 1. 240.¹ As it is only with adjectives with this suffix that confusion of gender is found in O.Kh., it seems clear that a different explanation is needed. We may start from *dātīmgyā-* as an *ā*-decl. adj. This may have spread from the LSm *-iṅgya* (e.g. *brītiṅgya* Z 20. 65 + *vema*), which is < *-*inakya* according to E. Leumann, *Zur nordar. Spr.*, p. 101, although the expected LSm *-inya* is also found in O.Kh. (§ 88 (iii), p. 304).

¹ *bīśūnya raysāyana aruve* 'kīśāṅgye bāysañā ysāyase' translates Sanskrit *nānātrāgulaṃśaḍhivānāspataya* (ed. J. Nobel, p. 122 ll. 7-8). *kīśāna-* is a common epithet of *bāysa-*, cf. Z. 15. 5; Ch 00268. 140 *KBT* 66; Ch 00277. 2v2-3 *KBT* 70.

SINGULAR			PLURAL	
	Cons.	Them.	Cons.	Them.
N	-a	-ā	NA	-a, -aṇā [-a]
A	-a	-u		
G-D	-an-i	-ā	G-D	-aṇinu, -aṇānu
I-A	-ān-a	-an-na	I-A	-aṇyau
L	-āñā		L	*-aṇvo'

Among words belonging to the neuter *n*-declension are the following: *kamalan-* 'head'; *tīman-* 'seed'; *tcārman-* 'skin'; *tcei'man-* 'eye'; *nāman-* 'name'; *pāta'n-* 'strength'; *rrīman-* 'filth'; *śāman-* 'mouth, face'.

243. *NS*

(i) *No ending* L.Kh. only: *tīm Si* 129v2 *KT* 1. 62; *tce* P 4099. 412 *KBT* 134; *tciṃ Si* 146r5 *KT* 1. 88; *tceṃ Si* 145v3 *KT* 1. 88. *tce* < *tceṃ* < *tcemā* (iii).

(ii) *-a* < O.Ir. *-*a* *NSn* *n*-decl. (Av., O.Ind. *-a* < IE *-*n*). O.Kh.: *tīma* Z 6. 37; 15. 4; *tcārma* Z 2. 214; *nāma* Z 2. 3; *śāma* Z 6. 28. L.Kh.: *śāma* JS 14r3 (58).

(iii) *-ā* O.Kh.: *tcei'mā* Z 6. 5; 21. 17. L.Kh.: *tcemā Vajr.* 35b2 *KT* 3. 27.

244. *AS*

(i) *-a* < O.Ir. *-*a* *ASn* *n*-decl. (Av., O.Ind. *-a* < IE *-*n*). O.Kh.: *tcārma* Z 5. 7; 23. 15; *tīma* Z 22. 125, 306; E 1. 7. 19v4 *KT* 5. 389; *nāma* Z 2. 21+; *śāma* Z 6. 56.

(ii) *-u* O.Kh.: *kamalu* D III. 1. 8v2 *KT* 5. 69; *tcei'mu* Z 21. 17.

245. *G-DS*

(i) *No ending* L.Kh. only: *tīm Si* 104v1 *KT* 1. 40; 107r1 *KT* 1. 44. < **tīmā* cf. (ii).

(ii) *-ā* L.Kh.: *tcei'mā* Kha vi 4. 1b6 *KT* 3. 130; *tcemā Vajr.* 41b2 *KT* 3. 29.

(iii) *-ani* -i G-DS cons. decl. < O.Ir. *-*ah* (Av. -*ō*; O.Ind. *-ah* < IE *-*e/os*). O.Kh.: *śāmani* Kha 1. 13. 135r4 *KBT* 1.

246. *I-AS*

(i) *-a (jsa)* L.Kh. for *-*a(na)*. L.Kh. only: *śāma jsa* P 3513. 44v1 (Asm. 5).

(ii) *-aṇna* < *-anna* (iii). O.Kh.: *tcārmaṇna* Z 20. 53.

- (iii) *-anna* < **-anina* (as E. Leumann, *KZ*, 57, 1930, 193) based on G-DS *-ani* § 245 (iii) after the *a*-decl.: *balysina:balysi* etc. O.Kh.: *tcārmanna* Z 21. 31; *bīysmanna* 'urine' Or 9609. 24v3 KT 1. 235.
 (iv) *-āna* *-a* I-AS < O.Ir. **-ā* IS cons. decl. (Av. *-ā*, O.Ind. *-ā*). See also § 10 (iv). O.Kh.: *tcei'māna* Z 6. 17; 8. 13, 14. L.Kh.: *tce'māna* Avdh 14v2 KT 3. 7.

247. *LS*

- (i) *-āña* < **-an-i-ā* (cf. § 11 (xvi)) with O.Ir. **-i* LS cons. decl. (Av., O.Ind. *-i* < IE **-i*. O.Kh.: *tcei'māña* Z 4. 91; 20. 41; 22. 272; *śāmāña* Z 22. 167; 24. 250.
 (ii) *-iña* = (i). O.Kh.: *sāmiña* SS 155a4 (Leningrad; unpublished) tr. *gdon-du*.
 (iii) *-ña* < *-āña* (i). O.Kh.: *kamalña* Z 13. 74. L.Kh.: *kamā'ña* JS 22r3 (95); *tcimña* Si 145v3 KT 1. 88+; *tcāña* Vajr. 41b4 KT 3. 29.

248. *NAP*

- (i) *-a* Probably < O.Ir. **-ā* (< IE **-ō(n)*; Brugmann ii. 2. 1, p. 235), cf. Av. *-a*, O.Ind. *-ā* rather than thematic. O.Kh.: *pāta'* Z 13. 141+; *śāma* Z 10. 19; *rrīma* Z 4. 96. L.Kh.: *tīma* JS 14v1 (60).
 (ii) *-aña* = (iii). L.Kh.: *tīmaña* P 4099. 276 KBT 126 (= *tīmqñā* Vajr. 43b2 KT 3. 29); *tcemā'ña* JS 16v1 (69).
 (iii) *-añā* Probably < O.Ir. **-ani* (Av. *ašaoni*, *nāmāni*; Barth., *GIP*, i, § 229, p. 133) rather than < **-āni*, as the further weakening to *-āñi* is found in the NAPm *a*-decl. adj. (§ 35 (vii), p. 284). O.Kh.: *tcei'mañā* Z 20. 37; *tīmañā* Or 9609. 5v5 KT 1. 234. L.Kh.: *tcāimā'ñā* Vajr. 34b1 KT 3. 27+; *tīmqñā* Vajr. 43b2 KT 3. 29; *rrīmqñā* Si 4v1 KT 1. 8.
 (iv) *-añi* = (iii). O.Kh.: *tcei'māni* Z 4. 34; *pāta'ñi* Z 3. 26.
 (v) *-ā* = *-a* (i). L.Kh. only: *tīmā* JP 116v1 (bis) KT 1. 195.
 (vi) *-e* = (v). L.Kh. only: *tīme* P 2893. 241 KT 3. 92; *nāme* Ch c. 001. 204 KBT 76.
 (vii) *-eña* = *-aña* (ii). L.Kh. only: *tcaimeña* P 3513. 77v2 KBT 62.
 (viii) *-eñā* = *-añā* (iii). L.Kh. only: *tcīmeñā* P 3510. 10. 6 KBT 53.

249. *G-DS*

- (i) *-añā* < *-añām* (ii). L.Kh. only: *tīmañā* P 4099. 275 KBT 126.
 (ii) *-añām* < *-añānu* (iii). L.Kh. only: *tīmañām* Vajr. 43a4 KT 3. 29; *tcīmañām* Si 146r5 KT 1. 90; *tcema'ñām* JS 25v2 (111); *nāmañām* Ch c. 001. 751 KBT 90; *rimañām* Si 4r4 KT 1. 6.

- (iii) *-añānu* Thematic based on NAP *-añā* § 248 (iii). One example only, L.Kh.: *abe'mañānu* 'misfortune' *AdhS* 89. 3.
 (iv) *-añinu* Thematic based on NAP; cf. (iii). O.Kh.: *tceimañinu* Z 19. 93; *tcei'mañinu* Kha 1. 309a1. 43v1 KBT 9.
 (v) *-ānu* O.Kh.: *pātānu* Z 6. 34.
 (vi) *-eñām* < *-añām* (ii). L.Kh.: *pe'ñām* P 3513. 52r1 (Asm. 41).

250. *I-AP*

- (i) *-añām (jsa)* < (ii). L.Kh. only: *tcīmañām jsa* P 2783. 173 (12) KT 3. 73.
 (ii) *-añ(y)au (jsa)* Thematic based on the NAP *-añā* § 248 (iii). O.Kh.: *tcei'mānyau* Or 9609. 36r4 KT 1. 236; *tce'mānyau* H 142 NS 88+89. 8v3-4 KT 5. 81; *pa'nyau* Stein E 1. 7. 145r5 KT 5. 77; *pāga'nyau jsa* Kha 1. 13. 145v2 KBT 6; *pāta'nyau* Z 2. 128+; *rrīmañyau* N 52. 12; *śāmānyau* Kha viii. 1b4 KT 5. 183. L.Kh.: *pq'ñau jsa* P 3513. 52r2 (Asm. 41).
 (iii) *-eñām (jsa)* = (i). L.Kh. only: *pe'ñām jsa* P 3513. 52r3 (Asm. 42).
 (iv) *-eñ(y)au (jsa)* = (ii). L.Kh.: *pe'ñau jsa* P 2025. 205 KBT 18.
 (v) *-yo (jsa)* O.Kh.: *pātyo'* Z 2. 119.

251. *LP*

- (i) *-añūā* Thematic based on NAP *-añā* § 248 (iii). L.Kh. only: *tcamañūā* P 4099. 29 KBT 114.
 (ii) *-vā* L.Kh. only: *śāmvā* Or 8212. 162. 27 KT 2. 2; *sāmvā* Or 8212. 162. 30 KT 2. 2.

252. 5. *r*-declension

The only words that show traces of the *r*-decl. are those of relationship: *pāte* 'father'; *māta* 'mother'; *dūta* 'daughter'; *brāte* 'brother'; **hvara* 'sister'. *mārāpātara* 'parents' is declined as a thematic plural *mārāpātara-*, but the *-ā-* of *mārā-* is a direct inheritance of the I.I. dual in **-ā*, cf. O.Ind. *mātarāpitarau* (see S. Konow, *NTS*, xiii, 1945, 206-7). The final *-ā* of *mārāpātara* NAP could represent the O.Ir. dual ending **-ā* (I.I. **-a* and **-ā* coalesced in Av.; Barth., *GIP*, § 221. 1, p. 127) as well as the O.Ir. thematic NP **-ā* (§ 12 (i)).

Endings belonging to the cons. decl. are: NSf, ASmf, G-DSm, NAP. The O.Ir. NSm **-ā* (Av., O.Ind. *-ā*) has been replaced by **-āh*, perhaps to distinguish it from the NSf (see § 6 (vii)). The G-DSf and I-ASf also show in part the old endings of the cons. decl. The exclusive use of *-ā*, *-i* in O.Kh. prevents the derivation of *merā* < **mātarāyāh* the G-DS of **mātarā-* as proposed earlier (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 46). **mere*

would be expected to be the usual form < *mātarāyāh, but this is never found, whereas *merā* is frequent in O.Kh. On the other hand, O.Ir. *mābrah should result in *mārā, not *merā*. *mābrah may have been replaced by *mābryah through analogy with *duxθryah (> *dvīrā* G-DSf < *duxθrī-) (I. G.). *duxθrī- is attested for OP in Elamite (Benv., BSL, 47, 1951, 21 f.); MPe inscr. *dwšy* (H. W. B., TPS, 1956, 93) and Bal. *dukič* (Morg., NTS, v, 1932, 43) also derive < *duxθrī-.

The G-DSm *pīrā* derives without difficulty < O.Ir. *piθrah (cf. OP *piça* i.e. *piθra*); I.I. *pitras, as Leumann, 'E', p. 463 s.v. *pātar-*. There is no need therefore to assume either *pitarah or *pitarahya as suggested by S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 46.

-ānu in the G-DP in O.Kh. is probably due to -ānu G-DP in the i-decl. (§ 57 (iii)), cf. O.Ind. *pitṛnām* with -n- due to the i- and u-declensions (Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, iii, § 118, pp. 209-11).

Beside the AS *mātaru* < O.Ir. *mātaram (cf. Av. *pitarəm*, O.Ind. *mātaram*), *mātarō* is found following the ā-decl.

SINGULAR

Masculine		Feminine	
N	<i>pāte brāte</i>	<i>māta dūta</i>	
A	<i>pātaru brātari</i>	<i>mātaru</i>	
G-D	<i>pīrā</i>	<i>merā dvīrā</i>	
I-A	[<i>pyarina</i>] [<i>brātari</i> . . . -na]	[<i>dvīrā jsa</i>]	
		<i>hvari</i> . . . <i>jsa</i>	
PLURAL			
NA	<i>brātari</i>	<i>dutarā</i>	
G-D	[<i>brātārānu</i>]	[<i>°dūtārānu</i>]	
		[<i>hvarānu</i>]	
I-A	[<i>brātaryau jsa</i>]	[<i>dvataryau</i>]	

253. NSm

(i) -a = (ii). L.Kh. only: *brrāta* P 5538a 27 KT 2. 127; *brrāva* P 2958. 163 KT 2. 119.

(ii) -e < O.Ir. *-ā + -h (see § 252). O.Kh.: *pāte* Z 2. 137+; *pye-t-i* H 147 NS 112 14 KT 5. 76; *brāte* Z 13. 69. L.Kh.: *pye* P 3510. 7. 4 KBT 52; P 2026. 36 KT 3. 49; *brrāte* JS 16r4 (68).

(iii) -ai = (ii). L.Kh.: *pyai* P 2958. 162 KT 2. 119.

254. ASm

(i) -ā = thematic NSm. L.Kh.: *brrātārā* P 5538a 58 KT 2. 128.

(ii) -i = (i). O.Kh.: *brātari* Z 22. 295.

(iii) -u < O.Ir. *-am AS cons. decl. O.Kh.: *pātaru* Z 2. 137+.

255. G-DSm

(i) -a = (ii). L.Kh.: *pyara* Hed. 23. 19 KT 4. 36.

(ii) -ā

1. < O.Ir. *-ah GS cons. decl. O.Kh.: *pīrā* Z 5. 19, 20, 88; SS 36v1 KT 5. 337; Or 9609. 3v5 KT 1. 232.

2. Thematic. L.Kh.: *pyarā* P 2026. 37 KT 3. 49; P 3510. 2. 6 KBT 48.

(iii) -i = (ii) 1. O.Kh.: *pīri* Z 22. 105, 234.

(iv) -e = (ii) 2. L.Kh.: *pyare* JS 28r3 (123); 31v3 (138).

[(v) -o] One example only: *pīro* Z 24. 439. Leumann appears to be correct in emending to *pīrā*. It is followed by *biśso karyo*.

256. I-ASm

(i) -a (jsa) L.Kh.: *brrāvāra* . . . *jsa* JS 39v2; *brrāvāra* . . . *jsa* JS 39v3.

(ii) -āna L.Kh.: *pyarāna* H 147 MBD 23a 15 KT 5. 66.

(iii) -i(na) *pyarina* N 164. 5; *brātari* . . . -na N 164. 6-7 (bis).

257. NAPm

(i) -a See § 252. O.Kh.: *mārāpyatara* H 142 NS 46r4 KT 5. 96; *mārāpātara* SS 77r2-3 KT 5. 339. L.Kh.: *mārāpyara* JS 31v4 (139).

(ii) -i < O.Ir. *-ah NAP cons. decl. L.Kh.: *brātari* H 147 MBD 23a 5 KT 5. 66.

258. G-DPm

(i) -ām L.Kh.: *mārāpyarām* Ch 00269. 98 KT 2. 47.

(ii) -āna L.Kh.: *mārāpyarāna* Ch 00271. 13 KT 2. 49.

(iii) -ānā L.Kh.: *mārāpyarānā* H 142 NS 56r1 KT 5. 90.

(iv) -ānu See § 252. O.Kh.: *brātārānu* Or 9609. 3v5 KT 1. 232 (-n- due to -r- by Sanskritization).

(v) -au = -ām (i). L.Kh.: *mārāpyārau* Ch ii. 004. 4r1 KBT 146.

(vi) -nu < -ānu (iv). O.Kh.: *pātarnu* Suv. K. 66r1 KT 5. 117.

259. I-APm

(i) -ām (jsa) L.Kh.: *brrāvāyām jsā* P 2786. 209 KT 2. 100.

(ii) -yau (jsa) *brātaryau jsa* N 164. 10.

260. *NSf*

(i) -a < O.Ir. *-ā (Av., O.Ind. -ā). O.Kh.: *dūta* Z 24. 125; *dūva* *Suv.* K. 64r7 *KT* 5. 115; *māta* Z 2. 5+. L.Kh.: *dūva* P 280r. 62 *KT* 3. 68; *māta* P 2026. 36 *KT* 3. 49.

(ii) -ā = (i). L.Kh.: *māvā* P 3510. 7. 5 *KBT* 52.

261. *ASf*

(i) -a = NSf -a § 260 (i). L.Kh.: *dūva* Hed. 2. 7 *KT* 4. 22.

(ii) -ā = (i). L.Kh.: *dūrā* Hed. 2. 9 *KT* 4. 22; *dvarā* Hed. 2. 3 *KT* 4. 21.

(iii) -u < O.Ir. *-am AS cons. decl. O.Kh.: *mātaru* Z 24. 188.

(iv) -o ASf ā-decl. O.Kh.: *mātaru* H 142 NS 46r5 *KT* 5. 96 (= N 129. 21 *mātaru*).

262. *G-DSf*

(i) -a = (ii). L.Kh.: *mera* Hed. 23. 19 *KT* 4. 36; P 2026. 37 *KT* 3. 49; P 3510. 2. 6 *KBT* 48.

(ii) -ā See § 252. O.Kh.: *dvīrā* Z 7. 36; *merā* Z 8. 25++; *SS* 36v1 *KT* 5. 337; Or 9609. 3v5 *KT* 1. 232. L.Kh.: *merā* N 164. 3.

(iii) -i = (ii). L.Kh.: *meri* P 5538a 27 *KT* 2. 127.

(iv) -e = (ii). L.Kh.: *mire* JS 31v3 (138); *mere* JS 28r3 (123).

263. *I-ASf*

(i) -a (*jsa*) L.Kh.: *dvīra* . . . *jsa* JS 39v2.

(ii) -ā (*jsa*) L.Kh.: *dvīrā* . . . *jsa* JS 39v3; N 164. 9-10.

(iii) -i (*jsa*) L.Kh.: *hvari* . . . *jsa* N 164. 7-8 (bis).

264. *NAPf*

(i) -ā < O.Ir. *-ah NAP cons. decl. O.Kh.: *dutarā* Z 24. 260. L.Kh.: *dvarā* P 2741. 50 *KT* 2. 89; *rrīysdvarā* P 3510. 7. 7 *KBT* 52.

265. *G-DPf*

(i) -ām L.Kh.: *dvarām* P 2790. 141 *KT* 3. 63.

(ii) -āṇu See § 252. O.Kh. only: *rrāysduirāṇu* *Suv.* K. 35r4 *KT* 5. 113 tr. *rājaduhitṛṇām*; *hvarāṇu* Or 9609. 3v5 *KT* 1. 232.

266. *I-APf*

(i) -ā (*jsa*) L.Kh. only: *dvarā* *jsa* JS 39v2; *raysdvyārā* Ch 1. 0021b. b51 *KBT* 155.

(ii) -ām (*jsa*) L.Kh. only: *rrīysdvarām* . . . *jsi* P 5538a 62 *KT* 2. 128; *raiysdvarām* Ch 1. 0021b. a² 33 *KBT* 150.

(iii) -yau (*jsa*) O.Kh.: *dvataryau* E XX App. 'E', p. 355. L.Kh.: *dvaryau* H 147 MBD 23a 9 *KT* 5. 66.

267. 6. *h-declension*

Only a few traces of the *h*-decl. of O.Ir. (the *-s-decl. of I.I.) remain in Kh. These are in *ysare* 'old age' and *mase* 'size'.

In *Saka Studies*, p. 197, S. Konow gave *ysara* f. 'old age' referring to *ysare* in E 23. 127, which he then regarded as NPf. Later, E 25. 251 provided the unmistakable NS *ysare*, and it was clear that *ysare* in all passages is NS (Z 11. 11; 20. 72; 22. 127; 24. 251). The only other occurrence of the word known to me is in the fragment Kha 040. 10r4 *KT* 5. 121, which has *ysare maraṇā* (cf. Z 11. 11; 20. 72 id.), where also *ysare* is probably NS. *ysare* was consequently mentioned under 'bases in sibilants' in S. Konow, *Primer*, p. 40. This was not noticed by Mayrh. (s.v. *jarā* f.), who compared it with O.Ind. *jarā* instead of his O.Ind. '*jarā*- (f.?)'. *ysare* is in fact < **sarāh*, as already Leumann, 'E', p. 489 s.v.

mase (cf. Av. *masah*- n.) has been brought under the heading of *h*-bases (cf. S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 46; *Primer*, p. 40). *mase* is found frequently as second element in adjective compounds: O.Kh.: *ggampha-mase* NSm Z 14. 43; NPf Z 22. 168; L.Kh.: *sau-mase* NSm P 4099. 50 *KBT* 115; *vaskalyāmata-mase* NPm Si 314 *KT* 1. 6. In L.Kh., spelling variants of *mase* are found: *masa* Ch 00266. 147 *KBT* 27 = P 2957. 92 *KBT* 35 = *masai* P 2025. 224 *KBT* 19; *masi* ApS 14a1 *KT* 5. 246. *mase* is evidently invariable. However, < O.Ir. **masah* NASn **masi*, **masā* would be expected in O.Kh. I. G. suggests generalization of NSm in compounds.

268. APPENDIX I. *urmaysde* 'sun'

urmaysde NSm 'sun' is < **ahuramazdāh*, cf. Av. *ahurō mazdā* NSm; OP *auramazdā*^(h) NSm. The divine name is still used for the 'sun' in some Pamir languages, e.g. Sangl. *or'mōzd* (IIFL, ii. 381). All other cases have been formed with the thematic stem *urmaysdāna*-. Av. *mazdā* was derived from a stem *mazdāh*- by Barth., *AIW*, s.v., but more recent writers (see Mayrh. s.v. *medhā*- f.) regard it as belonging to a stem *mazdā*-, declined according to the radical ā-decl.

269. *NS*

(i) -a = (iii). L.Kh.: *āauramaysda* Ch 00266. 126 *KBT* 25 = *auramaysda* P 2025. 192-3 *KBT* 17.

- (ii) *-i* = (iii). L.Kh.: *urmaysdi* JS 19v1 (83); P 3513. 48v2 (Asm. 25); *urmaysdi* Si 3v4-5 KT 1. 6; *aurmaysdi* P 2957. 76 KBT 34.
 (iii) *-e* < O.Ir. **-āh* (see § 268). O.Kh.: *urmaysde* Z 3. 48+. L.Kh.: *urmaysde* P 3513. 69r4 KT 1. 246.

270. AS

- (i) *-ān-u* The expected AS in O.Kh. *urmaysdānu* is found in a fragment without context: Kha ix 13a1. 40v2 KT 5. 184.

271. G-DS

- (i) *-ā* < *-ām* (ii). L.Kh.: *urmaysdā* JS 24r1 (104).
 (ii) *-ām* < *-ānā* (iii). L.Kh.: *urmaysdām* Hed. 7. 2-3 KT 4. 25; JS 14r1 (57); Si 20r3 KT 1. 32; *ārmaysdām* P 4649. 1 KT 2. 124; *aurmaysdām* Si 149v5 KT 1. 94; P 2782. 8 KT 3. 58.
 (iii) *-ān-ā* O.Kh.: *urmaysdānā* Suv. K. 67v6 KT 5. 118 tr. *sūrya-*; N 157. 39-40.
 (iv) *-aun-a* = (iii). L.Kh.: *aurmaysdauna* P 2787. 34 KT 2. 102.

272. NAP

- (i) *-ān-e* O.Kh.: *urmaysdāne* H 142 NS 88+89. 8r3-4 KT 5. 80; Otani 3-4 a2 KT 5. 314 (no context).

273. G-DP

- (i) *-ān-ām* L.Kh.: *aurmaysdānām* P 2933. 2 KT 3. 107.
 (ii) *-ān-ānu* O.Kh.: <u>*rmaysdānānu* Kha 1. 160. 1r2 KT 1. 252.

274. APPENDIX 2. *uvā* 'senses' and *suvā* 'lungs'

Archaic words, *uvā*, *suvā* NAP continue O.Ir. duals **uṣī*, **suṣī* (Av. *uṣī*, *suṣī*; Barth., GIP, i, § 222, p. 128; cf. also Man. Sogd. *wšy*, 'šy', B. Sogd. *šyh*, Man. Chr. *šy* 'remembrance' I. G., GMS, § 102, p. 14; § 948, p. 139). In Kh. they are treated as *i*-stem words, *-ā* < O.Ir. NADu **-ī* falling together with *-ā* NAP *i*-decl. On the G-DP, see § 2. The LP **svīyvā* seems to imply a secondary formation **suṣīkā-* (§ 2). The following forms are found:

(a) NAP

O.Kh.: *uī* Z 3. 103++; *uvā* Z 3. 16, 66; *uvi* Z 21. 21; *uvi* Z 3. 30; *suvā* Z 20. 35; *svī* Z 20. 55. L.Kh.: *avī* JP 95v3 KT 1. 177; *uvi* Si 125v2 KT 1. 54; *svī* Ch ii. 004. 2r4 KBT 144.

(b) G-DP

One example only, O.Kh.: *uī'nu* Z 19. 7 (*-n-* due to **š* by Sanskritization).

(c) I-AP

O.Kh.: *wau' jsa* Z 3. 107; *wyau' (jsa)* Z 3. 31, 107; 5. 13; *u'vyau* Z 4. 20.

(d) LP

One example only, O.Kh.: *uvo'* Z 12. 134 (< **uvo'vo'*, as Leumann, 'E', p. 403 s.v. *uvi*). *stīyvā* (Si 155r3 KT 1. 102 tr. *glo*) is no doubt a mistake for **svīyvā* (H. W. B., KT 1. 102, n. 2). It is probably suppletive LP to *suvā*.

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